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THE
CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. IV.

APRIL, 1851.

No. 1.

HISTORICAL STUDIES.

ART. I.—*A Modern History, from the Time of Luther to the Fall of Napoleon.* By JOHN LORD, A. M., Lecturer on History.

WE avail ourselves of the appearance of a new work on History, albeit it relates only to its recent portions, to offer some remarks and suggestions on Historical Studies. It is now several years since these studies have begun to receive far more of attention than they had done for a long period before. And they have revived, moreover, in a new form, and are prosecuted on vastly higher and better principles. Of this position there are two great proofs, each of which appears to be worthy of consideration.

The first, relates to the matter of what is called Universal History. The very mention of the words will undoubtedly bring up before many an eye that long range of solid octavos, which stands in such dignified and dusty immobility upon the shelves of many a library. We have no disposition to disparage their worth; for, indeed, they are the receptacles of valuable and painfully collected facts, in relation to almost every country in the world. But such a collection, however elaborately made, however accurately compiled, and however valuable for reference, is no more a Universal History, in the proper sense of the word, than a collection of individuals of

every race of men, carefully caged and labeled, could be called Universal Humanity. It is a great point carried, therefore, when such an expression is rescued from such a perversion, and thereby a great idea is gained, rather than restored, to the empire of letters. This we believe to be now the case. By the best writers of and on History, the knowledge of Universal History is not now considered to be the knowledge of many special Histories, with their various facts and details, but of the general destinies of mankind, and of the great central stream,—using the word in its proper sense,—of the progress of the world. History in this way has become not only a more hopeful study, but its lessons have been advanced in dignity and increased in value. Its range is higher, its scope is wider, and its fathomings are more profound.

The second proof is found in a characteristic which it may at first sight seem paradoxical to allege. We refer to the careful attention which is now bestowed by all who pretend to historical attainment, on the laying out of periods, divisions, and epochs. At one time, the beginning or end of a century, a dynasty, or a reign, was deemed amply sufficient to fulfil all reasonable demands in this respect. Whether or not the Magdeburg Centuriators are responsible for this tendency, we cannot say. At all events it existed; and it resulted in the annihilation of every thing like wide general views, or philosophical surveys, in Historical Studies. Now, however, the case is changed; so changed, indeed, that there appears to be some danger of running to the other extreme. For it is as easy now, since better people have led the way, for compounders of books to parade their theories, and philosophies, and successions of ideas, and missions, and all the other cant of shallow pretence, as it was for Goldsmith's fine ladies to expatiate on "Shakspeare, taste, and the musical glasses." But then, we must remember, there is a cant in every thing; and the greater and nobler the thing itself is, the more nauseous and intolerable is the cant.

We are sorry to see that in some quarters this cant seems to be producing a revulsion, which may lead to the denial, that a truly philosophical arrangement of History can be made, on great and sound principles. To name no other places, we think this tendency can be traced in Dr. Tayler Lewis' most valuable Address at Union College some three years since. His honest and hearty indignation, at the flimsy conceits of the school which mistakes its muddiness for profundity, or the more dangerous speculations of those who look on History from a wrong stand-point, and through a distort-

ing medium, will not, we trust, lead any of that large number, who are accustomed to listen to him with deserved deference, into the belief that History has no true Philosophy; that there are no great and underlying principles, by which its periods may be adjusted. It is one thing to believe that while the normal distinction of right and wrong in every event in History, and the liberty of human agency and therefore its responsibility remain, God still overrules every thing towards certain grand results; and it is quite another thing to lay down, that God is *in* History, in such a way, that right and wrong, good and evil, are only conventional modes of conceiving and speaking of things which are essentially the same, as being developments from Him. It is one thing to say that History is the providential "development of those means by which the lost image of God may be recovered;" and it is quite another thing to make it an indefinite and indeterminate progress, beginning at no particular point, and ending in no particular thing. It is one thing to say that during a given period a great formative or assimilative idea prevailed and wrought; and it is quite another thing to make all such ideas the necessary developments of necessary circumstances, and therefore good and true, and indeed parts of the Divine will. In a word, we cannot argue, that because there is a shallow, pantheistic, and false Philosophy of History, there is not one which is profound, Christian, and true. Rather, if counterfeits prove the existence of good coin, our conclusion will be the opposite.

Now it is obvious, that any division of History, and allotment of its epochs, will be regulated by the previous views which are entertained of the character of man, and the nature of his History. Hence arises that immense importance of division, on which we have insisted. Because it is the index of an author's mind; it is the exponent of principles whose influence not only governs the general view, but also extends to the smallest matters of detail. Let us but comprehend a writer's division, and it will then be easy to ascertain his principles. In this way, while mere questions as to special dates retain that subordinate position from which they cannot be advanced, still, the general chronological question rises vastly in importance, and chronology, ceasing to be a lifeless skeleton, becomes a living framework.

Universal History, then, beyond all other modes of Historical Study, demands the attention of the Christian Scholar. Especially does it at the present time, when, if not pursued on right principles, it assuredly will be on wrong ones; and if

not kept in its proper allegiance to the Faith, it will certainly be pressed into the service of infidelity. To avert these miserable issues, it will not be enough to declaim against the Philosophy of History, or to attempt to ignore it. Such a course can only end in failure. But it will be needful to displace the false by setting forth the true; to destroy the unreal by presenting the real; and,—since men will philosophize on this highest topic for philosophical speculation,—to furnish them with safe grounds, instead of permitting them to proceed at hap-hazard on unsafe ones. To accomplish something, however little it may be, towards this great end, will be our present aim.

Now we hold that previous to any steps whatever, we must, as our ultimate groundwork, set out with that view of man, his nature, his needs, and his capacities, which is so plainly and directly presented to us in the Holy Scriptures. That is, that man is a fallen creature, retaining, no doubt, much of his original capacity, but with his moral nature a wreck and desolation. His History, then, presents itself under two aspects, as Human and Divine. So far as God, in the several dispensations, Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian, has interfered, directly and visibly, it is Divine. It contains, when viewed under this aspect, the record of the plans by which the Almighty has been working to restore man to the Image which in the fall he forfeited. So far as man himself, under the rulership of Providence, has shaped his own History, it is Human. Viewed in this aspect, it contains those outworkings of his soul, by which—consciously or unconsciously—he has endeavored, either to thwart the Divine purposes, or else to supply of and from himself, those deep and pressing wants which grow out of his loss of the Eternal Image, and which, therefore, none but the Almighty can supply. These plain principles, it is believed, afford a sufficient basis on which to rest in Historical Studies, and furnish a safe guide for their prosecution.

Making then his starting point here, the student of History naturally looks in the first instance to the question of places and times. That is, the first two points which present themselves, are Geography and Chronology, the eyes of History. And here it is important that the question shall not be misunderstood. The determining of dates, the settling of disputes as to precise times, and the arithmetical calculations of ordinary chronology, are not the things which here come before him. Neither is he to be concerned with special matters of geography, limits, or bounds of countries, or, in fact, any or

dinary geographical details. The object of the student at this period—and it were well he should not forget it—is very different from all this. What is required of him now, having only Universal, and not at all Special History in view, is to determine what countries are really historical, and what great divisions of human History are to be laid down in the outset. This is the form which Geography and Chronology assume at this point. Special dates and minute details will assume their proper places much farther on.

One of the most perplexing things for the historical student, is to determine what countries he must deal with. He looks upon the map with a feeling akin to despair. The confused array of races, nations, empires, kingdoms, states, lies out before him, and what is he to do? Let him remember in the beginning, that in respect to their historic importance, there is the same difference among nations that there is among individuals. How very few of the individuals of any period are really historical! In one aspect, indeed, and that the very highest, all souls are alike, and are counted so, in the wondrous sight of Him, who seeth not as man seeth. But as men stand connected with History, the case is far otherwise. Of all the hosts of men concerned in carrying on to its height of glory the Roman Empire, how very few are really historical characters. But the matter is too obvious to require more than a mere statement. Nor is it otherwise with nations. Let one who has gained some knowledge of Universal History, run his eye over the map which lately seemed such a mass of confusion, and see what immense portions of the world have taken no share, and played no part, in the great course of ages; have exercised no influence on the fortunes of humanity; and really added nothing to the story of our race. A new beginner indeed cannot do this. Wherefore it must be done for him. For we have no idea of that self-sufficient school, who look upon the scholar as a man “with no past at his back;” who would forbid to the human mind the vantage way afforded by accepting the advances gained by previous study; and who suppose that each generation is to begin back, at the original starting point, and work out all things, so far as it can, over again.

Still, whether one can do it for himself, or whether he only contemplates, and accepts till he can try them, the conclusions derived from such a survey as presented him by others, we have little doubt that he will be astonished at the result. Nor will his astonishment be diminished, when he finds, along what an apparently contracted belt, within what narrow lim-

its the stream of History runs. Beginning in central Asia, it has been ever steadily advancing westward. Confined, for the most part, within the thirtieth and fiftieth degrees of north latitude, it passed on to the western coast of the continent of Europe. At times, indeed, it seems to have spread, as in Egypt, something to the south; or, as in Britain, something to the north of these general limits. Still, they abundantly serve to indicate its course. Between the same degrees of latitude, it struck our eastern shores, and has moved onwards to the Pacific, striking it too at the same point, with wonderful exactness. At every forward movement, every advance, some great change and crisis has come upon the world. One, the issues of which we cannot calculate, is just upon us, in the instant that the coast of the Pacific has been reached. China, so long standing to one side, seems now also to be coming forward to assume her place in this historic belt,—more wonderful than the zones of the earth, or the mysterious girdles of the sky,—and to complete its work of encircling the world. For when that belt, ever stretching westward, shall include her, as soon it must, then it will have reached the point where it began its awful unrollings. And who dare even think to what a crisis the world may then have come?

Passing now from questions of place to those of time, the student of Universal History meets at once with the primary and obvious divisions of Antediluvian and Postdiluvian, and is compelled to consider the character and bearings of the former. He finds himself in a region in which facts are few, and speculations rife. If he be wise and thoughtful, however, he will advance little beyond what is plainly warranted by Holy Scripture. Of course he can accept no speculations which are not entirely in accordance with its declarations. It will be remembered, that we have set forth the fall of man, as the basis of all historical research. It finds its immediate and in some respects its most striking issues, in this period of human History. And this indicates the bearing of Antediluvian History. For what is it, or what in truth is all human History, but the ceaseless contests of good and evil; the risings and fallings of races and nations; the degeneracies and recoveries of man? The separation then into two races, the one comprising the peaceful sons of Seth, and the other the fierce descendants of Cain; the former developing human society on the divine model, the latter adjusting it on the principles of human contrivance; the one celebrating the birth of its founder's first-born, by beginning publicly to call upon the name of the Lord, and the other doing honor to a similar event, by building a

city ; these are the first great facts of Antediluvian History. Next come the intermingling of the races, and the dragging down and degradation of the former to the lowest depths and most terrific forms of licentiousness. And thus, a wonderful key is afforded to the whole of human History ; it becomes evident that the discordant will, issued as might have been expected, in discordant paths ; and the savage and barbarous state is explained, without the necessity of a recourse to the foolish fancies of the *mutum pecus* school, or, in short, any of those schemes which bear absurdity upon their very front, and which can be accepted only by the most *credulous scepticism*.

Beyond all this, there lies a whole wide field of solemn speculation, in which the thoughtful mind will love to lose itself ; where mighty forms of death and life struggle for the mastery ; where truth and error, in the awful distinctness of their unmingled singularity, their utter separation, loom up against each other in those gigantic shapes, and with those interior powers which spread over the whole of this portion of man's story such sublimity and grandeur. Can it be, that the world is to end as it began ? Can it be, that preceding the final restoration of all that can be restored, there is to be a period analogous to that which followed directly on the original fall ? Are we now approaching towards such a period ? Are those intuitive modes of knowledge, those deep powers over the natural world, that acquaintance with the internal secrets of nature, which gave such preëminence for good and evil to the Antediluvian race ; are these to be restored in the latter ages, and after the training of the Dispensations, so that the final contest may terminate with the same forms of grandeur with which it opened ; while on the one hand Antichrist collects his various powers, and on the other are ranged the sacramental host of God's elect ? The thought of the bare possibility of such an event is subduing. What shall be said of its probability ?

Coming now to Postdiluvian History, the perplexing question of its proper divisions presents itself. The principles, however, which have been already laid down, will serve to guide us here. We shall find the two divisions, Divine and Human. The former passes onward through the Patriarchal and Jewish Dispensations, till it reaches its consummation in the Christian. It is plain, then, that the Divine aspect of man's History presents itself under three divisions. Nor can these be neglected or omitted, in any truly philosophical view of History. It was ignorance on this point which led Voltaire to make the silly remark, that Bossuet undertook to

write a Universal History, and wrote only a History of the Jews. A somewhat analogous division may be made of History, viewed in its Human aspect. For there, too, we find three great periods, corresponding in some degree to the three Dispensations. The Primitive, corresponding to the Patriarchal, the Imperial to the Jewish; and these two forming man's overruled line of preparation for the third, just as the two corresponding Dispensations form the Divine line for their successor; which, whether regarded as a Dispensation or a period of History, properly bears the name of Christian. Primitive, Imperial, and Christian, then, are the names which we apply to the three great divisions of Human History. We must now indicate their limits, and their general philosophical connections with each other, and with the Divine line of Dispensations which runs along with them.

A previous observation, however, and one of no little importance, must be made. It cannot but have struck every thoughtful mind, that distinct demarcations, and sudden transitions, form no part of the great economies of the moral or the natural world. Look where one may, this rule meets with abundant illustration. Day does not abruptly sink in night, nor does night abruptly burst into day, but there is the morning and the evening twilight. Who can mark the lines which divide childhood from youth, or youth from manhood, or manhood from old age? How gradually and silently do the seasons blend into each other! so that no man can say precisely when the frosts of winter gave way to springtide's freshness, or the freshness of spring deepened to summer's bloom, or the bloom of summer issued in autumn's ripeness, or the ripeness of autumn died in winter's frost. No, when God works or rules, there are no abrupt transitions; these are indications of imperfection and changing purpose; not of Him with whom "is no variableness neither shadow of turning." Wherefore, we are not to look for them in History, that most wonderful of all things in which God's providence displays itself. Nor is there a stronger proof of the Divine superintendence and overruling, than is found in the fact, that whether in Universal or Special History, one period begins far back in another, and thus the two overlap and blend together. What we have to do, then, is to trace, not bald divisions, distinct lines of separation, but as it were the dawning and the fullness of days, their twilight and their close. No division can be worth anything which proceeds on other rules.

It is easy to settle the commencement of our first period, namely, the Primitive. It can only commence with the ces-

sation of the Deluge. Its termination, however, it is not so easy to establish, unless by the aid of the principle just now developed. Let us observe then, that the second or Imperial period dawns—for we shall venture to adopt the expressive word—when the foundations of the first empire are laid by Nimrod, and finds the fullness of its rising, when that first empire is brought by Nebuchadnezzar to its height of glory. These points then indicate the waning and the final close of the first period, as well as the dawn and fulness of the second. From them the second, or Imperial period, advances in a magnificent march, comprising the histories of the four great empires, and filling up the mid space of human history; that wonderful and stirring time, so fraught with deep and awful issues, with earnest, though often with unconscious strivings. Assyria,* Persia, Greece, and Rome; the four-fold bond that binds the last age of the world to the earliest; the four great attempts to reach what the day of Pentecost bestowed; the quadruple stream of human preparation, for the incoming of that Empire “in the world,” but not “of it,” which the Prophet likens to the “stone cut without hands, and becoming a mountain;” these fill up the lengthened scenes. At last, in the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, the day-dawn of the world’s last age, of the third great period of human history, arrives. The Christian period begins, the Imperial wanes. The kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

“Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas,
Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.”

The double process of growing and of waning silently goes on, until, by the death of Theodosius the Great, and the final division of the Roman Empire into East and West, the last great empire ends, the Imperial period is concluded, and the third, the Christian, has possession of the field.

Having thus presented what we conceive to be the only allotment that can be made on Scriptural principles, of the great epochs of history, it seems proper, before saying anything of their subdivisions, to indicate their great philosophical connections, and to point out the keys by which, through the aid of the sacred Scriptures, they are to be explained. This being done, a few words as to the Divine stream of preparation for the Christian period will naturally follow.

* We say Assyria, rather than Babylon, for they form really only two divisions of one empire, and the name of the elder seems to be entitled to the preference.

The scriptural key to the Primitive period, is the account of the confusion of tongues at Babel, whereby a union of all men around an idolatrous centre of worship was prevented, and men were scattered abroad upon the earth. The correlative of this miracle is found in the miracle at Pentecost ; the solemn inauguration, no less of the third period of human history, than of the Church of Christ, whereby the heavenly remedy was at last applied to evils, which earthly remedies had striven in vain to cure. The immediate purpose of the miracle at Babel, was, of course, the infliction of punishment, and the inbringing of evil as a just award to sin. Yet, as in the case of all divine punishments,—and especially is this to be observed of universal and national ones,—the very evil was overruled to help on great ends and purposes, in the plans of God. Men were scattered—the earth was peopled—national life took shape.

Now what concerns us at this stage, is, to observe, that up to this point of time, two great organized forms of life have been brought out, the Family, and the State or Nation. These last two words are not, indeed, properly synonymous, nor do we intend to use them so, farther than in their instant application. There were, however, deep reasons, inherent in man's nature, why these two forms of life would not suffice without something beyond them ; and the consideration of these reasons will, we believe, set forth to us the true philosophical connections between the first and second periods. Whether it were derived from old patriarchal tradition, whether it were a natural longing of human self-consciousness, or whether it were a divine impulse, still from the remotest times, a dim, and yet glorious vision appears to have haunted each better mind, and been impressed on every nobler soul. It rose before the poet's eye, it allured the philosopher to loftiest speculation, and it warmed the statesman's heart. Dim, indeed, it was, in its outline, undefined in its details, yet still it *was*, and it was mighty too. In successive ages, the vision was outspoken in the republic of Plato, and that immortal Eclogue, with a gem from which we have enriched our pages. Yet these were but the gathering together of thoughts, and wishes, and longings, and aspirations, that had lived and burned in the minds of unnumbered generations. There were, in the awful depths of all human souls, sympathies and desires of union, that reached beyond the limits of families and nations, and sought a wider brotherhood. Side by side, with all these longings, and forming what would be accounted a strange anomaly and contradiction, were we not speaking

of human nature, there lived and wrought the love of conquest and of rule. And from these two things, the course of empire took its way; these two human characteristics connect the Imperial period with the Primitive, not by an artificial and imaginary, but by a natural, living, real bond. It might be deemed, and perhaps might be fanciful, to inquire, which wrought first, and which most powerfully. It is probable, however, that in some minds, one, and in some minds, the other had precedence and domination. At all events, if empire began from the holier vision, it soon forgot and lost it, in the baser lust.

And now began man's line of preparation, wrought out by himself, and yet always under the rule of God. It forms a splendid portion of the world-drama. As from this distance of time we look upon those four old empires, passing in such grand succession along the ages, bewildered awe is the first emotion of which the mind is sensible, and we are fain to ask if any thing can be greater or nobler. There are arts, and arms, and learning; there are the wealth of oriental regions, the masteries of men, the pomps of monarchs, and the deeds of warriors. There, in short, are all that earth can show of physical or intellectual achievement. And yet, after all, it is but the poor struggling of man to do what he cannot do; and all the time a mightier power is overruling all he does, and making ready for issues of which he does not dream.

Scripture unlocks this period also. In Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the image, and in Daniel's vision of the four mighty beasts, it presents us with its explanation. With these, the actual work which each of the four Empires wrought, fits in the most exact harmony, and the true meaning, and real bearings of the period, come distinctly out. Man's pride indeed is humbled, but God's providence is exalted; and read in the light of His mighty plans, the sight, the wonderful story, gains more of wonder through His overrulings, than it loses from the knowledge of the failure of human purposes. Golden Assyria, the winged lion, collecting all the treasures of the East; silver Persia, the powerful bear, preserving God's chosen people; brazen Greece, the winged leopard, affording a universal language to mankind; and iron Rome, the beast not to be described, but terrible, and strong exceedingly, binding all men by a universal law; such is the form which the succession of empires now assumes. Man's plans, and views, and purposes, pass out of sight, except so far as they are made to work together for God's great ends; and the student of history forgets all that man has done, while he adores the wisdom, the majesty, and the might of God.

There are many special points of preparation in the various details of the histories of these empires, on which we cannot here dwell, without being drawn quite too far from that general view which we wish now to present. And the great point to be insisted on here, even at the risk of needless repetition, is this: These empires are man's attempts to satisfy his wants—to establish things permanently as he would have them—to bring the world to the state in which he wishes it to be. And God has made them the changing, flowing, never resting stream, on which humanity has been borne onward to other things than any of which men had dreamed. So we trace a progress certainly in History; and yet how different a progress from that on which the prating cant of the day loves to enlarge! And how different the story, when read in the light of revelation, from anything that it is when read by the light of nature! In the latter case, Assyria is the magnificent exhibition of the pomp and pageantry of boundless wealth; Persia presents the same spectacle, with the addition of the wise plans of statesmen, and the achievements of warriors; Greece carries human intellect, in all its departments, to the highest pitch, and then, in the conquests of Alexander, spreads these wonders over the world; while Rome,—most wonderful shadow of a divine reality, so wonderful, indeed, that men have even tried to convert the reality again into the shadow; by merging the Church of God in the Roman Papacy,—traverses the earth with haughty step, rules it with a rod of iron, and leaves her proud memorials in every land. So runs the story, as man would have it. But read it in the light of God's providence, and how unlike to this it seems! Assyria prepares the eastern world for future working, and passes away;—Persia preserves God's chosen people, and then degenerates into an easy prey to another conqueror, and falls;—Greece, passing through all the wonderful changes of her history, becomes an empire under Alexander, spreads, by means of his rapid conquests, a universal language, before it has had time to receive organic changes; and then, having prepared the world to receive and understand the record of the last revelation, passes also away;—Rome, compelling all men to live under her one rule and law, and so preparing them to come under the one rule and law of Christ, is then brought to an end, and utterly destroyed. And in all these cases, it is only that part of man's works, wonderful as they may seem, which has entered into and wrought with the divine purposes, that has lived in History. Every thing else has perished and come to nought.

And now, while these four empires have thus been follow-

ing each other, and men have been, unconsciously, sometimes in sin, and sometimes in well doing, working out God's plans, the Divine part of History has been also going on, and the course of the dispensations has been advancing. The Patriarchal dispensation has been narrowed into the Jewish, and the Jewish, passing along the second period of human History, has found its completion at the dawning of the third, and becomes understood only in the moment of its abrogation. Both lines, however, have reached a point for which ages have been making ready. The Incarnation is effected, and the last dispensation, and the last great period of History, simultaneously begin. Still it is only a faint dawn as yet. Many years are to elapse, before the Jewish dispensation fully ends, amidst the terrors of God's judgments. Many more years of trial, persecution, and bitter wo, are to pass by, before the fourth empire shall break in sunder, and the clear day of the Christian period shine forth above the gathering night, or rather the utter darkness of the Imperial. At length, however, as we have already shown, that time arrives, and the world enters on its last great course,—whose close shall witness the consummation of all created things,—in a part of which our lot is cast.

We have thus attempted to sketch those general and outline views, which should guide the student of History in laying out his plans, and endeavoring to construct his framework. It is all important that he should set out correctly here. If he does so, then events will fall naturally into their places; and subdivisions will be regulated by a principle or principles, which will save from confusion as well as from error. To matters of detail, it is our purpose to recur, in a future number. Meantime we shall venture to express the hope, that the principles just laid down will be found to embody all the truth, which the pantheistic school in History have perhaps sought for, and never found, or it may be designedly imitated for the worst of purposes; and that the divisions and general views accord entirely with the Holy Scriptures, without which, characteristic History becomes a falsehood, and the Historian a deceiver.

FROM A. D. 1829 TO A. D. 1850.

ART. II.—*Letter of Lord John Russell to the Bishop of Durham. Appeal of Cardinal Wiseman, &c.*

GREAT Britain and Ireland were agitated, in the year 1829, by that tempest which carried, in final triumph, over long and firm resistance, the restoration of all civil privileges to the adherents of the Roman communion. Twenty-one fruitful years were added to the annals of the world; and then the year 1850 closed with an agitation, more subdued, but certainly not less mighty. It was dated from that day and hour in which Doctor Nicholas Wiseman, Cardinal of St. Pudentiana, assumed, "under the Fisherman's Ring," the dignity and style of Archbishop of Westminster, and announced to the people of England that their "beloved country had received a place among the fair Churches which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion;" Pope Pius the Ninth having in his own Papal words "invoked the assistance of Mary the Virgin Mother of God, and of those Saints who illustrated England by their virtues, that they would vouchsafe to support him by their patronage with God to the happy accomplishment of this affair."

The time for a studious and large survey of those intermediate years can, of course, be only when most of those whom they bore on through the ardor of youth or the activity of maturer life shall no longer need the lessons of the past. To them, while their private feelings may deny one kind of instruction, from the history of which they were a part, memory itself may furnish another kind, still less to be disregarded. But an arrangement of the events in their succession, and a rapid glance, which, while it takes in the whole, notes also the distinct landmarks along the way, may much assist the recollection, confused as it becomes amongst many facts which much resemble one another, and which may yet have all the importance of a sequence of causes and effects. It is remarkable, too, that for younger readers the most recent history is often precisely the most inaccessible; because so much remains altogether unwritten; because so little is as yet classically recorded; and because the older too readily take for granted a certain knowledge of what is so familiar to themselves. The story of the recent war in Mexico is far less likely to be vividly impressed on an intelligent man than that of Waterloo, or of our Revolution.

To throw even the most rapid glance over any series of events, and to refuse all results, would argue a desperate wish for the advantages of sight in union with the sloth of blindness. To disguise the results which are seen and felt, would be the extreme of unmanliness. The writer of the following pages is accustomed to no such concealment. But it is at the option of the chronicler to declare his judgment of what he relates, or simply to relate, and leave all beside to the reader. In a review of facts still recent, and when the channel of a publication is borrowed which is supposed to speak, not with an individual but a collective voice, he may well content himself with the conciser labor. If the facts cannot be denied; if their order cannot be mistaken; if their proportions are so obvious that they can require no correction, or can be corrected by all; he is an honest chronicler who gives them and gives no more. For the rest, whatever any man has publicly done must be publicly told; and not less fitly in his life-time than over his grave.

The *first* division of this period of twenty-one years, as we now survey it, extends from the early part of 1829, when the laws excluding Roman Catholics from office were repealed, to the latter part of 1833, when the publication of the Tracts for the Times was undertaken. At its commencement, George the Fourth was on the British throne, and the Duke of Wellington was his chief minister. The English primates were Howley and Harcourt. Of the Bishops, Mandjerie, Corneivall, Luxmoore, and Huntingford, who all died within four years, were men of a past generation; the exemplary Burgess, Bathurst, for many years the only Whig prelate, Sparke, Law, the pious Ryder, the learned Marsh, the munificent Van Mildert, had also been long in their high office; Carey, Carr, Jenkinson, Robert Gray, and two able Professors of Oxford, Copleston and Lloyd, had been more recently added; and the only members of the present bench who had been consecrated were Murray, Kay, Blomfield, Bethell, Percy, and the two Sumners. The literature of the times was still illustrious with the advancing years of Mackintosh and Coleridge, Scott and Southey, Crabbe and Wordsworth. A crown of glory still shone in the retirement of Wilberforce, Simeon, Rowland Hill, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Gambier, and Hannah More; and Robert Hall still preached, and the pen of Adam Clarke had no rest. The Christian Year, though published but a little before, had glided through several editions. Almost every season ushered in a book from the indefatigable Faber. The Roman Catholic contro-

versy had drawn forth the polemic energy of Philpotts. In the essays of Whately on the Writings of St. Paul, in the Paraphrastic Translation of Shuttleworth, and in the works of Bishop Blomfield and the present Archbishop of Canterbury on parts of the New Testament, much had been given to the cause of sacred literature and of practical religion; while Forster's *Mahometanism Unveiled*, and some of the treatises on prophecy attempted more doubtful results. Returning from studies on the Continent, Pusey had lately published his *View of the Theology of Germany*. Arnold was at Rugby, and the first volume of his *Sermons* had just appeared, while he was breathing a warmer life into the spirit of the higher schools of England. In his Fellowship at Oriel College, he had been succeeded by Newman.

The Protestant Bishops in the United States, at that time, were White, Griswold, Moore, Croes, Bowen, Chase, Brownell, Ravenscroft, and H. U. Onderdonk: three only are left. Five hundred and twenty-seven clergymen were embraced within their jurisdiction. The General Seminary had twenty-three students. Ten domestic missionaries were scattered at points in the West; and Mr. Robertson had embarked in the autumn of 1828 for Greece, the sole laborer abroad. The demand for books of peculiar interest to the Church was not extensive; nor were there many writers; but the *Weller Tracts* and the collection of *Parish Library* publications had placed in circulation some authors of old eminence: Jewel, Scougal, Walton, Burnet, Leslie, Gibson, West, besides several vindications of Episcopacy.

Such a victory as that which was termed the Roman Catholic Emancipation, could not but animate the opponents of the Church of England. It had been won by agitation and the union of discordant forces. What might not the same agitation and union still accomplish! The Roman Catholic peers, the heads of the old houses of Howard, Talbot, Stourton, and Dormer took their seats; and O'Connell and a train of Irish Romanists were soon in the House of Commons. The excellent Robert Grant moved the admission of the Jews. George the Fourth was succeeded, in June, 1830, by his more popular brother. Three days in July expelled the restored House of Bourbon from France, and placed the Orleans family in the Tuilleries. A few weeks more severed Belgium from Holland, and founded another constitutional monarchy. The Wellington ministry retired, nominating, almost as their last act, Dr. Philpotts to the See of Exeter. Indeed, the appointment was not complete, and Earl Grey re-

fused to permit its consummation till the Bishop elect should have resigned the rich benefice of Stanhope. Bishop Lloyd, who died early, had already been succeeded by Dr. Bagot. The new ministry placed in the next two vacant Sees the brother of the prime minister and Dr. Maltby, a learned, rather than strict theologian; and they made Dr. Whately Archbishop of Dublin, and Daniel Wilson Bishop of Calcutta. In 1831 they introduced the Bill for Reform in Parliament. Before it passed, in 1832, Bristol was in the hands of a mob, and the palace of the Bishop was sacked and burned. The revenues of the Irish Church were threatened; its ministers were impoverished; ten of its Bishopsrics were extinguished; the English Bishops were advised to "set their house in order;" and while the cholera was for the first time passing across the land, the minds of thoughtful men were boding changes in the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, which now can hardly seem to have been real perils. Writers like Isaac Taylor were going to the very foundations of things; Lord Henly proposed one well-meant plan of Church reform; Dr. Arnold had another and a bolder; Mr. Riland another; Dr. Burton would have warded off assault by still another; the Romanists exulted; the Dissenters were eager; within the Church, "the party of Hophni and Phinehas" knew not where to lean; but some of the wisest and best of the clergy looked forward, with submissive faith, to a probable day of sacrifices. In the midst of these alarms, in 1832, the *British Magazine* was commenced by Hugh James Rose; and in the same year, Dr. Hampden preached the Bampton Lectures, in ears sharpened by the times.

Before the close of 1833, Scott and Crabbe, Mackintosh and Davy and Robert Hall, Adam Clarke and Hannah More, Wilberforce and Lord Gambier, Magee and Jebb, were all amongst the dead. On this side of the ocean, Ravenscroft and Hobart had both departed in one year; men who left on half the Church the seal of their character. Bishop Croes was also dead, and the founder of Kenyon College and of the Diocese of Ohio had relinquished both in an hour. In 1829, Bishop Meade had been consecrated; in 1830, Bishops Stone and B. T. Onderdonk; in 1831, Bishop Ives; and in 1832, at the General Convention, Bishops Hopkins, Smith, McIlvaine, and Doane. The number of the clergy had grown to five hundred and ninety-three. The Seminary had forty-three students; Mr. Hill had joined Mr. Robertson in Greece. Sounds of controversy were heard; but either they were only local, or else only the echoes of those discussions which had

never been quite silent since the beginning of the century. But there were many signs of growth and promise, in the vigor with which young dioceses were starting up; in the high abilities and zeal of the new Bishops; and in the many and worthy accessions which from all sides were flowing towards the Church and its ministry. A wide flame of religious excitement had burned in many parts of the country; and the Church, warmed but not wasted, became the home of many who longed for a safe and sober piety.

The *second* subdivision of the period before us extends from the autumn of 1833 to the spring of 1836; beginning with the commencement of the Tracts for the Times, and closing at the point at which they became the occasion of public controversy.

They originated with a company of theological associates at Oxford. Of these, the chief were Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew, a nephew of the first Earl of Radnor; Mr. Perceval, a son of Lord Arden, and nephew of the former prime minister Perceval; Messrs. Keble, Newman, and Oakley, Fellows of Oriel College; the first most known for his sweet, sacred poetry; the second for his terse, earnest prose; Mr. Palmer, the learned investigator of Church History; Mr. Isaac Williams, a poet; and Mr. Froude, the most ardent of all. Their consultations on the state of affairs tended towards an association in defense of the Church; but resulted in the suggestion, in connection with Mr. Rose and others, of two great clerical and lay addresses against all hasty change in its discipline or liturgy. Such addresses had, as might be anticipated, the signatures of seven thousand clergymen and nearly a quarter of a million of laymen. But another result was the issue, from Oxford, of various tracts, which were composed and published, however, under no organized supervision. In the first six months, thirty had appeared, of which almost all were original; but afterwards, such were blended with treatises of old writers and extracts from the Fathers. Their avowed object was "the practical revival of doctrines, which, although held by the great divines of our Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members." The subjects which they pressed, in a pure, vigorous, concise style, were, 1. the Apostolical Succession of the ministry, with the power to bind and loose; 2. the essential independence of the Church towards the State; 3. the restoration of ancient discipline; 4. the daily, public prayer; 5. the mischief of changes in the liturgy; 6. the observance of fasting; 7. the value of traditional customs

in the Church, and of tradition as evidence of doctrine; 8. the necessity of communion with the Church; 9. the establishment of a *via media* between Popery and what was called Ultra Protestantism; 10. the preëminent value of the doctrine of the Incarnation, and, as its support, of the Athanasian Creed; 11. Catholicity of doctrine, according to the rule of Vincent of Lerins; 12. Regeneration as conveyed by Baptism; 13. the Lord's Supper, as a literal communication of the body and blood of our Saviour. This was the scope of the Oxford Tracts, for more than two years, and though, from the first, they were viewed by many with a suspicious eye, their circulation rapidly grew, and their writers rejoiced in the gradual progress of their own cherished principles in the minds of a multitude of Christians.

The Tracts formed thus the chief signs of the movement. But at the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Mr. Newman was the Vicar; and it was thronged by academic hearers. His Parochial Sermons, volume after volume, and edition after edition, as well as his History of the Arians, nourished a dissatisfaction with the prevailing views of evangelical doctrine, and a disposition to have recourse, with great reverence, to authorities earlier than the Reformers, and later than the Apostles. They were not unaided by the Remains of Alexander Knox and his Correspondence with Bishop Jebb, which had lately been published by Mr. Forster. As yet, no controversy had been stirred, beyond private circles; and widely as these writings were known, they had scarcely the same large sphere of readers as the books of the same period, from Blunt, Melville, Anderson, Le Bas, and Benson.

They had not crossed the Atlantic. The Episcopal Church in the United States was employed with the incorporation of its own missions into itself, at the Convention of 1835, and exulting in the burial of past differences, anticipated that, having rest, and walking in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, it should be multiplied. Its clergy had increased to the number of seven hundred and sixty; it had added Dr. Otey to its prelates, and had sent forth Dr. Kemper as its first missionary Bishop; and Bishop Chase had resumed his Episcopal functions as the chief pastor of the infant Church of Illinois. No less than eighty students filled the Seminary at New York; individual liberality had much increased its resources; and Dr. Whittingham, Dr. Seabury, Dr. Anthon, and, subsequently, Dr. Hugh Smith, were instructors. There were thirty-three domestic missionaries; the mission for China was begun; and, in 1836, Mr. South-

gate visited the East. Four new Journals had been established within the Church ; and if Wharton and Bedell were numbered amongst its dead, their writings as well as their history remained.

In the mean time, the wishes of the more violent of the English Dissenters had been baffled : the refusal of Lord Stanley to abandon the Irish Church to its opponents led to the partial dissolution of the Whig cabinet, and then to its retirement. When, after a short interval, in which Sir Robert Peel presided, the Reform party were restored in 1835, under Lord Melbourne, the vehemence of the onset was past. Ecclesiastical changes were placed in the hands of a commission, in which the Episcopate was well represented. Religion had already lost the example of Lord Teignmouth, and the tongue and pen of Coleridge. Bishop Robert Gray also was departed ; and though his successor, Dr. Allen, was consecrated to the See of Bristol, it was determined that, on the first subsequent vacancy, that Bishopric, with either St. Asaph or Bangor, should cease, and the collegiate churches of Manchester and Ripon be made Episcopal Sees for the relief of the immense population of Yorkshire and Lancashire.

The *third* subdivision of this period of years began early in 1836, and closed early in 1841, when the Tracts for the Times ceased with their ninetieth number. In the spring of 1836, within little more than six weeks, three eminent Bishops, Van Mildert, Ryder, and Sparke, departed this life ; the vacant places in the Episcopate were filled by the Masters of two great schools, Dr. Butler and Dr. Longley, and by Dr. Otter, the biographer of the traveler Clarke. Bishop Butler died in 1839, and Bishop Otter in 1840, the former being succeeded by Dr. Bowstead, and the latter by Dr. Shuttleworth. In 1837, Bishops Edward Grey, Burgess, and Bathurst were succeeded by Bishops Musgrave, Denison, and Stanley ; and the last of these distinguished himself by the frankness of his avowal of the broadest Churchmanship. The death of King William, in June, made no change in the British policy. Against the measures proposed by the Church Commission, the Deans and Chapters remonstrated ; and the suppression of the see of Sodor and Man was resisted with success. The erection of new churches, the establishment of city and diocesan colleges, the improvement of the Universities, and the enlargement of colonies, much engaged the attention, and drew forth the liberality of the State and of individuals. In 1839, Dean Davys, the former Preceptor of the Queen and author of the *Village Conversations on the Liturgy and Offi-*

ces, succeeded Bishop Marsh of Peterborough; and in 1840, Bishop Jenkinson of St. Davids was succeeded by the able historian of Greece, Dr. Thirlwall. The new Sees of Bombay and Toronto had been also filled by Dr. Carr and Dr. Strachan: Bishop Corrie of Madras, after a short Episcopate, had been succeeded by Dr. George Spencer; Bishop Lipscomb of Jamaica by Dr. Aubrey Spencer; and the good Bishop Stewart of Quebec by Dr. Mountain.

It was in the beginning of the year 1836 that the Church lost Dr. Burton, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; and the government nominated in his place Dr. Hampden, whose Bampton Lectures had been charged with a rationalistic view of Christian doctrines, a view which he elsewhere disclaimed and condemned; and who had also been an advocate of the admission of Dissenters to the Universities. A large majority at Oxford arose in ineffectual resistance; and affixed a censure to his theological name, by refusing to entrust him with certain functions which had been an appendage of his office. All this could not be without warm discussion; the authors of the Tracts were leaders; and it was about the same time, if not in the development of that discussion, that the Tracts were openly assailed. The first shaft was irony; "a Pastoral Epistle from the Pope to some Members of the University of Oxford." Dr. Pusey, who also wrote against Dr. Hampden, replied to this production by an earnest Remonstrance. As early as March, 1836, too, the Christian Observer "most sincerely applied the epithet Popish to a class of publications which had lately sprung up, as, for example, some of the Oxford Tracts and Mr. Newman's Sermons." The Tracts themselves now took the form of more extended treatises; and they gradually advanced to more obnoxious positions. They maintained the weakness of many Protestant arguments against Popery, and would have confined the discussion to such points as the denial of the cup to the laity; the necessity of the intention of the priest; the necessity of Confession; the unwarranted anathemas of Rome; purgatory; the invocation of saints; the worship of images; and throughout, the practice rather than the theory. They granted that all must be received, "if taught by Scripture, as interpreted by tradition." They allowed that the English Church was incomplete and deficient. They professed that it was Reformed, not Protestant. Because "many persons were in doubt whether they were not driven to an alternative of either giving up the primitive Fathers, or embracing Popery," they reprinted Archbishop Usher on Prayers for the Dead. They

lamented the great loss sustained in the omission of earlier usages from the English Liturgy. They published a considerable volume of extracts from the Roman Breviary, and appended imitations adapted to the commemoration of modern saints. They then passed on to the subject of the Romish purgatory; and they defended a system of reserve in communicating religious knowledge. But the Tracts were now but an inconsiderable part of this literature. Mr. Perceval wrote on the Roman Schism, as illustrated from the records of the Catholic Church—Mr. Keble published an elaborate edition and intended correction of Hooker. Mr. Palmer prepared an abridgment of Church history. Mr. Sibthorp compiled a Family Liturgy. The accomplished statesman, Mr. Gladstone, devoted his thoughtful leisure to a treatise on the relations between the Christian Church and State. The sermons of Moberley, the writings of Churton, of Paget, of Gresley, and of the present Bishop Wilberforce, as well as the brilliant work of Maurice, were not wholly of the same school, but partook of its influence. The peculiar tone and doctrine of the Tracts was noticed in many passing strictures, by Archbishop Laurence of Cashel, by Griffith, Biddulph, Jackson, and others; but the general and profound respect for the piety and good works, the talents and tastes of the associated divines, compelled censure to pause, and enlisted indulgence to the utmost. A Library of translations of the Fathers was proposed and partly published, under the supervision of Pusey, Keble, and Newman, assisted, amongst others, by H. W. Wilberforce, Oakley, Frederic Faber, Isaac Williams, and Manning. From the fertile pen of Newman issued Lectures on Romanism and Popular Protestantism, and Lectures on Justification. The treatise of Palmer on the Church of Christ was prepared for the use of students in theology. A collection of poems, chiefly from Keble and Newman, which had appeared in the British Magazine, under the title of *Lyra Apostolica*, attracted much admiration, though the freshness of the Christian Year was not there. Mr. Irons published Parochial Lectures on the Holy Catholic Church. The claims of primitive tradition were boldly urged in a Sermon by Mr. Keble, and afterwards in a sermon at Chichester, by Mr. Manning, to which Dr. Wilson replied. The Remains of Mr. Froude, who had been early snatched away, now appeared, and displayed a picture of hostility to the Reformation and its fruits, which excited much alarm.

Almost in the most peaceful and prosperous days which have yet been witnessed in our communion, the aged patriarch

of its Episcopacy died, in July, 1836, ten days after the consecration of Bishop McCoskry. The phenomena in England had no immediate counterpart in America; but the communication of mental and spiritual influences, whether by contagion or infection, is often as mysterious as the agency of the atmosphere. The Rev. Calvin Colton, who had been a popular writer amongst the Congregationalists, and, on a visit to England, had thrown himself forward as the exponent and defender of revivals of religion, and on his return had animadverted on the institutions of the English Church, was shortly after induced to seek Episcopal orders here, and published, early in 1836, his reasons for the transition. About the same time, appeared a book which, under the title of Protestant Jesuitism, drew much remark in its day; being a severe exposure of points deemed vulnerable in the ecclesiastical and eleemosynary arrangements of many religious bodies. One of the ablest of the weekly journals of the Church entered with characteristic vigor into a similar warfare. The doctrines of a progressive justification, and a certain universal regeneration, were, in 1837, announced and defended; and a short, sharp conflict ensued, the prelude to many. At this time, the *New York Review* was established; and Professor Henry published his compendium of *Christian Antiquities*.

At length, in May, 1838, Dr. Faussett, Magdalen Professor of Divinity at Oxford, preached at St. Mary's, and printed a sermon, entitled the *Revival of Popery*. Newman replied; and the press now teemed with the productions of the school of which he was becoming the centre. He was the editor of *Sutton on the Sacrament*; of *Andrews' Devotions*; of the *Hymns of the Church*, from the *Breviary*; and he obtained the control of the *British Critic*, the highest of the theological journals. Mr. Williams printed his *Cathedral*, and *Thoughts in Past Years*; Mr. Oakley his *Sermons*. Mr. Frederic Faber edited *Laud's Devotions*, and published various tracts, amongst others, "the Reformation, and the duty of keeping to its principles." Mr. Maitland wrote against the prevailing depreciation of the Dark Ages. Mr. Sewell became Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford, made the *Quarterly Review* his organ, and prepared his work on *Christian Morals*. Mr. Keble versified the *Psalter*. An ecclesiastical *Almanac* appeared, and *Plain Sermons*, by contributors to the *Tracts*, were printed for popular circulation. While Dr. Hook in vain issued his *Call to Union*, strong assailants of the *Tracts* appeared in succession; Shuttleworth, Professor Powell, Archdeacon Browne, a layman in *Essays on the Church*, Holden,

the veteran Faber, Bickersteth, Townsend, Hampden, O'Brien, and Isaac Taylor. They were even condemned as early as 1838, in a Charge of the present Primate, who was then Bishop of Chester; they were vehemently condemned by Bishop Wilson of Calcutta. Dr. Pusey published in defense his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford; and extracts were selected from the writers of the Tracts, as showing "that to oppose Ultra Protestantism is not to favor Popery;" and Dodsworth contended that Romanism could be "successfully opposed only on Catholic Principles." The Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Bagot, was now compelled to pronounce an opinion; and in a Charge in 1838, he blended commendation with anxiety; declaring that he had more fears for the disciples than for the teachers. More decidedly the mild and learned Bishop Kay of Lincoln, and Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, disclaimed their doctrine of tradition; and Bishop Philpotts and the present Bishop Wilberforce, then Archdeacon of Surrey, condemned their system of reserve in teaching, which was also assailed by Mr. Bird and Mr. Le Mesurier. The fear for the disciples felt by Bishop Bagot, was indeed more than intimidated by the writers themselves, who, having abandoned so many of the old grounds of Protestant strength, the simple appeal to the Scriptures, the independence of national churches, the utter absence of all proof of the Papal authority and infallibility, and the testimony of the prophecies of the New Testament as they had been used by the Reformers, and by Warburton, Hurd, and Newton, now strove rather to reconcile some of their adherents to communion with the English Church, even when their hearts were alienated from its spirit, and pined for another ritual. The taste for ancient ceremonies could be but ill satisfied; but they favored such practices as bowing to the altar and kneeling towards the East, and multiplying crosses, with all which could betoken reverence for holy places and holy seasons. *Geraldine, a Tale of Conscience*, published in 1837, was one of the first tokens of the interest of the Church of Rome in this controversy. The journals of that church affected to extend a half pitying, half welcoming hand to the Oxford scholars. Dr. Wiseman, the Vicar of the Pope, long known as the ablest and most accomplished divine of the Roman communion in England, gave all his sympathy, and seemed to hold his breath with interest, while Mr. Spencer, a convert of long standing, eminent only for his noble birth and his fanaticism, urged his associates to every austerity and prayer for the conversion of his native land.

In 1837, appeared the work of Bishop Hopkins on the

Church of Rome. That year was marked also by the trial and acquittal of Bishop Smith, and by the visit and ordination of Wolff the missionary. In the Pastoral letter of 1838, the Bishops deplored the want of charity and the angry spirit of the religious Journals. The Tracts for the Times had now been republished in New York; and their doctrine of Justification found an energetic opponent in Bishop McIlvaine, whose Charge in 1839, was dedicated to that holy truth, and who afterwards expanded his special examination of the Oxford Divinity into a large volume. To this volume, or to some of its parts, the editor of the Churchman gave the title of "the Romance of Gambier." Bishop McIlvaine on this addressed Bishop Onderdonk of New York, as in some measure responsible for the contents of a paper which was his avowed organ; a responsibility which was disclaimed in the reply: and a correspondence of transient interest ensued. The clergy had now become a thousand and fifty-two; but the students of the Seminary were only seventy, and the Candidates for Orders were fewer than six years before. In Greece, in Africa, on the border of China, at Constantinople, where Dr. Robertson and Mr. Southgate were now associated, and in the island of Crete, the foreign missions were supported with much unanimity and without any serious diminution of resources. The Domestic Missionaries were nearly a hundred. Bishop Stone died in 1838; Bishop Bowen in 1839; Dr. Polk was consecrated a Missionary Bishop in 1838; the diocese of New York was divided in that year, and in 1839, Dr. DeLancey became Bishop of the Western portion; in 1840 Dr. Gadsden, of South Carolina, and Dr. Whittingham of Maryland; and in February, 1841, Dr. Elliot of Georgia.

The termination of the Tracts for the Times, which had latterly appeared at long intervals, came upon the Church in both countries with the shock of an explosion. Early in 1841, the ninetieth number was laid upon the tables of the Oxford Tutors and Heads of Colleges. It was an elaborate attempt to demonstrate that the collective doctrines of the Church of Rome might be substantially held by one who had subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Four eminent tutors, of whom one was Dr. Tait, the present Dean of Carlisle, at once requested the name of the writer. The Heads of Houses condemned the doctrine of the Tract; Mr. Newman avowed the authorship; Bishop Bagot advised that the series should cease; the writers acquiesced; and the work of the Tracts for the Times was complete.

The *fourth* subdivision of this period extends from the
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cessation of these Tracts, in March, 1841, to the admission of Mr. Newman, in October, 1845, into the Papal communion.

It was the opinion of the Roman Catholic organs, that already he had "unconsciously approached much nearer to Catholicism than he chose to acknowledge." Both Dr. Pusey and Mr. Ward, however, wrote pamphlets in defense of the final, fatal Tract; it received a certain support from Mr. Perceval and Dr. Hook; the dissent of Mr. Palmer was gentle and partial; that of Mr. Sewell was more decided, as his previous approbation had been stronger; and when official censure was pronounced, men like these proposed a public declaration of the benefits which had flowed from the publications of Mr. Newman and his associates; but they were restrained by counsel from the highest authority. The removal of Mr. Ward from his tutorship; the complaint of Mr. Newman that the attendance of students at his sermons was hindered by the Heads of Houses; the rejection of a curate of Mr. Keble, by the Bishop of Winchester, when he applied for Priests' Orders; and the condemnation, more or less broad, of the last Tract, and of much which preceded, by the successive charges of Bishops Maltby, Philpotts, Bowstead, Musgrave, Sumner of Winchester, Blomfield, Monk, Copleston, and Pepys, the successor of Carr at Worcester, all were indications, sufficiently clear, of the mind of the Church of England. Dr. Arnold was nominated by the government to the chair of Modern History at Oxford. The British Critic now passed from the hands of Newman, though it had his approbation; and an article, in July, 1841, distinctly denouncing the Reformation and the Reformers, was the prelude to others which evinced that it was henceforth the organ of men who, at the utmost, desired only to excuse themselves for remaining in the communion in which they had been educated. A Manual of Prayers for Unity with the Church abroad was printed at Oxford; and amongst other books appeared Bowden's commendatory Life of Gregory the Seventh, and the work of Manning, now Archdeacon of Chichester, on the Unity of the Church; while far other views were opened by Archbishop Whateley, in his Kingdom of Christ, and much later by Archdeacon Hare, in his Means of Unity.

The first of many clerical secessions to the Church of Rome, was that of Mr. Sibthorpe, a man of family, and of such a spirit in past times, that under his ministry Dr. Milnor is related to have spent, in 1830, "one of his most comfortable and heavenly Sabbaths." From the University pulpit, in July, 1841, he extolled "the much calumniated Queen Mary;"

and in October he was suddenly received into the Papal communion at Oscott. The next was Mr. Wackerbarth of Cambridge, who, like Mr. Sibthorpe, published a pamphlet, and chose to call his own, "*Tuba Concordiæ*," as his parting summons. Some who remained could not repress their feelings, when the English sovereign united with the King of Prussia, in establishing a Protestant Episcopate at Jerusalem. It had the deep denunciation of Mr. Newman; and Mr. William Palmer of Magdalen College, a gentleman in Deacon's Orders, bearing the same name with the more eminent writer, threw himself forward with the avowal of his intention to anathematize the Church of England whenever it should declare itself Protestant. For the term Ultra-Protestant, as the mark of hostility, had now yielded to that of Protestant itself.

At the end of 1841, appeared the large and elaborate work of Mr. Goode, on the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, "against the dangerous errors of the authors of the Tracts for the Times, and the Romanists." It might have been expected that those members of the University of Oxford who had no part in the past movement would desire an occasion for withdrawing the name of their academic mother from such an association. The occasion, singularly enough, was given by the election of a Professor of Poetry. Mr. Keble had given to that honor a peculiar brilliancy; and on his retirement, the next poet of the same school, though far between, was Mr. Isaac Williams, the reputed author of the Tract on Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge. He was nominated; and his competitor, Mr. Garbett of Brazenose College, had only the general claims of talents and scholarship, and was unknown as a poet; but on a canvass of the whole Convocation, Mr. Garbett was sustained by two-thirds, and held the Professorship, while Mr. Williams had the honors of his best volume, the Baptistry. Just then, the Melbourne ministry had given place to Sir Robert Peel; but so far was the Conservative government from encouraging the censured party, that on the death of Bishop Shuttleworth, in January, 1842, they immediately nominated, as his successor, Dr. Gilbert, who, as Principal of Brazenose College, had led the opposition to Mr. Williams; and soon after, they raised Dr. O'Brien, the foremost adversary of the Tracts in Ireland, to the See of Ossory. The Church had lost no inward vigor. In 1841, she sent Bishop Selwyn to New Zealand; and in 1842, five colonial Bishops knelt together for consecration in Westminster Abbey. Nor would Oxford swerve from her past line; for not even the Heads of Houses

could obtain, in June, 1842, a reversal of the censure which hung over Dr. Hampden. In that month, the sudden death of Arnold deprived her of one of her brightest jewels.

The principle so decidedly rejected in England found in America able advocates, though few. A feeble letter had been addressed, early in 1841, by Dr. Kenrick, titular Bishop of Arath, to the Protestant Bishops, inviting their return to the mother of Churches; and replies, various, but alike decisive, not to say derisive, had been returned by Bishops Chase, Doane, and Whittingham. The sermon of Bishop Meade, at the consecration of Bishop Elliot, was published, with a copious appendix, directed against the theology now termed Tractarian. At the Virginia Convention, this protest was echoed, and the last conventional speech of Bishop Moore was a cordial response. Bishop Brownell repudiated all change: Bishop DeLancey had no fears: Bishop Doane accepted an invitation to preach at the consecration of the parish church of Dr. Hook at Leeds, and, having seen for himself, withdrew his recommendation of the British Critic, but defended the integrity of Pusey, Keble, and Newman. But the Plain Sermons were republished, in June, 1841, with the recommendation of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk; uneasiness was felt at the rebaptism of certain students of the Seminary, by trine immersion in the river Hudson; a writer in the columns of the Churchman, with the signature of Catholicus, advanced within the very camp of Rome; the editor upheld the position of the ninetieth tract; and his Bishop, in the Convention of Sept., 1841, gave to the collection of Tracts, what, with the exception, we believe, of some words from Bishop Strachan of Toronto, was the only public recommendation of their general contents that ever proceeded from a Protestant prelate. Their defense was undertaken, too, by a layman, Mr. Vanburgh Livingston, against Bishop McIlvaine; but Mr. Livingston was soon after reconciled to the Church of Rome. At the General Convention, in October, 1841, no discussion was heard; but the Pastoral Letter of Bishop Griswold was a lucid exposition of the great Protestant doctrine of Justification. That venerable man, in his own sphere, did not hesitate to speak of "the Puseyites, or low Papists," and very emphatically rebuked some innovations which had been introduced into the chancels of two or three churches; he received the Nestorian Bishop, Mar Yohanna, with fraternal courtesy and communion; and his last writings were his *Essays on the Reformation*.

Bishop Lee of Delaware was consecrated at the Conven-

tion of 1841; and in 1842, Dr. Johns and Dr. Eastburn became Assistant Bishops in Virginia and Massachusetts. The clergy were now a thousand and fifty; but the number of candidates had diminished. Three clergymen, Messrs: Connelly, Bayley, and Haskins, had seceded to the Romish obedience. A treatise against Lay Baptism, by Professor Ogilby; the Comprehensive Church of Mr. Vail; the Primitive Church of Mr. Chapin; the treatise of Mr. Watson, entitled, "Who are Christ's Ministers?" the Examination of the Ninetieth Tract, by Dr. Beasley; and the republications of Churton's Early English Church, of Palmer on the Church, and of Newman's Sermons, were features of this period; the True Catholic and the Protestant Churchman were begun. In England, the year 1842 gave birth to a host of controversial publications. Mr. Faber, the elder, followed Pascal in a series of Provincial Letters; a mild, and rather apologetic Charge of Bishop Bagot, drew from Mr. Goode a pointed remonstrance; and the Letter of Dr. Pusey to the Archbishop of Canterbury elicited several replies.

The year 1843 was eventful. Both Mr. Perceval and Mr. Palmer were constrained to publish accounts of the origin of the Tracts, and to disavow their later consequences. A sermon on the Eucharist, preached in April by Dr. Pusey, before the University, taught, both copiously and darkly, a doctrine so little to be distinguished from that which the Reformers rejected, that he was suspended from preaching for two years by the Vice-Chancellor; and a remonstrance from many friends was unavailing. His assistant lecturer in Hebrew, Mr. Seager, together with Messrs. Lockhart and King of Exeter College, and Mr. Parsons, now seceded to Rome; and Mr. Newman resigned the Vicarage of St. Mary, and retired to the neighboring hamlet of Littlemore, to a kind of monastic seclusion. At this time appeared the translation of Moehler's Symbolism. Some rubrical questions, where the letter and the usage seemed at variance, were agitated by clergymen in various quarters, who sought to revive the literal observance. In the dioceses of London and Exeter, the Bishops felt themselves obliged to decide for the letter, and Bishop Philpotts even recommended the practice of preaching in the surplice; but the popular voice was strong, and prevailed. Bishop Bowstead died in October, 1843, and was succeeded by Dr. Lonsdale, principal of King's College, London. Thousands of clergymen signed a declaration of firm adherence to the principles of the Reformation. On the other side, the British Critic was relinquished by

its editor and his associates, and men looked anxiously forward.

The beginning of that year was marked in the United States by the challenge of Bishop Hopkins to Bishop Kenrick, offering a public debate. Then followed the sudden removal of Bishop Griswold, and the succession of Dr. Henshaw to the Episcopate in Rhode Island. At the usual ordination, in July, of candidates from the Seminary at New York, when the call was made on such as might know any impediment, to come forth in the name of God and show it, two Rectors of that city, Dr. Hugh Smith and Dr. Anthon, stood forth and objected to the ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey. It appeared that Mr. Carey, a very young man, had declared himself essentially a believer in the decisions of the Council of Trent, and had declined justifying the English Reformation; that the objections had been previously made, and had been waived by a committee of respectable clergymen, and that the Bishop had determined to proceed. An immense agitation followed throughout the land; and though Mr. Carey, after officiating for a few months as assistant to Dr. Seabury, at his Church of the Annunciation, was compelled by consumption to seek a warmer climate, and died at sea, his name was coupled with the history of a crisis which could not be forgotten. The principle on which his ordination was defended had its chief upholder in Dr. Seabury, then the editor of the *Churchman*, who disavowed "the Lutheran heresy of justification by faith;" but, amongst editors, he stood almost alone. At the Diocesan Convention, an attempt to reopen the subject was sustained by the laity, but rejected by the clergy. The ordination was openly arraigned by Bishops Chase, Meade, Hopkins, and McIlvaine, and by the Convention of Ohio. In this year the *Episcopal Protestant* appeared at Charleston; the *Lenten Fast*, and the *Double Witness of the Church*, were published by Dr. Kip; Bishop Whittingham delivered a strong Charge on "the Body of Christ;" and an ungenerous book of Mr. Barnes, on "the position of the Evangelical Body in the Episcopal Church," was answered by Dr. Tyng and Mr. Ridgely.

Uneasiness and dissension marked the year 1845 in England, betokening a condition which could not last. From his solitude Mr. Newman sent forth sermons bearing on subjects of the day, and almost deifying the Virgin; legendary lives of the English Saints; and a solemn retraction of his former invectives against the Papacy. A strong lay address, headed by Lord Ashley, went up to the authorities at Oxford, in-

voking their resistance to Romish errors. For his "Ideal of a Christian Church," Mr. Ward was suspended by Bishop Blomfield. Mr. Sewell gave his public testimony against Popery. Mr. Sibthorpe returned with wavering steps to the altars of his country. Mr. Maskell published the Liturgy of the Ancient English Church. Mr. Marriott in vain attempted to urge an accusation of heresy against Mr. Garbett for questioning the schismatical character of all unauthorized teaching. Mr. McMullen, censured by Dr. Hampden as Professor, was unsuccessful in a claim for legal redress. An attempt to defeat the election of a Vice-Chancellor, who had concurred in the sentence on Dr. Pusey, was triumphantly repelled. Dr. Hook thought it time to disclaim association with Mr. Ward and his associates. In Scotland, Sir William Dunbar was engaged in a contest with Bishop Skinner, involving the rights of Scottish clergymen of the English establishment. In Devonshire, Mr. Shore was engaged in a contest with Bishop Philpotts, involving the power of a clergyman to become a dissenter, and still officiate by virtue of his Orders, without ecclesiastical discipline. At law, Sir William Dunbar was successful, but Mr. Shore failed.

In the United States, while the commencement of 1844 witnessed the controversy between Dr. Wainwright and Dr. Potts, on the possibility of a Church without a Bishop, and while a young gentleman at the Seminary, and another of the lately graduated class, were reported as having entered the Romish communion, Bishop B. T. Onderdonk challenged his brethren, by whom his conduct in the ordination of Mr. Carey had been arraigned, to present him for unfaithfulness. Four letters of Bishop Hopkins on the Novelties that disturb our Peace, were directed against the denial of the validity of lay baptism; against the refusal of the title of Churches to all non-episcopal communions; against what was called the Sacramental Theology; and against the idea that the doctrines of the Protestant Episcopal Church and those of the Council of Trent can be reconciled. A design of Bishop Hopkins to deliver lectures on Romanism at Philadelphia was checked by the opposition of Bishop H. U. Onderdonk. Rumors of novel and superstitious practices at the Seminary, led to an investigation, and a large meeting of the Trustees at length, by a majority of one, voted that its condition had never been more healthful. A visitation of the Bishops, after the General Convention, had no considerable result, and a few weeks later, several of its students withdrew, or were dismissed, charged with a combination for the introduction of questionable

views or practices leaning towards Popery. But darker events had come. The collective clergy of the diocese of Pennsylvania complained of the habitual intemperance of their Bishop, with other grossness of conduct; and he resigned his Charge, and submitted to an indefinite suspension from his office, at the General Convention. Almost immediately, charges of immorality and impurity were presented against Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, and the inquiry issued in his conviction and indefinite suspension. The Convention, which was held between these two humiliating scenes, felt all the gloom of the one, while the other cast its shadow before. There were now twelve hundred and forty clergymen, and the Candidates for Orders had increased in three years by one fourth, and the Confirmations, by one third. Bishops Chase of New Hampshire, Cobbs of Alabama, and Hawks of Missouri, received consecration during the Convention, and a few days after its close, the Missionary Bishops, Freeman for the Southwest, Boone for China, and Southgate for Turkey. A complicated controversy between Bishop Southgate and the Congregationalist missionaries was still open. His visit to the Syrian Churches, Dr. Carmichael's work on the Early Fathers, the sermons of Bishop Ives on the Apostles' Doctrine and Fellowship, Dr. Stone's *Mysteries Opened*; and the republication of the allegorical stories of Adams and others, and that of the writings of Massingberd, Sewell, and others, which appeared in a uniform style, from a press in New Jersey, were amongst the additions of this year to our libraries.

An unsuccessful effort was made at the General Convention of 1844, to obtain a condemnation of the doctrine of the Oxford Tracts; but the House of Delegates disclaimed jurisdiction over the question. All tendencies towards the alleged doctrines were disavowed on every side; and Dr. Forbes, who represented the diocese of New York, solemnly affirmed that he knew not a single clergyman who could justly be accused of Romanizing error. The Pastoral Letter was thoroughly Protestant; but so confident was the conviction in New York of the absence of all danger, that Dr. Horatio Potter, in a published Sermon on Religious Tendencies, regarded its warnings as quite needless. In the spring of 1845 died Dr. Milnor; and soon after Dr. Alonzo Potter was called to preside over the diocese of Pennsylvania. The Episcopal Observer was established at Boston; and Dr. Coit's *Puritanism*, Dr. Jarvis' *Chronological Introduction*, Dr. Butler on the Common Prayer, and Dr. Williams' *Hymns of Holy Church*, appeared about the same period.

In the meanwhile, a large petition from Exeter, asked of Parliament, in the beginning of 1845, a revision of the rubrics which the Bishop had endeavored to enforce. Bishop Philpotts, satisfied that he had proceeded too far, had withdrawn his order for preaching in the surplice, while Archbishop Howley interposed counsels of characteristic moderation. The Convocation of Oxford condemned the book of Mr. Ward, and deprived him of his degrees; and Bishop Blomfield suspended Mr. Oakeley. Both had recourse to the law; but neither found relief. The Camden Society at Cambridge, had interwoven a mediæval taste, not to say a mediæval superstition, with its archæological and antiquarian pursuits; and was now abandoned by its Episcopal patrons. A condemnation of the ninetieth Tract, by Convocation, was proposed at Oxford; but the interposition of some academic authority prevented a decision. The usual grant to the Seminary at Maynooth was resisted on all sides, but was still carried. Dr. Turton, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, an antagonist of Dr. Wiseman, succeeded to the see of Ely. While Mr. Ryder, son of the late Bishop, published a pamphlet in defense of the position of Messrs. Ward and Oakeley, the Rev. Messrs. Bernard Smith, Campbell Smith, Montgomery, Talbot, Copes, and Meyrick, an associate of Mr. Newman, took the final step of secession, with several laymen of Oxford; and at length, in September, 1845, Mr. Ward also seceded; and immediately after, Mr. Newman, having, as his friends now declared, been for four years a Romanist at heart, received baptism and confirmation in the Roman communion, attended in his departure by Messrs. Oakeley, Staunton, Bowles, Dalgairus, St. John, and several of his own parishioners.

The *fifth* subdivision extends from the secession of Mr. Newman, in the autumn of 1845, to the establishment of the Roman hierarchy, in the autumn of 1850, with "that illustrious Prince of the Church," Cardinal Wiseman, at its pinnacle. Encouraged by the accomplishment of their past predictions, Dr. Wiseman and his friends besought the Bishops of France to pray for the conversion of England. At this point, Bishop Bagot, under whose gentle authority the whole career of Mr. Newman had been fulfilled, accepted translation to the See of Bath and Wells; and in his stead came to Oxford, Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, who had been engaged in the education of the Queen; the devout and eloquent son of a devout and eloquent father. In June, 1846, the Peel ministry yielded to Lord John Russel. The preservation of the See of St. Asaph was effected; and on the death of Bishop Carey, he

was succeeded by Dr. Short, the historian of the Church of England. Notwithstanding the protest of Bishop Philpotts, Mr. Gobat was consecrated, on the nomination of the King of Prussia, as successor of Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem.

An essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine was the defense offered by Mr. Newman. Neither the Letters published by Dr. Pusey, on the occasion, nor the *Lyra Innocentium*, which feebly sounded from the hands of Mr. Keble, betokened any cordial conviction of guilt in such a transition. The chief claim of the English Church seemed to be that they were born in her; that she was still their mother; a poetic preference which went as far as this:

"God chooses for thee: seal his choice,
Nor from thy mother's shadow stray;
For, sure thine holy mother's shade
Rests yet upon thine ancient home:
No voice from heaven hath clearly said,
'Let us depart;' then fear to roam."

But Mr. Newman was speedily followed by Messrs. Christie and Chanter, of Oriel College, Mr. Brown, Mr. Frederick Faber, several of whose Tracts had been republished by the Episcopal Tract Society at New York, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Jephson, curate of Dr. Hook, Mr. Wells, Mr. Morris, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Formby, the traveler, whose book had appeared a year or two before at Flemington, Mr. Penny, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Burder, Mr. Northcote, Mr. Milner, Mr. Gordon, Mr. McMullen, Mr. Walker, Mr. Laing, Mr. Horne, Mr. Crusby, Mr. New, and Mr. Ryder, who, besides his own parentage, was the son-in-law of the biographer of Martyn, and the brother-in-law of Bishop Wilberforce. All these were clergymen and scholars; and several private gentlemen of Oxford, London, and Leeds, joined in the train. It was stated that in Ireland, many Papists became Protestants; but even had the numbers been equal, the weight would have been by no means balanced. Some expressions of the new ministry, and some courtesy of the late ministry towards the Romish Bishops, in Ireland, encouraged their adherents to devise plans for future development in England; while the government vainly hoped, under the new era of Pius the Ninth, an acquiescence of Rome in a large scheme of Irish Colleges, in which Papists and Protestants, without prejudice to their principles, might be educated together. Four colonial prelates were consecrated in June, 1847; and when, in December, the aged Archbishop Harcourt died, Bishop Musgrave was advanced to the Northern Primacy. The new See of Manchester had just

been committed to Dr. Lee, a former assistant of Arnold. But the nomination of Dr. Hampden, as the successor of Bishop Musgrave, at Hereford, was the signal for a loud and vehement resistance. The Dean, Dr. Merewether, refused his concurrence: even half of the Bishops signed a letter of remonstrance, on account of the general apprehension; at the confirmation of Dr. Hampden, three clergymen openly objected; there were legal proceedings; but the consecration was not prevented. Before it occurred, however, Archbishop Howley died; and Bishop Sumner, of Chester, succeeding to the vacant seat, was himself succeeded by Dr. Graham.

Towards the end of 1845, a pastoral letter of Bishop Eastburn openly censured the arrangements in the Church of the Advent, at Boston, as an assimilation to Romish practice. The Rector, Dr. William Croswell, published a reply; and the parish, retaining its arrangements, remained without Episcopal visitation. A controversy in Maryland, between the Rector at Hagerstown, and some of his parishioners, who formed a new congregation; another between the Bishop and Mr. Trapnell, as to the right of administering the Lord's Supper at visitations; another in Ohio, between the parishioners at Ashtabula and their Bishop; and in Rhode Island, the refusal of Mr. Cooke to unite in the ordination of Mr. Mulchahey, with the consequent pamphlets; all were local outbursts of a common agitation. The great diocese of New York remained virtually without a head. An attempt to assert a right of all the Churches in the city to a portion in the revenues of Trinity Church, was fruitless. Several city Rectors, in different dioceses, strove to establish the daily service in their congregations; and, here and there, crosses were made conspicuous; the minister kneeled with his face to the communion table, and his back to the people; and strange and antique names were affixed to things new and old in the chancel. On the appearance of Dr. Wainwright's *Family Prayers*, in 1846, the editor of the *Churchman* commended the volume as inserting prayers for the dead; an applause and an intimation which were shaken off by the author. Mr. Hewitt, a young clergyman, who had been re-baptized but a year or two before, now passed into the Roman Church; and, as he was the son of an eminent Congregationalist divine, and very similar instances had recently been seen in two candidates for Orders, his secession excited pain and comment. Next, Bishop Hopkins was compelled to censure Mr. Hoit, who, step by step, had been advancing towards the same consummation, which soon followed the censure. The Rev.

Messrs. Major and Wadhams, also seceded. A protracted discussion followed the stand taken by Bishop Southgate, on the side of the Armenian patriarch, against the dissenters from his communion. The publications of the Episcopal Sunday School Union were severely criticised, especially in two Letters by Bishop Meade; while Bishop McIlvaine refused to consecrate any Church with an altar, and Bishop Lee asserted the right and duty of private judgment. Bennett on the Eucharist, on the Errors of Romanism, and on the Common Prayer, was introduced to American readers. The tales of the authoress of Amy Herbert, were in many hands. Hawkstone ran rapidly through several editions, in both countries. Our own press produced Mr. Adams' Fewell; and the work of Dr. Stone on the Church Universal. But Mr. Ira Warren, a former editor of the Episcopal Observer, appeared, in a book called the Cause and Cure of Puseyism, to renounce the defense of Episcopacy in despair. A little volume of Prayers, which was issued at St. Louis, from "a Priest in the Catholic Church," was an evident copy of Romish devotion and practice.

The General Convention of 1847, was much engaged with the suggestion of remedies for the peculiar position of the Diocese of New York, of which Dr. Forbes was, in its debates, the leading representative. It appeared that the number of the clergy was fourteen hundred and thirty-eight, but the candidates for Orders were fewer than at any time for twelve years, and had been diminished by one-fourth, since the preceding Convention. On behalf of the Trustees of the Seminary, Dr. Forbes reported the number of students as fifty-nine. The mission of Bishop Southgate was sustained against all opposition; but the domestic missionaries had been very ill paid, and the treasury was much embarrassed. During the session, the Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Knowledge had its origin; and a brotherhood was formed, of a very different character and design. It took the title of the Holy Cross, and was under the presidency of Bishop Ives. "Personal holiness, the sacramental system and Catholic Unity," were its objects. One class of the members were to remain always unmarried; and its operations were secret. Its principal seat was at a place called Valle Crucis, a kind of semi-monastic institution in North Carolina. Similar purposes, though without justice, had been attributed to the missionary school at Nashotah. Immediately after the Convention, followed the consecration of Bishop Burgess of Maine. In November, 1847, it was announced that the Rev. Professor

Allen of the University of Pennsylvania, had passed over to the Roman Catholic Church ; and soon after, that two students of the Seminary had followed the same path. The Ecclesiological Society of New York was organized in March, 1848, with Dr. Forbes as its President, and Mr. Preston as its Recording Secretary ; and it issued a periodical publication. The Society for Promoting Evangelical Knowledge was publicly censured by Bishops Otey and DeLancey. A pastoral letter of Mr. Southard of Calvary Church, New York, urging a ritual and disciplinary system of extreme exactness, was visited with much reproach and satire.

The shock of successive revolutions, in 1848, convulsed all Europe. Ireland was a volcano, whose force the recent famine had exhausted. The Romish prelates of that unhappy land were besought, by the highest of the Roman Catholics in England, to suppress the system of rebellion and assassination. In this year, the scheme of an English hierarchy, with an Archbishop of Westminster, was suggested, but lost from public view amidst that torrent of tumult, of which, at length, one billow drove the Pope himself from his temporal dominions. Against the ministerial part in the system of national education, a strong agitation was stirred by Mr. Denison, brother of the Bishop of Salisbury, and Examining Chaplain of Bishop Bagot. Mr. Allies, Examining Chaplain to Bishop Blomfield, with Mr. Marriott, of Oriel College, and two other clergymen, having visited the continent, and very much conformed to Popish usages where they found them, alarmed the public by the narrative ; while Mr. Algar and Mr. Sconce of Oxford, and Mr. Mackinnon of Cambridge, actually became Romanists. But Mr. Baptist W. Noel withdrew also, to the Baptist ; and Mr. Shore, thrown into prison for costs, excited a popular sentiment against Bishop Philpotts, which was aggravated when he patronized the Sisters of Mercy at Plymouth, and when he refused institution to Mr. Gorham for his doctrine on baptism. In his Charge of 1848, he strongly resisted a supposed design of limiting the tests of heresy to the Articles, and called on those of the clergy who held the doctrine of the non-conformists, to imitate the honesty of their predecessors and depart. On the same occasion, his Examining Chaplain, Mr. Maskell, preached a doctrine, little to be distinguished from that of the seven sacraments. The baptismal question grew rapidly in interest. Archbishop Musgrave declared the freedom of the clergy to believe with Mr. Gorham. A large volume was published by Mr. Goode on the same side, which was answered by Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce,

who had recently become noted by his book on the Incarnation. Mr. Goode found, too, an American antagonist in Bishop Whittingham.

In a Pastoral Letter, Bishop Ives, with great solemnity, urged on his clergy some neglected functions of their office; and his words pointed to Confession and Absolution. A pamphlet containing citations from English divines, apparently sanctioning these practices, appeared early in 1849, under his editorship. The citations were charged with dishonesty in a pamphlet attributed to Dr. Seabury. Then, the Bishop disclaimed responsibility for the citations, which had been prepared by Mr. McLeod, a clergyman of his diocese, under his counsel, but not under his eye; but he still recommended the practices with the same solemnity. The Convention of North Carolina was alarmed; their Bishop withdrew all that was new or peculiar in his suggestions; the order of the Holy Cross was dissolved; but when he had retired to Valle Crucis, he withdrew this withdrawal, condemned his weakness, and asserted that he retracted nothing of his former teaching. He was answered by Mr. Hanson, Dr. Jarvis, and Dr. Mason, and in pamphlets which were supposed to be from Dr. Hawks, Mr. Badger, and Mr. Yerger. Still later, however, in answer to the queries of a friend, he disavowed almost all meaning in his former writings beyond the common direction that those who feel the need, should apply to their ministers for godly counsel. Dr. Upfold, in the meanwhile, was elected to the Episcopate in Indiana; and Dr. Green in Mississippi; and Bishop Southgate resigned his missionary charge, and returned to America. The "Calendar" newspaper, in March, 1849, directly charged the influence of Popish agencies in the vicinity of the Seminary. Mr. Howland, the Rector of a Church in its vicinity, replied, justifying the position of clergymen who might defend some of the Romish doctrines and wish to reform the Reformation. Mr. Parks published his *First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ*, in 1849; and Mr. Craik his *Essay on the Divine Life*, and Dr. Butler his *Old Truths and New Errors*, not long after; but a book of a very different character, a novel at once immoral and Popish, called the *Lady Alice*, was ascribed to Mr. Huntington, the assistant of Mr. Howland. This could not last; and while, towards the end of 1849, Mr. Shimeall returned to the Presbyterian communion, Dr. Forbes, Mr. Preston, Mr. McLeod, and Mr. Huntington, all avowed their allegiance to the Church of Rome. The Rev. Mr. Jones, who had been a Professor at Nashotah, and the Rev. Mr. Roberts, carried with them, in the same transition, the suspicion of previous disguise. Bish-

op Brownell, addressing his Convention, lamented and condemned the devices of Romanists and Romanizers; and his view was sustained by almost the whole of the Convention. Bishop Smith declared that the Church had been thrown back half a century. The controversy in Maryland, involving the right of the Bishop to order the services at his visitations, having been renewed by Dr. Johns, was carried up to the General Convention of 1850, where the right to administer the Lord's Supper was canonically settled, and the rest was relinquished. The number of the clergy was now fifteen hundred and sixty-seven. The students at the Seminary were but forty-six. By the aid of legacies, the domestic missionaries at length received in time, their allotted remuneration. Mr. Payne was nominated as Missionary Bishop at Cape Palmas; and, all theoretical objections being abrogated by necessity, power was given to the diocese of New York to elect a provisional head.

In England, while the Rev. Messrs. Steward and Bittleston conformed, in 1849, to Rome, Mr. Connelly sought restoration. Bishops Stanley and Copleston died, and were succeeded by Dr. Hinds and Dr. Ollivant. The case of Mr. Gorham went to the Privy Council, and was decided, in effect, by their judicial committee, at the head of which were Lord Langdale and Lord Campbell, and under the advice of the two primates. Their decision established the right of Mr. Gorham to institution. Bishop Philpotts refused to execute the act, or to hold communion with any by whom it should be executed, and carried his resistance through all the three highest courts of law; and at last declared that he should not hold himself bound by the decision in a similar instance, and called on the parishioners of Mr. Gorham to watch his instructions, and, if it were needful, report his unfaithfulness. Bishop Bagot published a formal statement of his adherence to a doctrine which he deemed to be in peril; and Mr. Denison made a public protest. Bishop Blomfield, who, though associated with the Committee, had not concurred in the decision, introduced, but without success, a bill for changing the final court of appeal in ecclesiastical questions. The Superior of the Sisters of Mercy refused the accustomed contribution of Lord Campbell, as coming from a patron of heresy. Two or three Church Unions professed that an article of the Creed had been sacrificed. The revival of the action of Convocations was loudly demanded, and quietly repelled. Resolutions were adopted by three Archdeacons, Manning, Wilberforce, and Thorp, two Regius Professors of Hebrew, Mill and Pusey, with Messrs. Keble, Dodsworth, Bennett, and H. W. Wil-

berforce, and three laymen, that if the Church should not in some manner authoritatively disavow the permission to hold the doctrine of Mr. Gorham, its power to assure to its members the grace of the sacraments would be at an end. Mr. Maskell concurred in this view, with the deepest solicitude, the more as he now apprehended the decision to be legally authorized. A large meeting of clergymen was held at London, which divided itself into two branches, and over one of these Lord Feilding presided. It is said that a paper, denying the royal supremacy, as commonly understood, was signed by some fifteen hundred clergymen, headed by Archdeacon Wilberforce. Mr. Palmer and his friends, however, demanded of the Church Unions a protest against Romish doctrines, as well as against that of Mr. Gorham; and, when the demand was denied, proposed new Unions. Dr. Pusey, though reproached by some of his friends, with leniency towards the doctrine of Mr. Gorham, while he sanctioned, by precept and example, the practice of Confession, the adoration of the sacrament, rosaries, crucifixes, and monasticism, yet publicly intimated his own purpose to die in the communion of the Church of England. But within a few weeks after the meeting at London, Lord Feilding, Mr. Maskell, Mr. H. W. Wilberforce, Mr. Allies, and Messrs. Bathurst, Wynn, and Patterson, of Oxford, were all received into the Papal Church; Archdeacon Manning had resigned his preferments; Archdeacon Wilberforce had declined presiding at a meeting of the clergy of his archdeaconry, held for a protest against Papal intrusion; and Mr. Bennett, and, it is said, Mr. Dodsworth, had been compelled to tender a resignation to their diocesan. Eight years had carried to Rome ninety scholars of Oxford, and fifty-one of Cambridge.

The time had arrived for which the Roman sentinels had been watching. Pope Pius, restored by the battalions of France, was in the hands of his cardinals. The mandate had been issued to the Irish prelacy; and the colleges of the Government had been condemned by their solemn council. On the thirtieth of September, 1850, Dr. Wiseman was declared a Cardinal and Archbishop of Westminster. In a few days, the bull was made public on the British shores.

The sequel must be for the historian of the latter half of our century. But as we turn to survey the scene through which we have passed, the solemn words of our Saviour to those who might live to witness the siege of Jerusalem, seem echoing in our ears, "when ye, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, WHOSO READETH, LET HIM UNDERSTAND."

EARTHLY TIES, AND THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF
ANOTHER LIFE.

ART. III.—*The Happiness of the Blessed, &c.* By RICHARD MANT, D. D., Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. New York: Stanford & Swords.

The State of the Departed. By JOHN HENRY HOBART, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of New York. New York: Stanford & Swords.

THE unseen state ever has been, and ever must be, an object of intense interest and curiosity to living men. The Hebrews called it Sheol, from a verb that signifies to ask, to denote, it might seem, the *inquisitiveness* which it inspires, the earnest and ineffectual *questioning* which men always and everywhere maintain concerning it. The Greeks termed it Hades, the Unseen, the Invisible, to describe the deep and impenetrable *secrecy* that enshrouds it. Our English Hell, the Hidden, is of cognate sense. It is the region of concealment and of mystery. In vain we question, and in vain we peer. The whispering voices of creation utter no answer; and the oracles of revelation are few, indistinct and unsatisfactory. The dead know, but the dead heed not our call. "The depth saith, It is not in me; and the sea saith, It is not with me."

Among the various questions which men are wont to agitate in reference to that solemn change which is before them, perhaps none is more generally and more deeply interesting than that of the bearing of earthly ties on the condition of men in a future state—the social economy of the life to come, and its relations to that which subsists in the present state of being. All attempts to suppress this curiosity, as futile and ineffectual, are fruitless. The inquiry will recur; and as life wears away, and our affinities to the unknown strengthen and multiply, with ever deepening earnestness,—Shall I know again after death, those whom I have loved on earth? Shall I carry the relations of the present life with me into eternity? The inquiry is double, and includes two points, which are entirely distinct, though often confounded. And this confusion operates to the disadvantage of the investigation, since, by reason of it, what is thought to be proof of the one is hastily

assumed to be equal proof of the other, and, on the contrary, the supposed refutation of either is taken to sweep away both. More careful and discriminating consideration may show the distinctness, and satisfy us that the stern negative, which shuts up our inquiries in one direction, by no means deprives us of the consolation of hopeful and joyous anticipation in another. We desire to prosecute the examination with the solemnity which befits its awfulness, and the sobriety which suits the limited reach of our faculties and the scantiness of our means of information.

The hope of meeting and knowing again in the eternal state those whom we love and value here, is among the sweetest elements in the expectation of immortality. And it is so nearly universal, that it may reasonably be accounted a part of that natural sense of the deathlessness of the human spirit which is but the voice of God speaking in it, and testifying it to itself. We cannot easily bring ourselves to believe that death completely and finally sunders the ties that bind us to kindred and friends. The desire to make our bed in the dust with the ashes of those we loved in life, is an echo of this feeling, and a dim prophecy of its better realization in a higher sphere. The soul's judgment seems to us to be clearly and unequivocally in favor of a re-union of spirits in the future world; and this judgment is so deeply infixed, that it is seldom dislodged, while any tincture of faith or religious feeling lingers in the breasts of men. Its joyful suggestions, separation, decay, and death cannot stifle; but ever at its voice, in the sad hour of bereavement or dissolution, in the bosoms of mortal men,

" Hope springs, exulting on triumphant wing,
That thus they all shall meet in future days,
There ever bask in uncreated rays,
No more to sigh, nor shed the bitter tear,
Together hymning their Creator's praise,
In such society, yet still more dear;
While circling time moves round in an eternal sphere."

This is the dictate of nature, as we believe; and nature's voice, when pure and unsophisticated—and surely the common sentiment of all men, of all ages, is such—is the voice of God. For ourselves, we as little believe that when we die we have done with the objects of our love, as that at death we cease to exist, and to be conscious of existence.

But then, does this expectation rest on any ground that is capable of being stated and defended? Is it mere sentiment, an impression arising, we know not whence, clinging to us, w

know not why? or has it a basis which is capable of definition and vindication? Will it stand still to be approached and examined? or is it an apparition, that perseveres in haunting us, while it tantalizes us only with distant views and shadowy demonstrations? Can it be shown to be worthy of a place in the creed of a sober believer? or is it but the off-spring of revery and enthusiasm, the mere life-like but unreal reflection of human desire; a work of the imagination, picturing, and then reporting in the forms and colors of reality, phantoms, falsely boasting to be true images of actual things, originally bred in the soul without figure or semblance of substance, in the condition of wishes? Is it any thing better than the soul's beguiling its grief and fear with self-created prophecies of fruition and success, feeding its hunger and stanching its pain with dreams? We, at least, think there is a deeper and firmer foundation than this for an expectation so delightful and consolatory, and that it is wrought out of a more substantial and durable material than dreams and wishes. If it is presented to view on the tablet of fancy, it is there not as an illusion, the picture of a thing that is itself nowhere but in the desire of the beholder, but as the transcript of a reality, too distant to be seen directly, but daguerreotyped, as it were, on the substance of the mind, by the faithful, truth-telling beams which flow from it into the soul through the medium of faith, and revealed to us in its likeness. That the departed do enjoy personal knowledge of one another in the unseen world, and there recognize such of their associates as they have known during their abode on earth, is, as we think, more than probable, on grounds of philosophy and of Scripture.

One element of this probability is found in the personal identity of the human being through all the changes and vicissitudes of his history. The being of man flows on in unbroken continuity, from its beginning in some point of time, out into and along the interminable expanse of eternity. Throughout, his being keeps its separate and distinctive line, always one with itself, always different from all others. We are to be the very same in soul and in body, in the future that we are in the present life. The self-same men we are now we shall be when we sojourn in Hades, and when we rise or sink in that frame of things which we are finally to inhabit. Here seems to be a very sufficient basis for the hope of future recognition. There seems to be no reason why the same thing should not be known as the same thing, when seen by the same persons who now know and recognize them. If I,

with an unbroken identity of spirit and flesh, meet one whom I have known, after long separation, in a distant part of the earth, there is nothing in remoteness of place, or lapse of time, to prevent our mutual recognition. And I see not what there is to hinder it, if we meet beyond the confines of this world, with equal continuity of being and personality. If, indeed, a substance be so altered as to lose its characteristic and distinctive qualities, the basis of recognition is removed. But this is not true of man in either of those states which succeed his existence upon earth. Death does but uncliothe the spirit, and leaves it as much itself, and as fully possessed of all that constitutes its personal peculiarity and distinctness, as the putting off of his garments for a night's repose does a living man. And its resumption of materiality is by a resurrection; and this is not the communication of life to a totally new organism, but the restoration of it to an old one. Bodily sameness, by some process not now understood, defies death, else resurrection is but a figure. We are mysteriously one in body, through all the losses and replacements of the present existence; we shall continue that one when these vile bodies are made spiritual and glorious. There is an original impress stamped on every human being which is never lost, but is kept amidst many and great mutations. The very type of countenance that dwelt upon the face of smiling infancy, lingers amid the lineaments of withered age. This is the key of recognition; by it the human being is eternally recognizable; and with this clue it is certainly probable that departed men may be discovered and identified in the realms of spirits, and in the bowers of bliss.

But if the dead have qualities by which they may be recognized, so have they faculties with which to recognize. They retain powers of perception doubtless. We know not what they are, nor what analogy they bear to the present physical senses. But they doubtless are as well adapted to that state of being to which they pertain, and bring as true reports of external things, as those which we now possess. Spirit has perceptive faculties of its own. We are sometimes, even in this life, dimly and confusedly conscious of them. They are, indeed, at present clogged and obstructed by flesh, through which it is the will of the Creator that they should now almost exclusively converse with the outward world. They are overcoated and hidden beneath the material body. But strip that film away, and who will question, that these perceptive faculties, set free, will be fresh, active, and vigorous? Who can reasonably doubt that spirit has vision to see the

substance of spirit, and hearing to apprehend its voice, powers of discernment and communication? And when it shall again array itself in matter, and that which was "sown in weakness, shall be raised in power," that spiritual "body that shall be," will not be blind, deaf, and mute, a mere case to imprison and isolate the soul, but, endowed with sharpened vision and quickened perceptions, it will no longer "see through a glass darkly," but perceive substances before it with a thoroughness and accuracy which it could never equal on earth. And if, thus equipped, it be launched into the company of those whom it has once known and loved, doubtless it will recognize them at once, and gladly welcome them as sharers of its everlasting abode.

Farther, the dead remember the former objects of their knowledge and affection. We have every reason to believe that memory is an unextinguishable faculty; and that, so far from being interrupted by the event of death, it is purged and quickened. The casket of the mind keeps faithfully all that is ever committed to it, and will restore it in the end, unimpaired. Forgetting is but suspended knowledge, not the utter and final loss of any thing once committed to the memory's charge. We know how, sometimes, words or circumstances start suddenly into life out of the oblivion of years, with all the distinctness and power that once belonged to them. A state of disease will occasionally resuscitate events long past, and set them before the mind with a startling exactness and reality. There is nothing that so imprints objects on the memory as affection, that embalms them in the soul with such undying freshness. A faithful heart makes to itself pictures of those whom it loves, such as no limner can rival; and there they live, after death has done his work upon their originals, and the grave has covered them securely out of sight. Such images, as we live on, are gathering in the chambers of our minds, to be kept there against the day when we shall pass to the company of those whose memories they preserve, and furnish us with the means of identifying and recovering our lost treasures. Are not the dear counterparts of these cherished pictures somewhere? And when we meet them again, shall we not know them, and with gratitude and transport? Doubtless we shall.

Such seem to us the philosophical reasons for believing in and expecting the recognition of friends in a future state. They do not amount to demonstration, perhaps, but they do create a high degree of probability, such as, it seems, a Christian mind, with no other teaching of the word of God than

what it tells us of our immortality, and the continuousness of our life, consciousness and personality in all the successive stages of our existence, may rest upon with much composure and satisfaction.

That revelation teaches nothing directly and formally on the point under consideration, is freely admitted. It was not given us to solve curious and interesting questions, but to afford us necessary knowledge, and guide our feet in the paths of duty and salvation. But it is thought that the Scriptures intimate this doctrine incidentally, with such a degree of plainness, that minds, prepared by reflection on the nature of the soul, and the connection which subsists between the different parts of its solemn and eventful history, hear in them the echo of their hopes, and without seeking other explanations, acquiesce in this as the natural and satisfactory import of their words. For instance, when St. Paul asks the Christians of Thessalonica, "For what is our hope or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even *ye* in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at His coming?" Such a mind stops not to inquire whether some other possible explanation may be given to the words, but falls on this, at once as their simplest, most natural, the altogether sufficient and satisfactory sense, that the Apostle hoped to meet these Thessalonians at Christ's tribunal, and there to know them and rejoice in them as old objects of affection, and precious fruits of his ministry, and to receive in association with them the special reward of his labors in their behalf.

And so again, when he says to the Corinthians, "We are your rejoicing, as *ye* are also ours in the day of the Lord Jesus," the same sense suggests itself as the simple, easy, appropriate meaning of his language. It may be susceptible of another interpretation; but why seek one, when this is in harmony with other parts of revealed truth, and with all we know of the constitution of our mysterious nature? Other expressions of a similar character are found on the pages of Scripture. The transfiguration was a partial and temporary disclosure of the unseen state to men. "There appeared unto them, Moses and Elias, and they were talking with Jesus." Peter, transported with the scene, would fain have remained in the permanent contemplation of it. "Let us make here three tabernacles," said he, "one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias." These ancient saints appeared in their own proper persons, with their own distinctive signs and characteristics. By these, they were recognized, and in these they recognized one another. It was no fallacious picture

that was then given to men's eyes. It was reality, the reality of heavenly things, the pattern and promise of that to which they should come at death. It taught them that Moses and Elias were not mere historic personages that had been, but persons that then were, as actual as their master and themselves; and that they were still Moses and Elias, each with his own personal attributes and manifestations; and that when death should deliver them from the burden of the flesh, they should go to them, and be with and like them, and know them and all the spirits of just men, and find in their company and communication, far more than a recompense for the loss of earthly fellowship. And this seems to enlarge our apprehension of the future society that awaits us; as though it not only involved our restoration to those we have known on earth, but our introduction to the worthies and saints of all ages, with whom death does us the genial office of making us contemporaries and co-residents.

But is the family state to be restored in the future life? Are the relations of the present life to survive death? Are its ties to be resumed beyond the grave? A different question, and one, we shall see, that requires a different answer.

Our Saviour declares, that "they who shall be counted worthy to attain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, marry not, nor are given in marriage." And this seems decisive of the whole question; for marriage is no doubt here to be taken as the exponent and representative of all the domestic relations, as it is the root and fountain of them all.

And with the relations, fall the affections which pertain to them. These are partly animal, and assimilate us to those brute instincts, by which the lower orders of creation are prompted to care for their offspring during the period of weakness and dependence. Yet they show their superiority, and the mingling in them of a spiritual element, in their greater refinement, comprehension, variety, and endurance. The brute soon loses all sense of special relationship to its offspring, and in a short time ceases to distinguish them from others of their kind. But human affections linger to the last hour of life, and indeed survive it; and they show their greatest activity and power in the assiduities that wait around the beds of the dying, and the anguish that sorrows over the graves of the dead,—intimations and presages of survivance and reviviscence in forms adapted to the unknown economy of a yet hidden state.

When, then, we say that the relations of the present life and the affections which attend them, cease with it, we rescue

the doctrine of the recognition of friends in a future state from those sensuous, carnal, gross associations which cleave to it in the apprehension of many, and form the principal ground of repugnance and objection to it in spiritual minds. And we may enjoy the delightful anticipation of being allowed to renew old associations and regain lost friends in the world whither we go, without degrading our conceptions of eternity into too near a resemblance of what is animal and beggarly in life as we know it. It may be quite evident, upon a little reflection, that these recognitions may be, and be a peculiar and a very rich source of enjoyment, without any renewal of those bonds which once allied the subjects of them. The system is gone forever, but the units which were once its component parts survive; and, identical in body and in soul, with quickened powers of perception and memory, they will meet and mingle in some new and fairer frame of things. And then, they will distinguish and greet with sensible delight, those whose faces they once knew in the flesh, and be drawn into the cultivation of fresh intimacies, gladdened by the memory of old attachments, of partnerships in joy and suffering, in pursuits and labors, of which they were the subjects once in their sublunary scenes. Two beings that on earth sustained some special relation, as of parent and child, will sustain that relation no longer when they have passed into another state of being; for that would be to take the elements of an imperfect condition up into the sphere of perfection. But that they once sustained this relation, and loved one another in it, though it and the specific variety and form of love that belonged to it are vanished, will be matter of memory; and the memory will dwell sweetly and freshly in their hearts, and beget a new and different love in its place, purer, richer, happier. And if one of these beings, during their earthly life, was the instrument of spiritual good to the other, of a good which has gone with it into eternity, here is a ground of everlasting satisfaction on the one part, and of everlasting gratitude on the other, and a source of joy, which we will not call the sweetest ingredient in heavenly bliss, for it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive and compare heavenly felicities, but of such sweetness that there need be none greater to fill heaven with "joy unspeakable and full of glory." *Men* are no longer school-fellows. School is a condition of boys; and men have "put away childish things." But men that have been school-fellows, may cherish friendships grounded on that relation which are life-long. And the sight of school-fellows in distant lands, or advanced periods of

life, may start a tide of grateful memories, and open the door to the renewal of friendly feelings and offices. We are at school on earth ; but we shall by and by attain the honors of manhood. Shall it not be so with us in our heavenly maturity ?

The distinction which has been drawn, seems to be of the utmost importance to the proper understanding of the subject. There is a common and hurtful oversight of it. For the want of it the future state is degraded in the conceptions of some, and robbed of a very attractive and delightful attribute in the minds of others. The reunions that are anticipated in another state, are too often, doubtless, sullied with the low and earthly notions of a continuance or resumption of actual, subsisting ties and relations. Faith is thus soiled with the stain of the world. Low and unworthy images of celestial things, haunt the mind, and the life to come becomes but a reduplication of the life that now is. Then, heaven grows to be but a tribute to earthly idols, sanctified by a sentiment of religion ; and the pursuit of it degenerates from its true standard into a mere sentimental refinement of natural affections, an effort to regain lost friends and renew interrupted pleasures. This is unwholesome and misleading. On the other hand, some, shrinking from this earthly tincture of eternity with too violent an aversion, are driven to the extreme of questioning the continuance of any sense of earthly ties and affections in a future state, of denying their influence on its felicity altogether, relinquishing all hope of any peculiar interest in their objects in the life to come, or so much as any power of distinguishing them from others, that make up the company of the redeemed ; and think themselves forced to conclude that the loves and associations of this life, are nothing to us when it is ended. But this is not only to deprive this valley of tears of one of its richest and most needful consolations, but to take away from earthly relations, almost all that gives them dignity and sacredness, and to remove the highest and best stimulus to fidelity, diligence, and constancy in them. It tramples down the affections and charities of life into the mire and filth of this world's poverty, and teaches men either to treat them with levity and contempt, or to make a merit of that sublimated austerity which despises and seeks to expunge them. It chills the best feelings of the heart ; it stifles the voice of nature, and not less truly contradicts the voice of God. But neither extreme is needful. We need neither degrade heaven to the level of earth, nor lift earth into the atmosphere of heaven, while we preserve the continuity of life

through all its changes, and find in earthly things, symptoms and foreshadowings of things not totally without analogy to them in the heavenly world.

For, is there not to be some sort of social economy in the world to come, some grouping, some specialty of relations? We cannot well doubt it. We cannot easily conceive of such a complete revolution in the constitution of our nature, as to render it unnecessary and inexpedient. We cannot well imagine an equally diffused affection, which is not greatly diluted and enfeebled. We believe there will be such an economy, such a grouping, such a specialty. It will not be a reconstruction of the family state, for of that we are assured. But it will be a remoulding of its dissevered elements into purer and better forms, with relations holier and more refined, with loves purer and more spiritual. And why may not this arise out of the present system, as in some sort, its sequel and continuation? May it not be, that as the risen materiality is not flesh, but a spiritual body, while yet mysteriously it represents and prolongs it, so the risen society may be not the family with marriage and filiation and fraternity, but that in which, without these relations or their appropriate affections, the family is transfigured and glorified, as waving cornfields are one with the scattered grain, as oaks are one with acorns, as the butterfly is one with the worm. We need not dread then the cessation of feelings, which, however pleasurable and excellent, arise out of our present circumstances, circumstances of imperfection, if they are to cease only to make room for other feelings fitting new circumstances, rising out of them as the fabled phoenix sprang from its ashes, and as much superior to them, as heaven is to earth. There may be then, for any thing our Saviour has asserted, a social aggregation in the future state which will afford free and full play for the heart's best affections; and this may be developed out of existing arrangements in some such way as shall preserve all their good, and exclude all their evil.

For, doubtless that form of associate life which exists here, is but one of many modes of bringing human beings into connection with one another, which Divine sovereignty might have chosen. Entrance into eternity need not dissolve the race into so many disconnected and wholly independent units, because it discontinues the family tie. It is, far more probably, but a passage into a new style of social life, as consistent with fundamental humanity as that which now obtains. The resources of Divine wisdom are not exhausted in setting men in families. When the Apostle says that "there are ce-

lestial bodies, and bodies terrestrial," that "there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars," he means to intimate the versatility and inventiveness of Divine power, and to remind us that it may have in its capacious grasp, other bodies and other glories besides any that are known to us as yet. And this may apply to associate men, as well as to individuals. It may be so; and then the social economy that is to be, may be a consummation of the social economy that is, and the spiritual society be to the earthly society, that which the spiritual body is to the natural body. We are not then forbidden to hope to see the scattered elements reunited, to effect, not a restitution of the family, but the formation of a new network of relationship more elevated, spiritual, and delightful; just as the resurrection of the dead brings not back "flesh and blood," which "cannot inherit the kingdom of God," but a refined and glorious corporeity, in which, that which was flesh and blood, reappears with an inconceivable exaltation. We need not believe, that in eternity, we are consigned to an unrelated individualism, which *will* seem to us cheerless and forbidding, but are allowed to suppose that we shall there be framed into new bands and circles, formed not without a reference to the present social economy, and certainly not excluding the memory of old bands and loves, nor their attractive influence, in which, indeed, they are to find their consummation and glorification. We are going to them whom we have loved, that are gone, and they that love us whom we leave behind, will in due time come to us; and we will know and love again in a land where they never die nor part, and "be equal unto the angels, being the children of God, and of the resurrection."

ART. IV.—A HALF CENTURY'S PROGRESS.

STANDING, as we now do, upon the key-stone of the arch which spans the century, it will be both interesting and useful to pause, and casting our eyes back over the intervening space, see where, and upon what, the foundation of our present superstructure rests,—with what materials and in what manner it has been built,—what regions of darkness have been passed,—what gulfs of gloom have been bridged, and what glimpses of glory have been caught, in the ascent to our present position.

Reverting to the condition of things fifty years since, and we cannot fail to see that the sun of the preceding century went down amid sorrow and gloom. The unceasing effort of three generations of unbelievers was producing its effects. The poison of their teaching was reaching wide, and festering deep in the public mind. The cold-blooded infidelity of the English Deists had been distilled into European literature, through the alembic of German Philosophy, and was sown broadcast over the nations, by the wit and audacious falsehoods of Voltaire, the sickly sentimentalism of Rousseau and their fellow laborers. Even theology was contaminated by contact with the cankering evil, and offered little resistance to that swelling tide of unbelief, which, concentrating and culminating in France, mingled itself up with the civil difficulties of the times, and burst upon the world in the acts of the French Assembly. The last ten years of that century were marked by a Satanic atrocity without a parallel out of the infernal regions. One of the most powerful and cultivated nations of Europe, declared by its highest council that God was a fiction, the soul a phantom, and death an eternal sleep. Marriage was a mere partnership, to be dissolved at "a month's notice,"—chastity, a prejudice,—natural affection, a childish weakness,—murder, adultery, assassination, and the like, things to be dispensed with on ordinary occasions, but which might be justifiable, or even virtuous.

The consequences of such teaching were seen and felt all over Christendom. During that ten years, more than two millions of persons were supposed to have been massacred in France, of whom about twenty-five thousand were priests, fifty thousand women, and two hundred and fifty thousand children. At length, Sunday was formally abolished, and a

prostitute personated the goddess of reason, in the temple of the Almighty, while a pagan sacrifice was offered by an apostate Bishop on the altar of God. It was upon such a scene in France, with applauding and sympathizing multitudes all over Europe and America, that the sun of the former century went down, and upon which the morning of the present dawned. Religion was abolished in France, and seemingly dead everywhere. Love had grown cold, zeal had expired, and enthusiasm had no being save when Satan mustered his forces to battle.

To recover the world from the shock of such a tragedy, cost blood and treasure which can scarcely be enumerated. During the struggle, property to the amount of a thousand millions of dollars was confiscated in France; ten millions of men, women, and children came to an untimely end throughout Europe; thousands of towns and cities became heaps of smoking ruins; and Europe was saddled with a war debt of eighty-four hundred millions of dollars, being more than forty dollars to every inhabitant of that portion of the globe. The twelve years war, from 1803 to 1815, cost England alone a million of dollars a day during the whole period.

Among all the actors in this scene, there stands out one in lonely and majestic grandeur, towering above the men of his age and nation, in the cabinet or in the field, upon whom we gaze with mingled feelings of awe and admiration, of abhorrence and disgust. On his return from Egypt in 1799, Napoleon found France torn and distracted by parties, oppressed by the unprincipled rapacity of some, and excited to tumults by others, social ties dissolved, religion abolished, justice insecure, laws disregarded, factions intriguing, and anarchy everywhere. His first step was to overthrow the republic he had sworn to protect and defend, expelling the national council at the point of the bayonet. He immediately directed his attention to every branch and department of government and society. Education, finance, arts, industry, fashions, prisons, police,—all attracted his attention, and most of them improved under his fostering care. In one department, especially, he exceeded all that went before or came after him. The experience of ages was brought into requisition, and the energy of Napoleon, assisted by the craft of a Fouché, framed an engine in his police, which aimed to rival, in omnipresence and invisibleness, the agency of the Deity. Every man of the least importance in the community had the eye of a spy upon him. At home or abroad, in the parlor or the counting-room, in the theatre, the brothel, or the gambling-house, the argus-

eyed police was upon him. There was an ear open through all France to catch the slightest whisper of discontent, chilling social intercourse, locking up the heart, infecting men's minds with fears and jealousies, causing a wary dissimulation, subversive of all truth, justice, or manliness of character. By such means at home, and by his originality, impetuosity, and energetic action abroad, he sought to subvert and rule the world. He aimed to do even more than this. He aimed not merely to rule, but to rule through wonder and awe. Hence his efforts to astonish, to dazzle, to amaze, to confound, to overpower men's minds. Such was the character of that modern Jehu, by whom the LORD chose to punish the host of the high ones on high, and the kings of the earth upon the earth, by whom they were gathered together as prisoners are gathered in the pit.

The crowns of Austria, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Prussia, Sardinia, and Spain, were laid at his feet; the Republics of Batavia, Geneva, Genoa, Lucca, the Netherlands, Pisa, San Marino, Switzerland, and Venice, fell a prey to his rapacity, and the free cities of Germany, Bremen, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Lubeck, were swallowed up by his ambition, until ours was the only Republic in existence; and that existed only because the giant could not stride the billows of the Atlantic. But it was the good pleasure of our heavenly Father to put a hook in the nose of this Leviathan, and the thunders of Boridino and Waterloo were the expiring groans of his dominion. After making and unmaking Kings, dethroning and restoring Popes, creating and annihilating States, he became the solitary resident of a solitary isle, in striking contrast with the busy turmoil and magnificent splendor of his previous life. But with the evil he caused he did no small amount of good, and the world can never be again what it was before the days of Napoleon. An impulse was given to mental activity, the effects of which will last for ages. Even religion gained by the atrocities of the times, demonstrating as they did the inherent wickedness of man, and the necessity of dependence upon God for protection and aid. This general feeling, aided by the particular impression that Napoleon was an incarnation of evil, perhaps the very Anti-Christ himself, recalled men's minds to truths and duties long since overlooked, if not forgotten.

In glancing at the changes which have taken place in the civil condition of the world since the beginning of the present century, we continue with Europe, to which the condition of at the close of the last century first directed our atten-

tion. Beginning at the North, we find Norway wrested from Denmark and added to Sweden, 1814; while Finland passed from Sweden to Russia, 1809. Russia has been enlarged by Finland on the West, a part of Poland and Turkey on the South, and by vast territories received from Persia and Chinese Tartary, in Asia, on the East. This country, saved from French conquest by the voluntary destruction of its own capital, 1812, has become a power of preëminent importance in the history of the age. With an individuality of purpose rarely found in a body composed of such discordant elements as those of which Russia is constituted, the house of Romanoff is pursuing a cool, far reaching, and calculating policy, of which it is difficult for us to form an accurate conception. Seeking rather to remove obstacles that may hereafter stand in way of its progress, than immediate results, it seems to be intent on some dream of universal empire, wherein only the Greek Church shall prevail. The Romanist has ever been especially obnoxious to the Greek, and the Russian Bear seems disposed to fight the Roman Lion with his own weapons, employing either force or fraud, the gold of the Ural or the lance of the Cossack, as best suits his purpose. Denmark has been dismembered of part of her possessions, and her government has been changed from an unlimited to a limited monarchy. Prussia, overrun and dismembered by the French, 1807, was restored to nearly its former dimensions by the Congress of Vienna, 1815, and has since been a much more important kingdom than before, though the convulsions of 1848, came near destroying its present form of government. Austria, once subjected to France, remains much the same now as fifty years ago, save in the more entire subjugation of Hungary. The Republic of the Netherlands became the Kingdom of Holland, under a Buonaparte, in 1806, a part of the French Empire in 1810, and a distinct Kingdom again in 1813, under the House of Orange, from which Belgium was separated by the revolution of 1830. During this period it has lost most of its East India possessions, which have been transferred to England. France was a Republic in 1799, a Consulate in 1800, an Empire under Napoleon in 1804, a Kingdom under Louis XVIII in 1814, an elective Monarchy under Louis Phillipe in 1830, and a Republic again in 1848, under Louis Napoleon, with the probability of further change at some time not far distant. The Republic of Switzerland, subjected to France in 1803, became a Republic again in form in 1814, and in fact in 1830. The subjugation of Spain and Portugal by the French, and release by the British, are

the most important political changes in these Kingdoms, at home. The loss of their Colonies abroad has been of a more serious character. Italy, like France, has undergone many vicissitudes. In 1800, Pope Pius VII, elected in a foreign State, entered Rome and assumed the office of Bishop and King. In 1801 he entered into a concordate with Napoleon, by which Romanism was restored in France, and in 1804 he crowned Napoleon Emperor. In 1809 the Pope was torn from his residence in the night, hurried to France, and his temporal power abolished; in return for which the Pope delivered the Emperor over to destruction, by a bull of excommunication. In 1814 the Pope resumed the tripple crown at Rome, from which his successor was expelled by the people in 1848, to be borne back, as before he had been carried off, by the army of the French Republic, (1850.) Turkey has been crippled and dismembered by the revolt of Greece, which, in 1828, again took its stand among the nations of the earth. The Republic of the Ionian Islands, created by Russia and Turkey in 1800, united to France in 1807, has been a Republic, under the protection of Great Britain, since 1815. During this period, the Republic of Genoa, incorporated with France in 1805, was annexed to the Kingdom of Sardinia, in 1815; that of Venice, also annexed to France in 1805, has been a part of Austria since 1814. The ancient Republic of Lucca, after four centuries and a half of freedom, was made a Kingdom by Napoleon in 1805, annexed to Parma in 1815, and to Tuscany in 1847. Of all the European nations, Great Britain is the only one whose course has been uniformly forward, the only one except Russia, that has been materially strengthened since the beginning of the century. During the wars extending from 1803 to 1815, she was the life and soul of the coalition against France and Napoleon. She expended a million of dollars a day for the whole period, in her war establishment, and sent half a million of dollars annually for several years, to Germany, to relieve the distresses of those whom war and famine had reduced to beggary. For all this she only received Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Mauritius, from France; the Cape of Good Hope, Demarara, Essequibo, Berbice, and a part of Ceylon, from the Dutch; Heligoland from Denmark, and Malta from Italy. Besides this, she had acquired, in this time, the Kingdom of Candy in Ceylon, and a vast territory in Hindostan, until it is the boast of her sons, that the sun never sets upon her dominions; a boast that was true of the Spanish Empire three centuries ago.

A general review of Europe for this period must satisfy us that the cause of freedom has advanced at a rapid rate for the last twenty-five years, notwithstanding the excesses that have accompanied its development, or the mistakes that have been made in its direction. In England, the Corporation and Test Acts were repealed in 1828, the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill passed in 1830, and the Reform Bill in 1838. The Slave Trade was formally abolished, through her instrumentality, in 1807. The King of Holland was driven from his throne in 1840, because, in the judgment of the people, he put their future liberties in jeopardy, by marrying a Romish wife; and in 1847 the King of Bavaria was driven from the chair of State, because he had scandalized the nation by his intercourse with an actress from the stage. The several orders of nobility were abolished in Prussia, in 1848, to satisfy the clamors of the people.

Among the acts less favorable to the cause of liberty, one is the revival of the Order of the Jesuits, in 1814, by Pope Pius VIII, forty-five years after their suppression by Clement XIV, upon the earnest representation of the various governments of Europe. Since their complete restoration, in 1823, a systematic warfare has been waged by this body, upon freedom in general, and Protestantism in particular, the result of which has been delayed, if not prevented, by the insane impetuosity of the advisers of Pio Nono, since his return to Rome in 1850. Another act of this kind, is the so called Holy Alliance, formed at the suggestion of the Emperor of Russia, in 1815, which has well been called a conspiracy of crowned heads against the liberties of the people. It has been comparatively powerless since the political commotions of 1848.

The suppression, in 1826, of the Janizaries, the prop and the scourge of the race of Othman for four centuries and a half, is an event of moment in the fortunes of Turkey.

In America, change, progress, advancement, has been the uniform law. At the beginning of the century, the Mississippi river bounded the territory of the United States on the West, and the thirty-first parallel of latitude, on the South; what now composes the States of Florida, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Texas, and California, part of Alabama and Mississippi, and the Territories of Missouri, Utah, Desseret, and New Mexico, belonged to Spain, while Oregon was in doubt between Spain and Britain. In 1803, Louisiana was purchased of France for \$15,000,000; in 1819, Florida was ceded to us by Spain, as an indemnity for spoliations upon our

commerce,—in 1845, Texas was received as an independent State, and in 1848, California and New Mexico were received of Mexico, in payment of her indebtedness to our citizens. The original thirteen States had been increased, before the beginning of the century, by Vermont in 1791, Tennessee in 1796, and Kentucky in 1799. Since that time, we have added, Ohio in 1802, Louisiana in 1811, Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine and Missouri in 1820, Arkansas and Michigan in 1836, Florida, Iowa, and Texas in 1845, Wisconsin in 1848, and California in 1850. Beside these, territorial governments were established in Oregon in 1848, Minnesota in 1849, New Mexico and Utah in 1850; to which must be added an immense region yet scarcely known to the white man. During the same period, our population has increased from five millions to twenty-three millions. We have also chastised the insolence of the Barbary States, in 1801 and 1815—met and repulsed the fleets of the nation whose territory bands the earth, and whose navies dot every sea and ocean, in 1812 to 1815—have marched into the centre of the largest nation in our vicinity, and compelled it to do us justice, in 1847, 8. The battles of Erie, and others upon the high seas, in 1813 and 1814, and of New Orleans, in 1815, eclipsed only, if at all, by the Mexican campaign, in 1847, 8, have established the bravery and prowess of our troops upon an unquestionable foundation, proving that a volunteer militia of independent freemen is equal to the choicest troops of any standing army of foreign nations.

During this period, we have been called to pass through various trials of no ordinary character. The year 1806 saw a man who had held the second office in the nation, indicted for high treason, and beheld the bursting of the bubble known as the “Miranda Expedition,” an undertaking not unlike the Cuban folly of 1850. In 1814, a Convention of States was held in Hartford, to devise means for mutual protection against the aggressions or omissions of the General Government, and another was held in Nashville, in 1850, on similar pretences. The secession which may have been thought of in the first,—which was talked about in the last of these Conventions,—South Carolina attempted to carry into effect in 1832, but was prevented by the prompt and energetic action of the Executive of the nation. In 1820, and again in 1850, the nation was convulsed to its inmost centre, and dissolution seemed staring us in the face,—both growing out of the same question, and both allayed by the patriotic devotion of the same self-sacrificing spirits.

The spirit of revolt which prevailed all over Europe, at the beginning of the century, also broke out in America, and 1810 saw revolutions in Caraccas, Mexico, Southern Peru, and Buenos Ayres, followed by declarations of independence by Venezuela and New Grenada, in 1811, constituting the Republic of Columbia, from 1819 to 1831, since which time they have constituted the Republics of New Grenada, Ecuador, and Venezuela. Peru declared itself independent in 1821, and since 1836, has formed the two Republics of North and South Peru. Chili, which also revolted in 1810, was declared independent in 1818. The provinces of La Plata formed themselves into a Republic in 1817, assuming the name of the Argentine Republic, in 1826, but now known as the Republic of Buenos Ayres. Brazil, the only portion of the New World ever governed by an European sovereign in person,—the only spectacle of an imperial government resident in America, has been independent of Portugal since 1821. The vicissitudes of the smaller States of South America have been too various, and their changes too frequent, to be mentioned in this brief summary. Although Mexico revolted in 1810, it was not until 1821 that its independence was secured. In 1822, Iturbide was declared Emperor, but being dethroned and banished, it became a Confederated Republic in 1824, and a Central, or Consolidated Republic, in 1835. Guatemala, incorporated with Mexico in 1821, on the fall of Iturbide in 1824, became the Republic of Central America.

In the American Islands, the most important changes have been, the establishment of a military Democracy in Hayti, under the name of a Republic, by negroes who had formerly been in bondage, and who repaid their liberators by cutting the throats and seizing the property of their masters; and the abolition of slavery through all the British West Indies.

In Africa, Tunis has become independent, 1816, Algiers been reduced to a French Colony, 1830, Cape Colony been transferred to England, in 1815. Sierra Leone has been extended by the same nation, and Liberia been founded by our own, in 1821. The Mamelukes, those military slaves, who were long the masters and plunderers of Egypt, have been exterminated, and Egypt rendered independent.

In Asia, besides the changes already noticed, Syria and Arabia have been subjected by the Pacha of Egypt, Hindostan has been thrown open to British commerce, and China been opened to the trade of the world.

Such is a brief survey of the most important political changes of the half century, and in connection therewith, we

must glance at the progress of science and the arts, during the same period. To gain any tolerable conception of the facts, under this head, we must imagine the Lightning Telegraph abolished, the Locomotive stopped, the Railway itself destroyed, the Canal filled up, the Steamboat annihilated, and with them, all knowledge of their existence, and all conception of their possibility blotted out, and the imagination would come back only to the place where the dawning of the century found us. We must conceive, too, of numberless manufacturing villages ceasing to have any being, the buzz of the spindle, the rattle of the loom, the clang of the anvil, and the hum of machinery, all dead, silent as the grave, and we should only conceive of what was reality fifty years ago. The Iron railway, 1801; the Locomotive Steam Engine, 1804; the Steamboat, 1807; the Steam Carriage, 1814; the Gas Light, 1814; the Safety Lamp, 1815; the Electric Telegraph, 1832; the Electrotypes, 1837; the Daguerreotype, 1839; the Magnetic Telegraph, 1842; Gun Cotton, 1846; the Magnetic Clock and Chemotype, 1849; and the application of India Rubber (1828) and of Gutta Percha (1845) to economical purposes, are all inventions and discoveries of this period, as well as the Hydro-Electric Light, should its claim be established. By these, and other discoveries, time and space have been overcome, the darkness of night and the cold of winter been dispelled, steam is doing the work of the horse, and the lightning has been sent on the errand of the newsboy. These conquests over nature, are carrying us forward with a velocity, of which we have no conception,—to an end, of which we have no knowledge. One invention paves the way for another, and the astonishment arising from one wonder, is only lost in the contemplation of a greater. The resources and powers of nature have been brought into subjection, and made subservient to the purposes of civilization, in a way which it would have been madness to have dreamed of half a century ago. Mountains sink, and valleys rise,—rivers expand, and oceans shrink,—the rough is made smooth, and the crooked straight, as if in preparation of some mighty coming event. The work of ages is accomplished in days. Wealth and power are increased as by magic. Cities and States spring up and grow like the creations of romance, all bound together by the railway, and made neighbors by the telegraph. In all this phantasmagoric scene, we are bearing, and unless our folly or our madness prevent, are destined to bear an important part. The railway to the Pacific, which, humanly speaking, nothing but disunion can prevent, will cause another

change in the current of the world's commerce, as great as that which followed the discovery of a passage to India by the way of Good Hope. New York will then be brought within twenty-five days travel of China, and the trade of the world with that nation, must pass through the centre of ours, and thus be measurably under our control. We must then be the centre,—the great beating heart of the world, through which shall circulate the life-blood of nations; all tending, we trust, to serve as a common bond, to gather all men into one vast brotherhood.

The improvements made in arts, manufactures, and the like, during this period, forbid even the briefest enumeration, and we can only glance at a few of the most prominent. It is said, that in cotton manufacture, one man can spin as much now, as twenty-five thousand men could fifty years ago. Shoes and nails are no longer the work of handicraft, nor hats the work of hands. Fifteen thousand patents within the half century, granted at Washington alone, have contributed in a wonderful manner to lessen labor in every department, as *Saxton guns*, (cir. 1830,) and *Revolving Pistols*, 1829, by the aid of percussion caps, (1827,) and *gun cotton*, (1846,) have made the destruction of life more rapid and effectual. Besides railways, steamboats, and telegraphs, this has been the age of canals. Hardly a canal existed in the country, prior to 1802, and there is no probability of their being much increased in time to come. The Erie canal, completed in 1832, is the longest canal in the world, with the exception of one in China. It has been an age of Bridges, too, of which the *Briannia Tubular Bridge* must be regarded as the chief. This is an iron tube, one thousand eight hundred and forty feet long, large enough and strong enough to permit a locomotive with its train of cars to pass through its centre, stretched across an arm of the sea, a hundred feet above the water. Among all the railways yet in progress, the great Russian way, stretching from St. Petersburg to Moscow, a distance of four hundred and twenty miles, in nearly a straight line, is the greatest of all modern works.

While the merchant has been busy in his store, the mechanic in his shop, the statesman in his cabinet, the scholar has been busy in his closet, and in the field. Science has more than kept pace with the Arts, revealing things unknown, both in the past and the present. The Egyptian campaign, planned by the comprehensive, but ambitious policy of Napoleon, unjustifiable in its origin and progress, and useless in its immediate results, led, in its remoter consequences, to things

which astonished and electrified the world. A block of black basalt, three feet by two, dug from the foundation of fort St. Julien, by the French troops at Rosetta, in Egypt, 1797,—taken by the English in 1801,—transported to London and placed in the British Museum, became the key which unlocked the mysteries of Egyptian antiquities. The triglyphic and bilingual inscription of this slab, recording a decree of Ptolemy, in the sacred and common language of Egypt, with its interpretation in Greek, has been the means of increasing our knowledge of Egypt, its manners, customs, science, literature, and history, a thousand fold. By it, the legends of the Pharaohs, after having been buried in an oblivion as dark as any night that ever rested upon that dark country, have been read and interpreted, and ruined city, and solitary column, and lonely pyramid, have told the tale of their former greatness and grandeur. The monuments of Egypt's kings, for twenty-five centuries, certainly, possibly for a longer period, are still standing, in whole or in part,—and their tombs for fifteen centuries can now be pointed out. Akerblad, 1802, and DeSacy, 1803, gave us a clue to the ancient written language of Egypt. Quatremère, 1808, proved that language to be essentially the Coptic,—the Church language of that country still. Young, in 1819, gave us hints of the character of the sacred language of the ancient Egyptians. Champollion, 1822, determined its alphabet, and enabled us to translate all its mysterious emblems into the forms and terms of modern literature, which has been fully and copiously done by the antiquaries and scholars of the present generation.

The re-discovery of Ancient Egyptian science and art, finds a counterpart in interest and importance, in the discoveries which have been going on since 1845, on the ancient site of Nineveh. Its location has been ascertained, after having been unknown for two thousand years; multitudes of inscriptions have been discovered and copied, and some of them have been deciphered,—revealing to us more of the art, science, and history of ancient Assyria, than could have before been gathered from every source united. The names of Layard and Botta will go down to posterity, associated with Assyria and Nineveh, as will those of Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius, and others, with that of Egypt and the Pharaohs.

So the intrepidity and perseverance of Bruckhardt, 1812, of Laborde, 1830, and Stephens, 1835, have made known to us another wonderful city of the ancients,—Idumea, after its locality had been unknown for more than a thousand years,

and the labors of one, Stephens, 1839, have made known, more fully than ever before, the wonderful remains of antiquity in the central portion of our own country. Another fortunate discovery of an ancient inscription made by Wellsted, 1834, has made known to us the language of another ancient people, the long lost tribe of Ad—which has been extinct for 3500 years. Other wonders of antiquity, not less amazing and unaccountable, have been made known during the period under consideration. The stupendous, excavated temples of Elora, described by Seeley, 1824, the mysterious mounds and embankments in our Western States, by Squiers, 1849,—the re-discovery of the voyages of the Northmen to our shores in the eleventh century, by Northern Antiquarian Society, 1837,—the possible discovery of the “lost tribes,” among the Nestorians, by Grant, 1841, extended discoveries in Herculaneum and Pompeii,—the exhumation of ancient houses and Temples at Carthage, by Sir Granville Temple, 1838, and the recovery of many important works of art among the ancients, are among the items of interest that throng this period.

Important discoveries have also been made beyond the limits of our world, as well as among its antiquities. Astronomers having become satisfied, at the beginning of the century, that the uniformity of nature required another planet between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, formed an association, by which the heavens should be continually watched. The result was the discovery of *Ceres*, by Piazzi of Palermo, 1801; of *Pallas*, by Olbers, of Bremen, 1802; of *Juno*, by Harding, of Lienthal, 1804; and of *Vesta*, by Olbers, 1807. The telescope having been increased in power and perfection, Hencke discovered *Astræ*, in 1845, and *Hebe* in 1847. The same year, (1847,) Hind of London discovered *Iris* and *Flora*. In 1848, *Metis* was discovered by Graham of Ireland. In 1849, *Hygeia* was discovered by Gasparis of Naples, who also discovered *Parthenope* and *Egeria*, in 1850. The same year, Hind of London discovered *Victoria*. These thirteen planets, all revolving within the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, give many indications of being fragments of a larger body, disrupted by some convulsion of nature. During the same period, astronomers conceived that there must be still another planet, beyond what had been regarded as the outermost verge of the system, to account for the variation between the computed and observed motions of the known planets. Taking these variations as his data, LeVerrier, a French student, computed the size, distance, and period of the supposed body. His computations were completed in August, 1846,

and given to the world. Astronomers directed their telescopes to the point in the heavens, indicated by the computation, and on the 23d of September, Galle of Berlin, and on the 3d of October, Lassell of Liverpool, saw the predicted body, in the very place, and under all the important conditions which science had marked out for it. Among all the achievements of the most certain of the mathematical sciences, when carried beyond the reach of all the senses but sight, and revealed to that only by practical science, this is the most wonderful. The elements for this computation required that all the planets of the system should be counted,—their distance measured,—their size determined,—their weight computed, their velocity known, with the varying influence of the attractions of all upon each other, at every instant of their ever varying orbits. The certain result obtained, furnishes conclusive proof that all this had been done with astonishing accuracy. Hardly less wonderful than these, is the discovery of the fact, that the sun, and the so-called fixed stars, are not, as was long supposed, stationary in the heavens; that these have all a motion in space, revolving around some point yet unknown and invisible, but which the devout mind may well conceive to be the throne of the Creator. It is an amazing thought, and yet one which must be admitted, that the earth, with all its attendant moons and stars, is careering through space at the rate of four millions of miles a day.

Among the important astronomical discoveries of the present century, are the law of analogy announced by Bode, a Prussian astronomer, that the planetary distances form a certain geometrical ratio from the sun, and the hypothesis of nebular attraction and revolution, propounded by Laplace of France, traces of which belong to the preceding century. Another law of analogy, promulgated by Kirkwood of Pennsylvania, 1849, reveals the fact, that the number of days in the year of any planet bears a constant ratio to the relative extent of its attraction in the solar system. The certainty of these laws, and the consequences of their discovery, are equaled in interest by the ingenious contrivance by which we may make lithographic pictures of the heavens and of the heavenly bodies, by means of the daguerreotype. We can only add, that Saturn now counts three rings and eight satellites, and that the new planet, Neptune, has its two moons.

If, leaving the field of infinite space, we return to earth and exchange the telescope for the microscope, wonders no less astonishing and startling crowd upon us. That has shown us

that the world about us is not as dead as it seems to ordinary vision. The microscope, as perfected during the present century, reveals a continuous motion in the cellular structure of plants; varied currents, ascending and descending, revolving and ramifying in every direction. It reveals, also, numberless animals of the minutest form, where life before had not been suspected. In the earth, and in the waters under the earth, in the food we eat, in the water we drink, and in the air we breathe, these monsters of littleness disport themselves continually. In boiling water and in the hardest ice they are at home and undisturbed, proving thereby the universality of life, and opening a field of investigation as boundless and beautiful as time or space can offer. Even their tombs are known; buried, not like the ancient Kings of Egypt, a single individual in a huge pile of granite, but countless myriads in a single foot of marble. The labors of Ehrenberg (1838) leave no doubt that a single foot of the polishing slate of Bilin contains the bodies of eighty-five billions of fossil infusoria, and more wonderful than all, that these might have all proceeded from an imperceptible corpuscle in the space of two days.

In no department of inquiry have greater changes taken place, than in the Natural Sciences. Geology, which is now among the most important and engrossing of these sciences, is, in its present character, a creation of this century, and attaches to itself a deep theological interest, because of its bearing upon the Mosaic account of the creation. Among the certain facts of this science is the discovery that the surface of the earth is not, as was long supposed, a rude heap of undigested rocks, but a systematic series, of varied character, arranged in obedience to certain definite, universal laws, still operating in the regions above, below, and about us; destroying, renewing, and changing continents and oceans; overturning and upheaving even the mountain ranges. This science has also revealed the fact of an increase of temperature as we descend into the interior of the earth, so uniform and rapid, that, unless some unknown cause prevents, there must be, at the depth of sixty miles, one vast sea of molten lava, rolling and surging beneath our feet, ever and anon belching forth its fury through the numerous volcanoes of the globe. Some idea may be formed of the comparative thickness of the earth's crust, by remembering that sixty miles bears about the same relation to the earth's diameter, that a coat of varnish would to a globe three feet in diameter. Geology does this, and more than this. It not only investigates the layers

which compose the superficial strata of the earth, the order of their superposition, and their nature ; but also makes known the animal and vegetable remains imbedded therein, revealing the faunas and floras of that indefinite period which elapsed between "the beginning" and the present order of things. The vegetation of the primitive world is thus shown to have been wonderful, almost beyond description. Where we have some thirty species of ferns, there were then more than two hundred, not frail and feeble like those of the present day, but rivaling the most gigantic trees of our present forests in their dimensions. Even the moss-tribe of that early period, instead of growing but a few inches from the ground, as now, sent up trunks three feet in diameter and eighty feet in height. Many thousand species of the primitive productions have thus been discovered and described, enlarging the number and extending the time of the floral catalogue. Along with the remains of the vegetable, we find vast multitudes of relics of the early animal world ; so abundant, indeed, that the description of these remains has become a distinct branch of science, and received the name of *Palæontology*.

Descending through the fossiliferous strata, by means of this science, we ascend the stream of time, going back from man to other mammalia, and on to reptiles, fishes, and the lower orders of invertebrated animals, to the senseless zoophyte, almost realizing the desire of Hooke, for a chronometry of the earth's changes. Another science, not necessarily connected with Geology, owes its existence to the discoveries which that has brought to light. The wish to reconstruct the skeletons of extinct animals, and to ascertain their character and habits, gave rise to a science, *Comparative Anatomy*, by which the bone of a leg, or some other part, becomes the sure index of the tooth, the stomach, the instinct, the life of its owner. We have thus been made acquainted with the Mammoth, the Mastodon, and Saurians of various descriptions, rivaling the fables of antiquity in regard to the monsters of the deep.

Botany, too, within the same period, has received a powerful impulse. Its field has been enlarged from the present and the past, its classifications been perfected, its descriptions improved ; the growth, structure, and geography of plants been investigated, by which a halo of interest has been thrown around the subject, of which none but the student can conceive. Among the latest and most curious of the discoveries in this branch of science, is, that the law which regulates the

sitions of the leaves on the tree, is the same as that which determines the length of the year of the several planets.

Passing *Mineralogy*, so closely connected with *Geology* on the one hand, and *Chemistry* on the other, we hasten to glance at the changes which *Chemistry* has undergone, and the discoveries it has made, during the present half century. Whoever will take the trouble of looking into an old work on chemistry, published half a century ago, with its "phlogiston," its "dephlogisticated, fixed, and inflammable airs," could scarcely recognize the first principles of the science as it now stands. An accidental discovery made by Galvani in 1780, while trying the curative effects of Voltaic electricity on the feeble frame and nervous temperament of his wife, led to a distinct branch of science of unparalleled interest and value, when the Voltaic pile was turned into a Galvanic trough, by Nicholson and Carlisle, in 1800.

Dalton, in 1808, made known the law of definite proportions, laying the foundations of an *Atomic Theory*, the most certain, beautiful, and important of the laws of nature yet discovered, and which is now the basis of all chemical descriptions. In 1819, Oersted announced to the world, that any of the arrangements which develop electricity, also develop magnetism; a suggestion which, being carefully followed up, has led to the science of *Electro-Magnetism*. These discoveries have wrought a most marvelous change in the economical concerns of life; Galvanized articles of furniture, wires, rods, and chains, being among the most common articles of commerce; while the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph has already become indispensable to the news department of the daily journal. Other discoveries, not less interesting, if less practical in their application, have been made in chemical science, within the same period. The discovery of Malus, in 1810, that a ray of light might be magnetized, or at, in what is called *polarization*, light received an influence not unlike the magnetic, has led to a satisfactory explanation of some of the most intricate and curious appearances of nature. The assimilation of gases and vapors, their constant relation to each other, and the law of their combination, the chemical effects of electricity, and the intimate connection of chemical composition and crystalline form, are also among the discoveries of this period. The Electrotypes and the Chemotype, by means of which stereotype plates and engravings may be multiplied indefinitely; the Daguerreotype, by which we are enabled to make pictures of our friends, of nature, and maps of the heavens, is also a discovery

of this science. It has also shown that some of the most curious and beautiful appearances of the nocturnal sky, the aurora borealis, with its columns, arches, coronas, corruscations, and merry dancers, is probably an Electro-Magnetic phenomenon; that the revolution of the earth itself may be caused by the same power, and that the peculiar arrangement of the geological strata seems to have been made under its influence. The Safety Lamp, the Gas Light, and the Magnetic Clock, are also among the laurels of the chemist. Another agent of immense power and influence has been discovered in the sun's ray, and has received the name of *Actinism*,—a power sufficient to arrest, under certain circumstances, the mighty influence of the Galvanic current,—which wakes vegetation to life, and shakes the hardest rock to pieces, rendering night and darkness as necessary to the continuance of the “everlasting hills,” as to man himself. Another remarkable power which exists in nature, and which has recently been discovered, is that which some bodies possess of causing changes in other bodies brought into contact with them, without undergoing any change themselves, and has therefore received the name of *Catalysis*, as being the opposite of *Analysis*. It is also called the *Action of Presence*.

During the same period, the other Natural Sciences have made rapid strides and extraordinary advances. *Conchology*, *Entomology*, *Meteorology*, *Mineralogy*, *Ichthyology*, *Ornithology*, *Zoology*, are no longer in fact, scarcely in name, what they were half a century ago; being as unlike now, what they were then, in the extent, variety, and certainty of their facts, and in the beauty and propriety of their classifications, as it is possible to conceive. Some other branches of science, not yet enumerated, must not be passed without recognition. *Ethnology*, though existing in fact, ever since *History* had a being, has come to be an important branch of the natural history of man, within a few years, describing the origin of nations, their migrations and progress, with a certainty and care never before known. So *Philology*, though existing in form, scarce deserved the name of a science, until of late, while its most important aspect, that of *Comparative Philology*, has resulted from the labors of Bopp, 1816, and Grimm, 1822, aided by the Sanscrit, which had then been recently made known in Europe. Another circle of sciences,—if sciences they properly are,—in many respects distinct, and yet in many points connected, known as *Craniology*, *Phrenology*, *Psychology*, *Neurology*, *Etherology*, and *Electro-Biology*; as *Mesmerism*, *Pathetism*, *Hypnotism*, *Neur-*

hypnotism, and *Animal Magnetism*, have excited the wonder and admiration, or called forth the contempt and ridicule of the world, for the last generation. How much has been discovered, what is known and what is unknown, what is certain and what doubtful, what is science and what humbug, it is yet difficult to determine.

After this hasty glance at the magic scene of wonders which has been passing before us for the last half century, we cannot but pause for a moment, and inquire into the cause of the astonishing progress which Science and the Arts have made during this period. Many causes have been assigned, more or less pertinent. But there is one, peculiar to the present age, which has probably done more to accelerate the movement than every thing else beside,—*modern journalism*. The press, from the moment of its invention, has been a mighty engine for disseminating thought and feeling,—a miraculous illumination,—a presage of colossal destinies. This influence was greatly increased by the art of stereotyping, first introduced into London in 1804, and into America in 1815, and still more by the steam-press, first employed by the *London Times* in 1814, and since brought to high perfection by Hoe, 1849. The periodical press has increased this influence beyond all conception, and scientific weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies, are doing more for the advancement of science in a single year, than could be done without them in a generation. The immediate record, with a quick and universal circulation, of a new discovery, or an important observation, concentrates the mind of the world upon that point; thus accomplishing as much in a month, as could otherwise be done in a century. It is as though the orbit of ages of the past, had been concentrated to a point in the present,—to expand in the future into other wonders, of which we have now no conception.

The brief survey we have taken of the changes in the civil, political, and scientific world, would be incomplete, without a similar view of things in the religious world. Without this, the other would be fatally defective, for as God reigns in history as well as in heaven, any view that leaves out of consideration His presence and agency, is as unscientific as it is infidel. To the unbeliever, history has no meaning. It is a mere chance medley of accidents, a fortuitous glare of brilliant and bloody meteors, shooting athwart the dark gloom of midnight, coming from the unknown and expiring in nonentity. But to Christians, *not even a sparrow falleth to the ground without the knowledge of their heavenly*

Father, and however evil may prosper for the present, they doubt not that right will triumph in the end.

The last century saw infidelity and atheism, with their abominable doctrines, immoral, obscene, unnatural, and wicked practices, spreading far and wide in every Christian land, while Christian men were mourning in secret, or sleeping in public, over the desolations of Jerusalem. A dead, dry, barren orthodoxy, without faith, zeal, or spirit, was the general characteristic of religion. In Germany, where the voice of Luther had once convulsed Rome to her centre, and rocked kings and emperors on their thrones, the living faith of the great Reformer had departed, and a cold, barren, inefficient, uncharitable supernaturalism, or else a wild, wicked, and unbelieving Rationalism, filled the Church; the former of which parleyed with the enemy, conceding and conceding, little by little, to his claims, until it fairly fell over to the enemy's side. Thirty years ago, there was scarce a minister in all the Lutheran communion, who taught or believed the eternity of future punishment,—and very few who had any distinct ideas of spiritual religion. In Switzerland, the chair of Calvin had descended to a Socinian, and he who was among the most valiant defenders of the Trinity, was succeeded by those who knew not the Saviour, who dethroned the God, and made light of the faith of their master. In other countries of Europe, similar defections from the faith had taken place, in most of the Protestant bodies, while the same cowl of darkness rested upon the head of Rome, as in former ages. In England, the cause of religion had suffered from apostasy without, and vice within the Church, while in this country a wide spread apathy prevailed everywhere.

But God had better things in store for His Church. The idea once broached, that Napoleon was Anti-Christ, the minds of all who had any faith still lingering in revelation, were instinctively turned to the prophecies, and to history as their expositor, and this study became one considerable means of rekindling religious feeling, especially in England and America. In Germany, the tri-centennial celebration of the era of the Reformation, 1817, recalled the minds of clergy and people to facts and truths almost forgotten, and rekindled anew the spirit of Reformation. From that time, the work of renovation has been going on,—Scripture has been studied more carefully,—history been investigated more thoroughly,—the Church—its character, mission and duty, its ministry and sacraments—have been better understood, explained, and defended. But though the German theology still bows too obse-

quiously to human reason,—still addresses itself too much to the *man*, to the neglect of the *Christian*, and is too much the slave of philosophy, often times falsely so-called, there is great ground of hope. The reigning Church sentiment has more decision, more power, more fervor, more freedom, more symmetry, than the old orthodoxy of that country, and its scholars are among the first of those whose unwearied labors are shedding light upon every point of Biblical Literature. The principal seat of this advance has been in Prussia, where the Lutheran and Calvinistic bodies were united in one *Evangelical Church*, in 1822, with a Liturgy, modeled somewhat after the English, and the name of Superintendents being changed to Bishops. Efforts have since been made in the same nation, to obtain the Episcopate in fact, as they now have it in form, the final result of which is yet in doubt. Denmark, Episcopal in form but not in fact, has shared with Germany, in the declension and revival of its Church; and Sweden, Episcopal both in fact and form, though spared a portion of the evil which came upon the other Lutheran Churches, has participated largely in the blessings which have been showered upon them. Holland has, in these, as in most other religious matters, followed in the wake of Germany, and Switzerland has recovered a portion of the truth of which she had so long lost sight.

France has undergone numerous religious as well as political changes. Though religion had been formally abolished by the Convention, 1793, before July, 1801, thirty-two thousand two hundred and fourteen out of forty thousand parishes had demanded and obtained permission to re-open their churches. Two Romish Councils had been held in Paris, 1797 and 1801, in which, the spirit of Jansenism so predominated, that but for the interposition of Napoleon, there is reason to believe that the Gallican Church would have cast off the Papal supremacy and proceeded to a Reformation. By the celebrated *Concordate* between Napoleon and the Pope, 1801, Romanism was established in France, and the prospect of a Reformation blasted. The *Organic Articles* of the following year, 1802, gave Protestantism a legalized existence in that country, for the first time since the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, in 1685. The Protestants still labored, under many disabilities, and were forbidden, by the Penal Code, 1810, from meeting in companies of above twenty, without permission. The authority of the Bourbons was permanently established by the battle of Waterloo, 1815, and from that time to the Revolution of 1830, Rome and the Jesuits were unceasing in their efforts to

bring back France to complete subjugation to the Papal See. The charter of 1830 professes to grant toleration to all, but the course of the government under it, has made it the sheerest illusion imaginable; France really enjoying no more certain religious liberty now than it did under the despotism of Napoleon, or the bigotry of Louis XVIII. Previous to the Revolution of 1793 there were one hundred and fourteen thousand ecclesiastical persons in France, whose income amounted to \$26,128,000. In 1846, the Romanists in France numbered fifteen Archbishops, sixty-five Bishops, one hundred and seventy-six Vicar Generals, six hundred and sixty-one Canons, three thousand three hundred and one Curates, and twenty-eight thousand and five hundred Priests of surcursal Churches, eight thousand and five hundred theological Students, and forty thousand Nuns. The salaries of the Romish clergy amounted, that year, to \$6,682,677. The salaries of all the Protestant ministers, for the same year, was \$230,929. Belgium, since 1830, though its population is mostly Romish, has enjoyed more real religious liberty than any other people on the Continent of Europe.

Spain has remained comparatively stationary in most respects, during the present period. Yet this country has not been without its changes. That horrible engine of tyranny, the Inquisition, was abolished in 1808, after having destroyed three hundred forty-one thousand and twenty-one victims from 1481 to 1808. It was revived in 1814, but again abolished in 1820. The Spanish clergy, in 1830, numbered eight Archbishops, seventy-seven Bishops, two thousand three hundred and ninety-three Canons, one thousand eight hundred and ninety Prebendaries, sixteen thousand four hundred and eighty-one Curates, four thousand nine hundred and twenty-nine Vicars, seventeen thousand four hundred and eleven Beneficiaries, twenty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven Secular Priests, fifteen thousand and fifteen Sacristans, three thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven Servitors. There were also one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five Convents, containing forty-nine thousand two hundred and thirty-eight Monks, and one thousand and eighty-one Nunneries, with twenty-two thousand three hundred and forty-seven Nuns, making about one hundred and fifty thousand Ecclesiastical persons. The wealth pertaining to these houses was enormous. In 1835, eight hundred and eighty-four Convents were suppressed, and property to the value of \$2,000,000 seized by the government. Between that time and 1840, thirty-one thousand four hundred and thirty-three estates were seized

and sold, amounting to \$150,000,000. These acts were done through the spirit of retaliation for papal aggression, and for the same cause, Protestant Missionaries are tolerated in Spain by the government.

Portugal has been subject to much the same oppression, and reached much the same result, as Spain. A series of attempts on the part of Rome, to gain the entire control of things in this Kingdom, dating back to a very early period, and persevered in, led to the abolition of the Inquisition, and the disbanding of the Monasteries, in 1820, and to the entire suppression of the cloisters, in 1834, which then numbered about five hundred, and many of them were very rich. The Church has one Archbishop, six Bishops, and 4,086 Parishes. The same cause led to a toleration which could not have been otherwise obtained. There is reason to believe that a very large share of the confiscated property of France, Spain, and Portugal, like that of England in former days, lodged in the pockets of individuals, before reaching the public treasury.

In Austria, the religious condition of the people has undergone no considerable change during this half century. Romanism is the established religion, though other religions are tolerated within certain limits. The Romish clergy, however, are more immediately dependent upon, and responsible to, the civil authorities, than in any other European nation. The present avowed doctrine of Austria, in regard to ecclesiastical property, is the same as that already acted upon in Spain and Portugal, holding that the tenure of all such property is in the State, and that it has the right to resume the direction thereof, whenever it may deem it expedient to do so. Nor are the clergy allowed to hold any intercourse with the Supreme Pontiff, without permission of the civil authorities. The Romanists numbered, in 1842, 24,874,139,—3,500,000 of Greeks in communion with Rome, 3,000,000 of Greeks not in communion with Rome,—1,207,309 Lutherans, 2,037,479 Calvinists, with many Jews, and some Unitarians. The Romish Church has 12 Archbishops and 61 Bishops, and about 69,500 clergy.

Italy has been subject to as much religious change as any European country, if we except France. In 1801, the Pope entered into his Concordate with Napoleon, by which Romanism was established in France; in 1810 he was taken prisoner by the French troops, and he excommunicated Buonaparte. The Pope returned to his Kingdom in 1814, and signalized his first year of peace by restoring the Jesuits, and in connection with them waged unceasing war upon liberty everywhere, until the election of Pius IX, June 17th, 1846. His

accession to the Pontificate was regarded as an omen for good ; civil abuses were to be remedied, the Papacy itself to be so reformed that union with other religious bodies might be practicable. That Pius was well disposed in these matters, there is no reason to doubt. His attempts at reformation, his dispensation for the marriage of Romanists with Jews, 1847, and for a Protestant Chapel within the walls of Rome, 1850, are clear indications of this. But the mill-stone of infallibility which Rome has hung around her neck dragged him down, when he would have risen above the policy of his predecessors. The people, disappointed in their expectations, became violent, and expelled the very man from their city whose accession had been hailed as the greatest blessing ; to be brought back again, in 1850, by foreign troops. The revolution has brought to light the fact of an appalling degree of infidelity at Rome, pervading all ranks, but especially prevalent among the learned. The Church in Italy has 33 Archbishops, and 21 Bishops, with about 3,000 Monasteries, and 1,300 Nunneries.

Great Britain has experienced fewer political, and fewer violent religious changes, during the half century, than most of the nations of Europe. There, however, there have been important changes, the end whereof is not yet. The deadness of the last century was followed by a series of political enactments for the advancement of liberty and toleration, unskillfully contrived and executed, as to become virtual encroachments upon the liberties of the Church, so gross and unjustifiable, as to turn back much of that tide of popular feeling from England to Rome, which Papal encroachment in ages past had turned from Rome to England. In 1826 Parliament repealed the Test and Corporation Acts ; in 1829 the Roman Catholic "Relief Bill" admitted Romanists to a seat in Parliament, and in 1832 the "Reform Bill" opened the doors to almost every one. In 1833 Parliament astonished and confounded religious men by the abrogation of ten Irish Bishoprics at a blow, and a few years later began a similar retrenchment at home, by voting to suppress the Diocese of Bangor, the continuance of which was only secured by the prompt and energetic action of English Churchmen. This series of events, indicating, as Keble proclaimed in 1833 "National Apostasy," led to the combination of Churchmen of every grade and degree of Church feeling and opinion, to arrest the swelling tide of destruction that seemed to threaten the existence of the Church itself. We now find sound, old-fashioned Churchmen, like Hook, Rose, and Palmer, moderat-

Churchmen, like Perceval and Keble, low Churchmen, like Pusey and Newman, and Romish Churchmen, like Froude, Churchmen from principle, and Churchmen from interest, combined in defense of the Church. Appeals were made, and the immediate result was, a declaration, signed by seven thousand clergy, and another signed by eight hundred thousand heads of families, declaring their attachment to the Church as it was. Tracts for the Times, Sermons, Addresses, Charges, with the lighter and more ponderous accompaniments of periodicals and separate treatises, burst from the press, as if by magic. Such a sudden and united effort could not be without its effect. It stayed the ruthless hand of innovation. It breasted the current as with a wall of adamant. But the stream, suddenly swollen, could not at once be put to rest. The flood rose higher and higher, and rushing back with violent sweep, has borne off multitudes in its bosom, to strand them in the mud, or lose them in the fog, of Romish superstition. This natural reaction of feeling has been deepened, and widened, and accelerated, by the artful cunning of the Jesuits on the one hand, and the godless treachery of shortsighted politicians on the other. When this reaction was at its height, 1847, when the Church of England was mourning the loss of some of her noblest sons, fled, (as they vainly imagined,) to escape the tyranny of the State, politicians forced into the Episcopal chair, against the will and the voice of the Church, a man who had lain for years under the imputation of heresy, stifling every attempt at protest by the strong arm of the civil law; presuming consent in face of the strongest asseverations to the contrary. The evil consequences which have followed these events excite our pity, but not our wonder.

But though the Church of England has been called to mourn, she has also great occasion to rejoice. For the ten Bishoprics abolished in Ireland, she has received an additional one at Manchester, 1847, and has the prospect of several more in future. The Colonial Bishoprics, of which only two existed at the beginning of the century,—Nova Scotia, established in 1787,—Quebec, or Montreal, 1793,—have been increased to twenty-five, viz: Calcutta, 1814,—Barbadoes and Jamaica, 1824,—Madras, 1835,—Sidney, Bombay, 1836,—Toronto and Newfoundland, 1839,—New Zealand and Jerusalem, 1841,—Gibraltar, Antigua, Guiana, and Tasmania, 1842,—Fredericton and Colombo, 1845,—Newcastle, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Capetown, 1847,—Hong Kong, and Prince Rupert's Land, 1849, Lyttleton, 1850. Within the same period,

the clergy at home have increased from about 10,000 to 16,000, and those in the colonies from about 50 to near 1,000. Fifty years ago, the population of the British Empire was about 15,000,000, now it is 150,000,000, and over all that vast multitude, the English language and the English Church are exerting their influence. For the loss which the Church of England has sustained in the apostasy of many of her sons, she has been, in part, repaid by the conversion of more than a hundred Romish Priests, and several thousands of Romish laymen—the Bishop of Tuam says, 10,000 in his Diocese alone—to her ranks, and by the adhesion of a host of Dissenting ministers, with a multitude of the people. We can allude but briefly to the condition of other religious bodies in Great Britain. In England, the Presbyterians have very generally become Unitarians, and the Baptists are fast verging towards Universalism. In Scotland, the Presbyterian Church has suffered a violent disruption, (1836,) growing out of the right of presentation to Ecclesiastical benefices.

In America, the relative religious condition of things has changed as greatly as the political. Fifty years ago, all of South America, except a part of Guiana, all of Central America, and Mexico,—Florida, Louisiana, and California, with a large proportion of Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, and Canada, were Roman Catholic, and with the exception of Canada, no other religion was tolerated. The population of these countries was then about 15,000,000, all of whom were nominally Romanists. The United States then reckoned 5,300,000, a large proportion of whom are to be reckoned as Protestants. Taking into account all the American islands, and the probable Romish population of America in 1800 was 17,000,000, the probable Protestant population, 6,000,000. In 1850, the probable number of Romanists in America was 26,000,000, of Protestants, 22,000,000. It is an interesting fact, that while the population of Romish America has not doubled in fifty years, that of the Protestant countries has doubled nearly four times. If the same proportional increase continues, fifty years hence, the population of what are now Romish countries will then be less than 35,000,000, that of the Protestant countries, nearly 350,000,000.

To these general views of America, we must add a few particulars in regard to the United States, the only country, except Canada, where any important religious changes have taken place. In 1800, the Protestant Episcopal Church numbered eleven Dioceses, seven Bishops, and two hundred and eleven clergymen. Now there are twenty-nine Dioceses,

thirty-two Bishops, one thousand five hundred and fifty-seven clergymen. Hence, while the population of the country has increased four fold, the Church has increased seven fold. In the Diocese of Connecticut, while the population has increased only about thirty-three per cent., the Church has four folded. Some other religious bodies have increased with equal rapidity, especially the Baptists, Methodists, and Romanists. The sects into which the Baptists, the largest religious body, numerically, in the country, are already divided, is scarcely less than legion. They are without any common bond of union or attraction. The main body of Methodists has been rent in twain by the question of slavery, 1844,—to say nothing of the lesser bodies that its centrifugal force has carried beyond the sphere of its attraction. Congregationalism is local, mostly in New England, and is nearly stationary. Presbyterianism is also comparatively local, abounding mostly in the Middle States. It suffered a violent doctrinal rupture in 1837, and has been deeply convulsed by the question of slavery,—a question which divided the Missionary operations of the so-called American Board, in 1841. The Lutheran and German Reformed bodies,—scattered through the Middle and Western States, have increased very considerably within this period. The Romish Church is the most extensive at the South and West, especially in those portions of territory which were first colonized by Spain. The Romanists of the Northern and Middle States are mostly foreigners, and are isolated by the Priests as much as possible from the native population. The Episcopal Church is the only body which can be truly said to have a national existence, and it is this, more than any thing else, that has preserved, and will preserve, the union and freedom of the States. The Romanists may contribute much to unity,—but Rome will not allow them to do any thing for real freedom. The mass of Protestants may do much for freedom, but they can do nothing for unity. The two combined, exist only in that Church which is Reformed, Protestant, Episcopal, Catholic, and Free. It is *Catholic*, because it is an integral portion of the one universal body of CHRIST, holding the unity of the faith, in the bond of the spirit,—earnestly contending for the faith as it was delivered to the saints. It is *Protestant*, because it testifies against the *additions*, and therefore corruptions of Romanism, which, by apocryphal Scripture, unwritten tradition, doubtful Fathers and ambiguous councils, mislead the weak and unstable into dangerous paths of error. It is *Episcopal*, testifying against the *omissions*, and therefore corruptions of those who have re-

jected the Episcopal regimen, established by the Apostles for the government of the Churches. It is *Free*, testifying against the tyranny of Sect, which would annihilate the Church, and the tyranny of Papacy, which would annihilate the man. Indications of no doubtful character, raise the presumption, that this Church is to take the lead in the salvation of the country, and in the conversion of the world. All may perform some duty, or do battle valiantly for some portion of the truth. But as none can give more than it possesses, that body alone can present the truth in its completeness, and the Church in its entirety, which has continued steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine, fellowship, and breaking of bread, and in prayers.

Among the leading religious events of the present age, must be reckoned the wonderful increase and activity of missionary and other benevolent enterprises. The history of missions for many centuries previous to the present, may be given in a few lines. The Romish societies *De Propaganda Fide*, formed 1622, and the *Parisian Bible Society*, 1718, the *Church of England Societies*, *For Promoting Christian Knowledge*, 1698, *For Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1701, the *Naval and Military Bible*, 1780, *Church Missionary*, 1799, *Methodist Missionary*, 1786, *Baptist Missionary*, 1792, *Home Missionary*, 1797, *London Missionary*, 1795, *Religious Tract*, 1799, *Scottish Propagation*, 1709, *Danish Missionary*, 1704, include nearly all of the associations for missionary purposes that had been formed prior to 1800; and the income of such as continued in being until that time was inconsiderable. The *English Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, received only about £2500, \$11,500 a year, seventy-five years after its foundation. Its yearly income is now about a half million of dollars. The *Church Missionary Society*, as late as 1813, had an income of only \$16,000 a year; it now exceeds \$500,000 a year. When Mr. Wilberforce said, in his enthusiastic zeal, at an anniversary of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, formed in 1804, that he trusted the time would come when the income of the Society would amount to £10,000 a year, it was set down as the wild dream of a visionary enthusiast. A single generation from that time, (1838,) the Executive Committee deemed it necessary to make an apology to the society, because its funds that year had fallen below £100,000. The *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, has published and distributed about 5,000,000 of Bibles, 5,000,000 of Prayer Books, and 50,000,000 of other religious Books. The *Religious Tract Society*, formed in 1799, has an annual income

of \$300,000, and has published over 400,000,000 of books, in over ninety different languages. The British and Foreign Bible Society has published 20,000,000 of Bibles and Testaments, in nearly one hundred and fifty languages and dialects. Other Bible Societies have been formed, among the principal of which are, the Russian, 1813; Prussian, 1814; Polish, 1815; American, 1816; with others too numerous to mention. These societies together, have distributed, during the present half century, about 40,000,000 of Bibles and Testaments; while the various Tract Societies have circulated not less than 600,000,000 of books and tracts within the same period.

In 1800, there were about 10 Protestant Missionary Societies in the world,—in 1840 there were 1045 such societies, 614 of which were in the British Empire, 252 in America, and 178 on the Continent of Europe. The income of these societies the same year, was, British Societies, \$2,115,000, American, \$400,000, European, \$113,000. Of the British societies, much the larger proportion was by Church of England men. The Church of England contributions for Missionary, Bible, Tract, and other benevolent purposes, in 1840, has been computed to exceed \$4,000,000, while all the contributions of all the other Protestant bodies hardly reached \$3,800,000 for the same purposes. The Romish Church has also shared in the general awakening to the cause of missions that has taken place during the present century. The College of the Propaganda at Rome is educating missionaries for all parts of the world, while the French Propaganda Society, formed about 1820, is raising half a million of dollars annually for their support. The Leopold Foundation, an Austrian society established in 1829, is also doing much to aid the same cause.

The two principal Church of England Missionary Societies, that for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and the Church Missionary Society, had, in 1849, an income of \$1,140,000, and sustained 607 ordained Missionaries, and over 1300 native Teachers and Catechists. These two societies labored in India nearly a generation before seeing any considerable result from their efforts. In 1838, between forty and fifty villages renounced their heathenism, in the Province of Krishnagur, and the work of conversion has been onward ever since; the converts now amounting to more than 50,000. In 1843, ninety-six villages had declared themselves Christian in the Province of Tinnevely. More than 40,000 converts have been made in that one Province, and religion is taking strong hold in many other Provinces. To these must be added

a large number of converts in British America, Western and Southern Africa, and the Islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The London Missionary Society, sustained by Christians of various denominations, with an income of \$330,000, sustains 150 Ordained Missionaries, and 500 Assistants, in about 400 stations. It has 10,000 communicants and 50,000 scholars. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, with an income of \$520,000, has 380 Missionaries and 6,000 Assistants. It has 80,000 communicants and 60,000 scholars. The Baptist Missionary Society, with an income of about \$220,000, has 180 Missionaries, and 25,000 members. These several British Societies are now receiving about \$2,250,000 per annum, are sustaining 1,350 Missionaries, 8,000 Assistants, and reckon about 200,000 communicants, and 400,000 scholars. The American and European Continental Missionary Societies, though doing much, have less means and produce less results than the British Societies. Supposing it to be only half as much, and the Protestant Missionary Societies would receive \$3,400,000 a year, would sustain 2,000 Ordained Missionaries, 12,000 Assistants, and would have 300,000 communicants, and 600,000 scholars, which would give a Protestant Missionary population of over a million of people. The Missions of the Romish Church reckon about 140 Bishops, 4,300 Priests, and 4,600,000 people. With the exception of the Romish Missions these are the work of the present century, and most of them the result of the last thirty years.

In closing this view of the changes that have taken place in the religious world during the half century, it will be interesting to consider the relative condition of the several religious denominations. At the close of the last century the Romanists were computed, by Carey, to number 100,000,000—the Protestants, 44,000,000, and the Greeks and Armenians, 30,000,000. A few years since Balbi computed the Romanists at 160,000,000. They may now possibly amount to 165,000,000. Ungewitter, in 1850, computed the Protestants of Europe at 58,000,000; our own computation gives 22,000,000 in America, and other computations give over 20,000,000 in Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceanica, making a total of 100,000,000 of Protestants at the present time. Ungewitter also computes the Greek church in Europe, at the present time, to exceed 59,000,000. The Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Syriac, Chaldean, and other Oriental Christians of Asia and Africa, must number some millions more, probably not less than five or six millions. These data give the Romanists 165,000,000, the Protestants 100,000,000, the Greeks and the Orientals

65,000,000 ; making a total of 330,000,000 of Christians, out of 1,050,000,000, the estimated population of the globe. Carey's estimate, half a century ago, gave 174,000,000 of Christians out of 950,000,000 of people. According to these data, the Greek and Oriental Church has something more than doubled in fifty years—the Protestants have doubled once, and almost half doubled again, while the Romanists lack 35,000,000 of having doubled once. Another important feature of the present, in comparison with the past, and in relation to the future, is the comparative sway of Romish and other governments at the two periods. In 1800, the Romanists bore rule over about 120,000,000 of people—the Protestant rule scarcely exceeded 20,000,000, and the Greek was less than 30,000,000. Now the Romish sway extends over about 165,000,000—the Protestant 225,000,000—the Greek about 75,000,000. The condition of Romanism, relative to other religious bodies, and in its political predominance, has therefore undergone surprising changes within this period—changes which are full of comfort for the present, and hope in the future, to all lovers of genuine freedom, civil or religious. Another interesting consideration to the pious soul is, the relative increase of Christians in the world. Fifty years ago the Christians were less than one fifth of the population of the globe ; now they exceed a fourth part.

Along with these encouraging circumstances, we ought not to forget the rifeness of schisms in all Protestant countries ; nor the sad consequences to which so many of them lead ; nor the half-christianized character of many Christians, especially among those who have changed the catalogue of heathen gods for that of human or inhuman saints ; nor the infidelity that prevails in all nominally Christian countries. Other circumstances, which grieve the Romanists, but rejoice the Protestants, are the efforts made in Germany, Brazil, and even Ireland, in 1842–3, to do away with the celibacy of the clergy, the assertion of national rights and prerogatives in Spain and Portugal since 1830, and the partial toleration that has existed in these countries since that period. The expulsion of Romish priests from Russia, 1842, was an act of which Rome could not complain ; and the abrogation of the law of Turkey, 1844, making it death for a Mohammedan to become a Christian, must rejoice all. The Jews were estimated, at the beginning of the century, at 7,000,000. According to a computation of M. M. Noah, in 1844, they then were known to number over 6,471,000, so that 7,000,000 cannot be far from the truth at present. No important change has taken place among these except in their relation to Christianity.

The first series of efforts made for this purpose, were commenced by Louis Way, 1808. Up to 1845, the Missionaries of the London and European Jews Societies had baptized about two thousand Jews in Russia, and great multitudes in other European countries. A large number of converted Jews have entered the ministry, both in England and on the Continent, and 1842 saw a Jew at Jerusalem the Bishop of a Christian Church, under the protection of two of the most powerful nations of Europe. In 1845, permission was given by the Turkish authorities to erect a church in Jerusalem, on a site not before occupied for that purpose,—the first instance of the kind since the conquest of that country by the Turks.

Among the important events of the present half century, has been the abolition of the slave trade. The Church, after fourteen centuries of conflict with the world, had well nigh produced uniformity of feeling and of action upon this subject, when the mistaken zeal of Romish Missionaries, sanctioned by Romish authorities, interfered, about 1500. In the middle of the last century, efforts were made in the North American Colonies to arrest the slave trade, and at the close of the century it was taken up resolutely by British philanthropists. France abolished, and then restored it. The British Parliament abolished the slave trade from January 1st, 1808, and the United States did the same. Through the influence of England, France abolished it in 1814; Portugal in 1812, England paying her \$1,500,000 to persuade her to do so; Spain in 1818, England paying her \$2,000,000 to secure it. Denmark abolished the slave trade in 1804, Sweden in 1813, the Netherlands in 1814, and Brazil in 1830. This having been accomplished, mainly through the influence of England, the Pope issued his bull against the slave trade in December, 1830. There is reason to believe, however, that the trade is still carried on in Brazil and the Spanish West Indies.

The advances made in the cause of education during this period, also deserve notice. The Lancasterian, the Pestalozzian and Fellenberg Schools, Normal and other similar Educational Schools, are peculiar to this period. So, also, are Education Societies, as well as the arrangements and institutions for instructing the Deaf, the Dumb, the Blind, and the Idiot, together with many other devices for alleviating the wants and miseries, and easing the woes of mankind.

But we must bring this article, already too long, to a close. The survey has been brief and rapid, but the interests in-

volved are momentous, and the consequences resulting, of the most intensely interesting kind. The struggle that has been going on, and the conquests that have been made, during the half century, have shaped the present for developing a future unlike any thing that is past. To be prepared for the coming contest of sin with religion and the Church, aided as it will be by the lying wonders that have been foretold, and the vain babblings of science, falsely so called, is the duty of the Christian scholar. Careful study, comprehensive thinking, energetic action, all these will be indispensable. Though the truth is ever the same, the mode of attack upon it being different in different ages of the world, requires a different training and preparation on the part of its champions and defenders. It is the part of wisdom, therefore, to consider *the signs of the times* at present, that we may know how to act in future.

LOYALTY TO THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

ART. V.—*A Discourse on St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon; delivered in Christ Church, Hartford, Conn.* By N. S. WHEATON, D. D.

The State of the Nation; a Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at the Melodeon, Boston, Mass. By THEODORE PARKER.

The Independent; a Weekly Newspaper, conducted at New York, by several Congregational Clergymen.

It is an opinion extensively entertained in the old world, that the principle of loyalty can find no place and scope in the system of American politics. It is alleged, that by the genius of that system, the feeling of personal independence is so powerfully nurtured, that it must outgrow the sense of social dependence, and overshadow and destroy the submission to authority, in which loyalty consists. It is argued, moreover, that there is here no object of loyalty, no throne, no crown, no sceptre, which, as visible and tangible things, we might gaze at and venerate. That there is no perpetual chief, whose position is on high, above the profane reach of the many, into whose presence, as into a sanctuary, men are admitted only by a condescension, whose authority is unimpeachable, and against whom it were treason to impute a wrong.

We are constrained to acknowledge, that the correctness of this opinion has of late almost been verified in our own domestic history. In high places, and in low places, there have been heard the discordant notes of Disloyalty and Treason. A dark cloud has been gathering in our political horizon, and still hangs suspended over us, portending all the horrors of civil war. In the National Senate and House of Representatives, in the pulpit and from the religious and secular press, by the scholar and so-called philosopher, and the noisy demagogue, there have been proclaimed principles and purposes which, unchecked, will as inevitably lead to disunion, to revolution, to anarchy, to horrible scenes of carnage and blood, as cause leads to result. And all this in the name of Christianity and a higher law!

We confess that we have watched the progress of these late events with no ordinary emotions. We remembered that

there was never a national community in which the principle of loyalty had not found a name, a credit, and a home. We saw that it was a powerful, because a natural and constitutional feeling; and we thought if ours were the only polity which systematically shuts from its bosom an impulse so deep and vital, a Republic was an experiment more perilous and desperate than we had been wont to think. We saw that, whatever may be the issue of the present excitement, it was only necessary to train up a generation or two under the influence of such views, to dissolve the cement and coherence of our union, and reduce to shifting particles, shaken by every breeze of whim, and blown away in the tempest of passion and selfishness, the footing we have always deemed to be of solid rock. We saw, or thought we saw, that such opinions were the growth and offspring of a material philosophy which derives its principles from the body and not the soul; which recognizes no first truths but the appetites; and no rule of conduct but private caprice or self-will. We knew that such opinions must be untrue, because, not recognizing the spiritual, they did not acknowledge the divine, and by making no provision for obedience as a principle, they renounced religion as a life; by acknowledging no seat of authority, they set at naught the laws of nature and the commandments of God.

Under these circumstances, we have been led to consider the subject of Loyalty, as existing within, and affected by, the structure of our political fabric. Without discussing that particular measure, which the excitement of the day has put into everybody's mouth, which is, after all, but a collateral subject, though it is one on which we have a very decided opinion, we propose to argue a main principle; to show that Loyalty is a feeling provided for by our institutions; and again, that only in its due exercise will our highest freedom be found to consist.

By the term Loyalty we understand fidelity to a superior, a sovereign; a dutiful regard to his authority, a strict and steadfast obedience to his decrees.

It has been sometimes said, that "man was made to be governed,"—a proposition so startling, and so susceptible of being misunderstood, that it is not surprising it should be deemed odious. Yet, before it be condemned, its author should have the opportunity to declare in what sense he will have his words interpreted. If they mean that the many were born to serve the pleasure of the few, to swell the pomp of personal grandeur, to make food for one man's pride, or power, or lust, then we desire to be considered as joining in

the general displeasure, and stamping the proposition as base and execrable.

But if it admits of another interpretation, and only means to declare that men, by virtue of their creatureship, are subordinate to a power higher than themselves; that they are placed in the midst of a system, whose grand and significant characteristic is, that it is a system of law; that the minutest phenomena and the vastest convulsions, the frailest and the most august life, are fruits and subjects of some kind of rule; that man is not exempt from this pervading condition of the universe; but that he, too, was born to develop his nature to the utmost, by obedience to the cognate and imitative reason which marks his sonship as divine, and so fulfills the purpose of his creation, only by a filial allegiance to the Sovereign of the universe; then we desire to echo the sentiment of that proposition, to hold it up, as full of noble truth, and to urge it, as containing the true secret of large and lasting freedom.

For, how utterly contrary to experience is the pretension that men are independent of influences from without, or impulses from within, when the condition of every one of us is shaped by circumstances which came without our bidding, and the peculiar character of each has taken its bias from the hidden influence of his nature, which determines the style of his thoughts and the object of his wishes, and those thoughts and wishes deliberately, or at least consciously, obeyed, have made him what he is. Now, in taking advantage of circumstances, has he not obeyed a law, or, in prosecuting the suggestions of his interior propensities and wishes, has he not rendered a virtual and devout obedience to an authority which claims him as its willing subject? And in saying this, we derogate nothing from the dignity of man's spiritual nature, when we reflect that these laws of his own private being are only a part of a magnificent and universal system, which springs from the counsel of the All-wise One of Eternity, and were destined to produce those forethought results, that exhibit and magnify His glory. Nay, how can that be derogatory to man, which pertains as well to the Divine Sovereignty itself? How should that offend his spiritual nature, which makes it participant with the Divine? We will speak cautiously, for we feel that the mind never staggers beneath its conceptions so tremblingly, as when it is burdened with the thought of God. Yet, with caution let us say, that even the Sovereign of the universe acts not, and decrees not, without law. He uses not the whole of His almightiness, or, at least, He uses it not *always*.

There is, to His mind, the law of the universal reason, and the rule of immutable fitness, by which He restrains and guides His actions. He has not produced all He might, because His wisdom stayed His omnipotence ; teaching it not to work wantonly, but for an end ; and when that end was wrought, His power returned, if we may so speak, and entered again into the deep centre of the Divinity.

"It is not good for man to be alone," was the Divine reason for making man to live in society ; and when all things were created, and the creation was surveyed, they were compared with the standard and archetype of the Divine Mind, and were pronounced very good. So that Heaven itself has a pattern, and a rule, and an end, which are, even to the All-wise One, as a law. From the fixed and eternal idea of the good and the true He learns His purposes and designs, while the infinite perfection which His nature is, tends infallibly to be and to do the best ; so that it is not too much to say, that, as the rule and standard of the Divine actions is the best and infinite good, so the concurrence of His most excellent nature renders the great Sovereign Himself the most profoundly, because infinitely, obedient to law.

It is not for man, then, to claim exemption from the necessary order of the universe. If he would, he could not disguise the open fact of his condition ; that he was born under law,—made to be loyal and obedient to some authority of nature, or of reason and truth. And if he could cloak and cover over the features of his *condition*, which prove him to be subordinate, he cannot conceal, at least, the tendencies of his own interior nature, towards the acknowledgment of such a state. He has a faculty, in the midst of his own being, which is shaped and configured to Loyalty and Law. There is a deep recognition, by his spirit, of the claims of truth and righteousness and goodness. There is a special place and room in his mind for the idea expressed by the word Duty. There is no man who does not understand you, when you say, "you ought." Every man feels it within, and feels, too, that it is a power against which rebellion were more fearful and more execrable, than against all the conceivable array of outward force that can be brought to intimidate and subdue his soul withal. Force is not necessarily irresistible. Torture may be borne by pride or patience. Threats may be defeated by courage, and fear may be drowned in business and care. But an authority that is spiritual is sure to be victorious, be it for good or bad. Sceptreless, badgeless, it sits on the soul, as on a throne, and bends down my nature to its felt sove-

reignty. I am its consenting, or unwilling, but, at any rate, its passive subject. I suffer it, but I cannot act upon it. I know that it is, but I do not know where it is. It grasps my spirit and controls my consciousness; and the more I writhe against its power, the more vitally do I feel that I am not a sole and independent creature. It is not a fear, nor a phantom, but a spiritual instinct. It is within me, but not of me; or if it be a part of my spiritual organism, it is not the subject of my will and appetites. I cannot make it minister, like my hands and feet, to my appetites and volitions; but it works, as the heart beats, by an involuntary power. It may throb the harder, as I tax and violate its nature more, or it acts with a gentler and unconscious influence, if I suffer it to act unhindered; and it ministers healthfulness and strength to every function of my being, but no power of my will can force it into stillness. Its influence is vital. I must cease to be a man before I can be divested of this essential action of my spirit, teaching me that I ought, and coercing me that I must, be loyal and subject.

Coleridge relates an anecdote so aptly illustrative of this operation of our spiritual being, that we cannot forbear to introduce it. It was of a naval officer, who, on taking command of a man-of-war, found a crew composed of the worst materials, and full of the spirit of mutiny. What terror could effect, by severity and frequency of punishment, had been done. And this effect was, he says, like that of a polar winter on a flask of brandy. The furious spirit concentrated itself at the heart with tenfold strength; open violence was changed into secret plots and conspiracies. The new commander instantly commenced a system of discipline as near as possible to that of ordinary law. He avoided as much as possible, in his own person, the appearance of any will, or arbitrary power, to vary or remit punishment. The rules of the ship were fully made known, with the penalties for their violation respectively. Excepting in the case of mutiny, a space of twenty-four hours was appointed between the first charge and the second hearing of the cause, when the accused person was permitted and required to allege whatever he could in his defense. If no satisfactory answer could be given to the three questions—Did you commit the act? Did you know it was in violation of the rules? Was it not wholly in your power to have obeyed?—then sentence was administered, and a space of time again allotted before its execution. During this interval, the feelings of the commander would often betray themselves in his sympathy for the culprit, in a manner

most observable, so that it was evident the punishment was not his, but the law's ; and whenever he perceived in the offender any trait of nobleness or self-respect, he lost no opportunity of saying, "It is not the pain you are about to suffer that grieves me ; you are none of you, I trust, such cowards as to turn fainthearted at the thought of that ; but that, being a man, you should make it necessary to treat you as a criminal."

The success of the plan was most conspicuous. Ruffians, who, like the old buccaneers, had been accustomed to inflict torture on themselves for sport, or in order to harden themselves beforehand, were tamed and overpowered, how or why they themselves knew not ; and days after the punishment, when the pain was remembered only as a dream, the fiercest spirits would be heard most earnest in their entreaties for the commander's forgiveness. It was an invisible power that quelled them, a power that was irresistible because it took away the very will to resist. It was the spiritual power and awfulness of law, which swayed and bowed the whole man.

We consider this instance as both illustrating and proving the truth that lies at the foundation of all just views of government and polity—to wit, that man was born for loyalty and obedience. Else why should there be these instructive appetencies of his nature—this vital acknowledgment of authority—this sovereign, interior sense of duty, which nothing outwards can subdue, and no spiritual habit can eradicate—which is superior to lust, and anger, and revenge, and ill example, and self-indulgence—and moulds by a plastic power the spirit, as if God had bowed Himself again to undertake a new creation ? Why is there this overruling tendency of nature, if it have, and can have, no corresponding object ? There is not wont to be such a disproportion and want of fitness in the order of the universe. All things else have their end and destination. The means are no more necessary to the end, than the end is to the means. If the one be wanting, the end is frustrated ; if the other, the means are unprofitable and vain. Means and ends, faculties and objects, desire and supply, make the joints in the great skeleton frame-work of the universe ; and if they be severed, or denied each to the other, there is a dislocation in the body, a loss of power and symmetry, a disturbance of function, pain, and distortion of movement, and all the symptoms which show the times are out of joint. From the divine rule of fitness we argue strongly, that because man's supremest instinct is to law, submission to rightful authority is his fitting state.

But the question is sometimes urged, by way of objection, whether these views are consistent in their influence, with the largest liberty of mankind. But we regard such a question as not pertinent to the subject. It matters not what degree of liberty man might have been made to enjoy, under other circumstances. Those circumstances are not his. He was made under law. He is under law. He must be under law. If these points are proved, then the only practical question is, can he secure the highest freedom, of which, as a subject of law, he is capable? That he may enjoy what we call liberty, while he is acting under the most implicit authority of law, is, we think, capable of proof.

Thus, for example, when we lift our minds to behold the great Sovereign of all, sitting in the calm supremacy of unquestioned power and authority, wielding as He will the mighty energies of the universe, with none to stay His hand, or say unto Him, "What doest thou?"—we behold the realization of the greatest potential freedom; yet at the same time, because this ineffable excellence renders it impossible for Him to commit a wrong, there can be no being so absolutely controlled as He.

As an inference from this view, we might argue, that not only is liberty compatible with obedience, but beyond this, that the highest liberty is found in obedience to the most authoritative law; and in proportion as we approach the Most High, in deference to the great principles of truth, and the law of right, in the same proportion are we exalted in the range of our freedom, and the unchecked play of our wills. And so, on the other hand, he who aims to throw off the authority of law, does by that act rend the charter of his freedom, binds upon his own neck the chains of debasement; and if he could thoroughly succeed in his endeavors, and liberate himself from the influence of rules and principles of conduct, what would he be but the prey of impulses, fickle as the wind; the sport of a playful or a malignant chance; the very football of fortune?

No, there is liberty only in law. It is law alone which makes us free. For law is theoretical justice, or theoretical truth, or theoretical benevolence, according to the subject with which it is connected. It is the exponent and manifestation of that ideal good to which God made us to aspire. It is always more perfect than our obedience, and because it is so, it is continually challenging and inciting us to a higher reach of attainment, and a more consummate excellence, a nearer approach to itself; and because the law of our spiritual

being is progressive, the very expanding of our faculties to embrace that theoretic excellence—the venting of our energies in the enlarging course of improvement—the mounting up of our spirits to approach the first bright, first fair of eternity, Who is embodied perfection of law—is itself a liberty so exalted as belongs to none others than the angels.

Thus much we have said to show that, as a general truth, submission to authority is the essential condition of man, and that obedience and liberty are not so much correlative as identical, and we cannot close this part of our subject better than in the oft admired eulogium of the great Hooker, upon the character and dignity of law: “Of law,” he says, “there can be no less acknowledged than that her seat is the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the world. All things in heaven and earth do her homage—the very least, as feeling her care, and the greatest, as not exempted from her power—both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.”

And now, supposing this principle is acknowledged—we are all of one mind in this matter. Supposing that we all agree in this general position, that obedience to some law is our necessary condition, the question that comes home to our businesses and bosoms as American citizens—a pregnant question too, and full of the seeds of things, is, “Where is the seat of authority, the centre and home of law?” Where resides that invisible sovereign, whose voice is the echoing of the Divine announcement—whose person is the embodying of Divine authority—whose decree is the translation of the Divine will, and whose venerableness is the representation of God’s awful majesty, before which His creatures should bow with filial homage? Does the structure of our political system supply an object of loyalty? Do the maxims of our government recognize such an object? In a word, where is the government? It may seem an abstract question—but who that has studied with an intelligent eye the history of nations, has not marked the power of abstractions on the minds of men, in stirring and promoting every signal change in their affairs? It is enough to notice, in illustration, the two most conspicuous events of modern times, the Reformation, and the French Revolution—when the lucubrations of the closet became the rules of the working day, and the cold cogitations of philosophers drove the excited people, as one man, into the enthusiastic, life-consuming work of revolution.

Where then is the source of civil and political authority, the

fountain of law, to man? No one will dispute us when we answer, "*in heaven.*" God is the supreme Lawgiver—all ultimate authority is with Him. Law is His mouthpiece, and, as Hooker says, her seat is the bosom of God. This is not a question of creeds. All besides the Atheist will agree, that the best conceivable government would be a theocracy, where infallible wisdom was at the helm, where counsel and direction could be sought at the eternal Source, and where the words of command were live words leaping from the lips of a present Deity. A theocracy there was once, and might have been longer, but in the folly of their conceit, men prayed for a king, and in His wrath, Heaven answered their prayer, and a king they had.

But Heaven has not abdicated the seat of authority, or renounced the sceptre which is the badge and token of an universal dominion. By Him kings reign and princes decree judgment, no less now than ever. Whatever be the form of government, or method of administration, there is still such a thing as government itself, which, as an institution, is divine, which is the type of Heaven's own rule and the expression of Heaven's own authority.

All government is of Divine appointment; but varies in its character to suit the different relations of mankind. Men were always social beings, and if the historical fact did not establish it, the fact we have discussed, viz., that all the tendencies of their nature are to law, would prove *à priori*, that they were made for such a state. Some form of association is necessary. Individualism, because it is exclusive, is forbidden by the nature of things. Now, from the beginning, there have been three distinct forms of human association, three constant institutions. They have marked the history of man with three bright lines of light, which began in the first manifestation of God to His creatures. They are like the rays of divinity, and, as they stream down to us, they prove by their unbrokenness now, as effectual as at the first, that their appointment is still divine, their authority God's own. These three institutions are the Family, the Nation, and the Church. From the earliest period, we say, the world has never been without them, and in the earliest period they were all theocracies, and God dealt with men in only these relations. Human institutions, in their structure and relations, were divine in their authority; they were divine in such a sense, that their laws were sacred; the breach of duty to either was a sin against God. They were all theocracies, we said. God manifested Himself to them in the way of personal supervision, and

He dealt with men only in one or the other of these three relations. If He blessed an individual, that blessing reached forward to the long line of his posterity ; or if He cursed, the malediction stretched out its withering arm to grasp the unborn generations of his family as well. If He chose to exalt a people, or a nation, it was still as a nation they were exalted. The promised land was dispensed and apportioned, not according to their deserts as individuals, but according to their connection as parts of that national stock. And if He chose to reverse His hand then, when the terrible decree was written on the palace wall, " Mene, mene, tekel, Upharsin," it was not the death of a monarch that was denounced, but the downfall of the most magnificent kingdom the sun shone upon. And again, in that more sublime relationship of His Church, it was to the institution the promises were made, and the woe foreshadowed. If He hid His countenance, or removed the candlestick, it was for the Church's sins, and it was still to the Church, as an institution, of which it was said, " the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." " God is in the midst of her, and she shall not be moved ; God shall help her, and that right early."

Now the point which we wish to bear in mind, is this, that it was to the Family, the Nation, and the Church, as institutions, as invisible but perpetual corporations, yet acting in visible and outward forms, that He directed His dealings. It was not the individuals, as such, who at any given moment constituted the body of members. It was not a single generation who were the objects of His regard and the subjects of His law—as if the succeeding generation were to live under a new code and a different dispensation. Whether that corporation included in its list of members five or five thousand, it was still the institution of authority and the object of the divine enactments. As an institution, it spoke in Heaven's own stead, and as Heaven's vicegerent upon earth : its authority was sacred, its obligations divine, and their breach was a sin. Now we find no difficulty in realizing this idea in some of its connections. We can understand that there is such a thing as filial and parental obligation. We call a child unnatural who repudiates his father, even though that father has shown himself dead to the parental duty. The merits of the individual we place aside. We do in our familiar thoughts and speech, recognize such an idea as parental authority, even when the father is weaker and less worthy than the son. We acknowledge a filial obligation, though it be grounded on nothing else but the fact of sonship ; there is a family law, and

principles of family government and duty, which are unlike the code of any other human institution ; which bear a peculiar and special sanctity, and which, in their violation or neglect, expose the offender to the reproach of unnatural baseness. So nearly is this tie religious, that the ancients gave to the faithful son the distinctive title of pious. Now in all this we acknowledge such a thing as an institution, which may be contemplated apart from its members. We look upon the family association as perpetual, though the succession of individuals comes and goes, and changes forevermore. We recognize a family relation like no other on earth ; its duties the same, whether in one hemisphere or another, its laws as binding in the nineteenth century as in the patriarchal age—the breach of those laws just as criminal, whether by you, or me, or by Absalom. There is an institution which never dies, a divine institution, whose laws find their ultimate authority, not in the will of the individual members, but in the deep and primitive fact, that God established it.

Now this, which we thus practically acknowledge in the Family, is exemplified again in the Church, which, with its ministry, its truths, and its sacraments, is no less perpetual in its subsistence—alike peculiar in its character, and in its laws and sanctions confessedly divine. Different from the family institution in the superiority of its relations, bringing us directly to God, more vital in its interests, because they affect the soul, and more awful in its sanctions, because they compass eternity, the Church is like the Family in this, that it is an *institution* indefectible as the human race ; and as much an institution, with its own unchangeable being, and its invisible and abstract life and authority ; as much an institution, whether it embrace the congregation of Eden, the eleven disciples in the upper chamber at Jerusalem, or the three hundred and thirty millions of believers of our own generation. Its Chief is in Heaven ; and the Church echoes His divine voice ; proclaims His will ; enforces His discipline ; so that whatsoever it binds on earth, is bound in heaven, and whatsoever it looses on earth, is loosed in heaven. The idea of the Church, and the idea of the Family, are totally independent of that of the members who compose them. It is to that idea, not as a mere notion of the fancy, but as an actual spiritual subsistence, the more real and efficacious, because spiritual, and yet seen in its outward forms and relations, that we all attach the conceptions of unity, perpetuity, and authority, and law, and duty. It is against this spiritual power we offend, when we violate the obligations of the Family or the Church,

and it is to this we pay our practical reverence, when we obey.

We have dwelt long upon the considerations of these two institutions; not because they are immediately joined to our present purpose, but because they illustrate the view which we wish to present of *civil* government. We knew that we are accustomed to think thus of the Family and the Church, but we feared lest our democratic education had disqualified us for thinking so freely of the State, and we preferred suggesting the view first in the way of analogy. But now is any one prepared to say, why the same does not hold true of political, as of domestic and ecclesiastical government? Why is there not a spiritual idea, but yet an actual subsistence to the State, as well as to the Family and the Church?

They were all equally of divine appointment, each the object of the Divine Providence, and each in its own sphere of influence, the depository of power and authority, which could come from none other than God. Who made thee a ruler or a judge over me? The law, you answer. But what gives the law its binding efficacy—strength? Then, if I am stronger than my ruler, I may usurp the sword or the ermine. The majority of mere wills? Then I may muster a larger number of wills, and overpower the law—or, just as easily, I may seize the weapons of rebellion, and intimidate those wills, that they shall not dare to speak; and then, where is the law? Its majesty is a mockery; its word an idle boast; its power that of the strongest. It is brute force, after all. Law is not the expression of mere will—it is the voice of the universal reason, prescribing my duty, curbing my wildness, and defending my weakness against the overpowering wills of other men. It must have a dignity superior to the excellence of bone and muscle, and an authority higher than my neighbor's whim, or my neighbor's conscience, or I can pay it no reverence. The inbegotten pride of man refuses to bow down to it. Law is not in will any more than it is in parchment. I can trample the one as easily as I can rend and scatter the other. There must be a power behind the law, an unseen, a spiritual power; call it an abstraction—it is a power. I recognize a divinity in it. It seizes my spirit. It constrains my reverence. It impresses me with the conviction of superiority. It holds me by the sense of duty, and if all the forces of the land were mustered at my disposal, I am uneasy if I disobey it. The law will vindicate itself, for it is Heaven's own voice and power, acting through the visible form of the State.

It is the State that warrants the laws. It is the authority

that is gathered up in this spiritual thing, this abstraction which we call government, which is only the agent by which God rules our civil interests. This is the idea we wish to enforce. We unconsciously recognize it sometimes in our thoughts of patriotism and duty, but in modern theories it is too often exploded. We recognize it when we speak of the constitutional, the fundamental law—the guiding law, which restrains and shapes all other laws—which quells the factious mob, and secures the lesser party against the despotism of mad majorities. Why do we speak with reverence of the Constitution—a thing of paper and ink? Not because it is always wisest, for many think it might be amended, some in one respect, and some in another. Not because its framers were older men than we. Not because it was the voice of a single generation; for that generation is balanced by the present. Analyze the feeling in our own minds, and we will find that we unconsciously ascribe to the Constitution of the land, a sacredness that springs not from the earth. We invest it with a hallowed nature and power. Its voice is not the mere direction of three millions of men, assuming to govern a generation of twenty-three millions. It is the voice of the nation. It is the decree of the spiritual, abstract State, which, like a veiled deity, sits behind the law, and utters the solemn and majestic voice of reason, of truth, of divinity. We listen, we reverence, we obey. He who arrays himself, or attempts to array his fellow citizens, against the Constitution—interpreted not by himself, but by the highest Court of the land—is and must be a traitor to his country.

But the question may be started, whether this view can be made to accord with the maxim, that the will of the people is the supreme law. We reply, it never was intended that the mere popular will should be supreme. The programme of our government never propounded this maxim. It was the deliberative reason of the people; it was their collective wisdom, interpreting the dictates of the universal reason, and proclaiming the result as law, sanctioned by truth, and made authoritative, not by the wishes of men, but by the divine teaching of the great Ruler, convincing men's hearts of duty to the law. In no true sense is the mere will of the people the rightful authority. Every theory founded on such a principle results inevitably in the dominion of the strongest. Perpetuity to the Nation, there is none; obligation to the State, there is none; the honor, the credit of the State, there is none; security to the minority, safety to the individual rights, there are none. There is no escape from such anarchy, but in the view

that presents us truly with an ideal, a spiritual sovereignty; investing not the persons, but the office of government, and which, as the delegate of Heaven, shall speak as the voice of God.

The wholesome operation of this principle we will endeavor to describe.

First, then, mark the effects of this view in adjusting the question of State punishments. In any other view, all punishment is resolved into the power of the strong over the weak; of many over the one, who may chance to thwart their plans or oppose their will. Capital punishment is the grossest violation of human rights that can be conceived, because life is the most precious right. But on the grounds we have discussed—the State as a divine institution—a supernatural person has a right superior to that of men, the right of offended authority to vindicate itself, the right of God against the rebellion of His creatures. And when the State utters its solemn sentence, it is not the voice and will of one poor feeble man, though called a judge, and clothed in ermine; neither is it the collective will of the masses, who throng the courts; but it is the voice of the power that is ordained of God, asserting its right as divine, and inflicting sentence, not because the offender chose to follow his own will in opposition to yours and mine, but because he violated his allegiance to Heaven's delegate, and traversed and trampled the rules and institutions of God.

It is on this ground, and this alone, that capital punishment can be justified, and on this ground it is made both right and necessary. For inasmuch as the command stands unblotted upon that record, which shows Heaven's plan of dealing in human governments—"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"—then, since human government is as truly a divine institution as at the first, there can be no departure from that decree until it be divinely repealed. And punishment is no invasion of the rights of men, but a taking back by Heaven, for its abuse, the life that was only loaned to be improved.

Again, let us mark the bearing of this view upon what we call the duty of patriotism. How are we to interpret this instinctive feeling of love for our country, springing up uncalled for in the bosom of every man, and often nobler in woman, and which it is our bounden duty in these days to cultivate, and filling with romantic enthusiasm even the child's heart? What is the object of this ennobling passion, which, more ample and sublime than domestic love, is second only in

purity and fervor and sacredness, to the holy bonds of the Church? What is it that makes a patriot's death well nigh glorious as a martyr's? What does he love when he loves his country? Nature and truth were made for each other, and affianced by the decree of God. If the instinct be living, there must be its living, actual object. Is it, bright skies, and green fields, and a genial climate? Go, ask the patriot Swiss; nay, ask our fathers. Is it the masses he means, when he says he loves his country? He knows them not; the multitude of his countrymen he never saw. He owes them nothing. If he loves them, it is only with the love of philanthropy, which is indiscriminating of nations and people. Is it his family and friends he fights and dies for, when he dies for his country? No, we call such love by another name—parental, fraternal, filial. The family affection is the most powerful antagonist to the patriotic love. The childless, fatherless, brotherless man should make the most ready patriot. Is it then a selfish vanity, a mere thirsting for applause, that men have all along mistaken for the love of country? No, for vanity is self-seeking—patriotism, self-sacrificing; vanity is defrauded of its object by death—patriotism is never gratified to the full till it can pour out its blood. Vanity triumphs only in victory—patriotism is most glorious in defeat. The object of patriotism, again is our question. Answer it who can, on any other theory! We present our own, and yet not ours, but the theory of philosophic minds in long ages gone, and the theory of true hearts in all ages. It is the abstract nation that the patriot loves. It is the spiritual image of the State—the ideal embodiment of authority, the guardian genius of the land, standing to us, in all our national relations, as a divine mother, to whom we pay the tender and ennobling homage of her children. Our love to her is filial; we triumph in her glory; we pity her misfortunes; we burn at her disgrace; we share her reproaches and woes; we defend her with our lives, and when we die we only wish to lay ourselves at her feet, look up into her countenance, and say with our last panting gasp—I die content, it is for thee! There is a place in every man's heart for this love; to every man this love has a spiritual object—lifting him out of himself—giving him a conception of noble duty, and filling him with an enthusiasm, so pure, that it is only the first grade this side of godliness. The view we have contemplated provides for the sentiment of patriotism in its most vital and sublime power.

Again—springing from these same principles arises the moral propriety of defensive war. As the conservator of the

Commonwealth, the Divine State acts with a superhuman authority in repelling foreign invasion, as much as in quelling domestic crime. The nation, as much as the household, needs the ægis of a heavenly care; and the decree of national resistance seems no more abhorrent to philanthropy, than the sentence of personal punishment.

In truth, where the authority of Heaven is concerned, there is no place for the intrusion of human sympathies. That Divine Power that holds all life in His righteous hand, must be supposed to act without cruelty or passion. Only prove a Divine command, and you remove the question at once without the bounds of our importunate sensibilities. In His dealings with human life Heaven may employ such agencies as it will, an earthquake or an army of living men. There is no essential difference of morality between the destruction of Sodom and the extermination of the Canaanites, for both were specifically, divinely ordered, although in the one case the agents were men, and in the other the elements. Abraham's sacrifice, which, under other circumstances, would have been cold-blooded murder, was, from the circumstance of a Divine command, transmuted into an act of obedience, so rare and rich, that it drew down an entail of blessing upon his long posterity, and became the outstanding example of piety to all generations of men. So essentially does the morality of human actions depend upon a law above ourselves.

If, then, we have shown the Divine mission and authority of civil government, the inference is not to be shunned, that it not only may, but must enforce, if need be, the great purpose of its establishment. In compelling the aggressor to peace, in suppressing insurrection, and in quelling treason, the State acts in her abstract divinity. She adjudicates the question of right, and then summons her physical strength, to maintain the inviolability of the ordinances of Heaven, by a righteous self-defense. A terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well, she bears a sword given her from above; and she bears it not in vain. This is the law of her existence. It enters into the very conception of sovereignty. Any theory which controverts this view, must renounce the principles for which we have contended, and with them the supreme authority of revelation. It must be a theory which makes religion to consist of philanthropy, exclusive of piety. A theory which draws its principles from our own natures, instead of God's; which amputates some single truth of ethics, and carries it far away from the body of truth, where it must grow corrupt and pestilential. It must overlook the great facts of God's moral ad-

ministration, and the deep principles which lie imbedded in them. The religion of that theory may be anthropology, but it is not theology. It is a theory, not of a general principle, but of one idea. It is the seed and essence of radicalism; its fruit is a bitter, deadly fanaticism. It is individualism setting itself against Constitutionalism; and though it must be tolerated in religion, it cannot be tolerated in the State.

And now we wish to draw one more and final inference from these principles. If government be of Divine institution—if the State and its magistracy are allied, by a direct relation, with the Supreme Lawgiver—then should they who administer the State, seek their instruction from Him whose agents they are. If He established for perpetuity the political organization of society, as well as the domestic and the ecclesiastical, shall we not suppose that His oracles will utter the rules of political wisdom, as well as the precepts for the Family and the Church?

We have already cited the well known instance of the Jewish theocracy, to prove that civil government was an object of Divine rule, and we wish to make a further use of that fact. The whole Jewish system was a constant symbol, representing doctrinal truth, and exhibiting the principles of the Divine dealings. The promises to the Church of that narrower dispensation, are valid to the Church of the New Testament, in all the breadth of its universality. The law of domestic duty to the Jew, is no less the law of your family and mine. And why, by a parity of reason, is it not as true, that in the rules of the Jewish theocracy we may learn the universal truth, that Jehovah is the God of nations, by a direct and actual supervision—that He has a *will*, to be by nations observed, on penalty of His displeasure? On this ground, the Bible is the text-book of political wisdom, as well as of its edification. If it be the true guide of the religious, it is not less the statesman's manual.

Oh! why do men stoop to the muddy pools of human wisdom, when they can drink of the refreshing stream fast by the oracles of God? All the maxims of political science are precarious at best; drawn by uncertain generalizations, from mixed, or doubtful, or insufficient facts, the guessings of sagacious minds,—but human minds still,—unable always to discriminate, among fluctuating objects and shifting phenomena, and reaching only timid and uncertain conclusions at last. Politics, with all the accumulation of philosophical research through the centuries gone, have not yet reached the dignity, consistency, and certainty of a science. Moreo-

ver, the axioms of political wisdom are only the fruits of experience ; they are a sort of phosphorescent light, which marks the track in which the ship has gone ; it is a light behind.

And, in applying the experience of others to our own prospective course, we are never sure that they correspond, in all that is required, for a perfect parallelism ; and the statesman's course must ever be, with such guidance, changeful, hesitating, and dangerous. How much better, then, to turn to the wisdom, that is prophetic ; the principles that are sure, and which prove, *à priori*, that the course is true. How much better, if it can be had, is the divine voucher of political wisdom, "Thus saith the Lord?" How much safer is the course of the State, and more glorious its destiny, when, like the Christian, its course is a walk of faith, seeing Him who is invisible ! How much better is all this, if it can be had ! And it may be had, and had from the Bible. In its prophecy, in its precepts, in its history, are found involved, or exemplified, every sound maxim of politics, that has ever been accredited, and more than men ever discovered. In the dealings of Jehovah with the nations, may be read the lessons of civil policy, not in the form of skeleton abstraction, not by devious and doubtful inference, but practical, warm, living, and divinely decreed. They are not so much reasons as they are reason itself. So speaks the wise poet of the writings of the Jewish prophets :

"As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic, unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so ;
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat."

Man's mind acts behind ; it reflects God's mind from before. He prophesies and anticipates. Man snatches at the little fragments of truth, as they float past on the stream of time, from the dismembered pile of knowledge ; but God's prospective and embracing view sees in one scope both the primitive mass and the final bearing and landing-place of each particular particle and member of truth. If history be philosophy teaching by example, the Scriptures are divine Omniscience teaching by prophecy. Surely, then, a divinely ruled State may learn of its ruler. Surely, the Scriptures were meant for nations as well as men. Let the nations see to it, that they do not despise their Governor. Let us see to it, for under our polity almost every man is, in a sense, a

magistrate, and every man should be a statesman. He should be, therefore, divinely taught. Let the young men take heed to their responsibility. The State, Heaven's daughter and minister, is committed to our guidance. She was born in difficulty and pain. She was cradled amid tempests. She was nurtured from a foreign breast. She grew fair even in affliction. She has been fiercely assailed; but, thank God, she is not destroyed. She is a guest with us. Let us cherish her, for we are entertaining an angel.

We will not bring our remarks to a conclusion, without saying, that, notwithstanding some fears which we had entertained for the safety and perpetuity of the American Republic, those fears are subsiding; though the special necessity for fearless and prompt loyalty to the Government has not yet ceased to exist. The mutterings of treason, and the incitements to open rebellion, are still on sale at the shambles; labeled with every conceit which the madness of fanaticism, the malignity of infidelity, and the selfishness of demagogues can devise. And yet we are beginning to see and to feel, that God, in His Providence, will conduct the Ship of State through the perils that threaten her, preserved for a high and holy destiny. We feel this confidence, as we witness the tide of loyalty flowing in from the hearts of the American people in every section of our widely extended country. The sentiment, **THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED**, echoes back alike from the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific, from the forests of Maine and from the rolling *pampas* of Texas. We feel this conviction, as we see men, who have grown old in the service of the State, forgetting party interests and party watchwords, and rallying together, with more than Roman patriotism, in the cause of their country, and their whole country. We felt this conviction when, but recently, as the Minister of God stood up in the Capitol at Washington, and in words of burning eloquence portrayed the horrors of domestic war, and told of the hopes that must perish in the grave of the Republic, we saw the tears which coursed down the cheeks of those gray-headed patriots, and statesmen, and warriors, who hung upon his lips; and witnessed the kindling up of generous and godlike purposes, in those noble countenances. It was a sublime spectacle, and we thanked God for it.

Meanwhile, there are dangers, and there are duties, still remaining. And we here implore the Government to vindicate the authority and the majesty of law, at every hazard and at every sacrifice. We submit the question, whether the li-

centiousness of the press and of the pulpit has not already amounted to positive crime against the State ; and, as such, whether it does not demand the serious attention of "the powers that be." If we read aright, the Newspaper which we have placed at the head of our pages, breathes and incites to nothing less than the rankest treason. We implore the Ministers of Religion to inculcate more faithfully the duty of Loyalty. We implore parents to bring their sons and their daughters, like the Carthaginian general of old, and cause them to swear unbroken fidelity to the Altar of their Country. We implore the people to frown upon demagogueism of all kinds ; but most of all, that meanest of all demagogueism, which attempts to steal the livery of Heaven and the Banner of the Cross to serve the devil with.

We have faith in the future. We believe in the righteousness and equity of the Compromises of the American Constitution. **LOYALTY TO THAT CONSTITUTION IS DUTY TO GOD.** There is a "higher Law" than the Constitution. But the Author of that "higher Law" has impressed upon the Constitution the seal of His own divine authority. The modern appeal to a "higher Law," which is fast becoming the common rule, and not the rare exception, is, in its nature and spirit, a real denial of all positive and objective Law, either in the Family, the State, or the Church. The individual is himself his own Law, and he ignores and defies all other. Such things as sin, vice, rebellion, treason, heresy, murder, adultery, theft, cannot exist so long as the man is true to his own nature. And of this, he, and he alone, must be judge. This is the infidel theory, endorsed and propagated by our modern reformers, in the name of Christianity. In respect to the Family, it is Socialism. To the State, it is Treason. To the Church, it is Schism. In all, it is one and the same, poor fallen human nature, warring against the Ordinances of Heaven. The time has come when the State, the Family, and the Church, must keep sentinel by night and by day over the sacred deposit committed to their trust, even though the press and the pulpit unite in raising the cry of tyranny and bigotry.

DR. JARVIS' CHURCH OF THE REDEEMED.

ART. VI.—*The Church of the Redeemed, or the History of the Mediatorial Kingdom. Vol. I. Containing the first Five Periods; from the Fall of Adam in Paradise, to the Rejection of the Jews, and the Calling of the Gentiles.* By the Rev. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D. D., L. L. D., Historiographer of the Church, &c. Boston and London: 1850.

THE observation has several times been made, that the middle of the century is notable in the American Church, for the publication of three such works as Dr. Jarvis' History, Mr. Hoffman's Canon Law, and Prof. Adams' Ethical Treatise. The first named of these works might alone mark an era in our theological literature, and give to the earnest Churchman a feeling of just pride, that such a contribution to sacred learning had been made by an American scholar. It would be idle for us to attempt an elaborate eulogium on such a volume, proceeding from such a source. It would be more idle to endeavor to compose an essay which should either throw light upon its subject, or present, in a condensed form, its results. The former is needless, the latter is almost impossible. Ours shall be the humbler, and yet the more grateful task, to point out the great bearings of the work, to indicate its manifold uses, and to speak of its value under various aspects. For like every other really great production in any department of learning, while written for a special purpose, it admirably fulfills many other purposes; and that the rather, because, between the departments of no science are there such numerous bonds of union, as between those of the queen of all sciences, Theology.

It will, however, be proper to state, in the beginning, the general plan of the venerable author; and this shall be done in his own words:

"As far as our world is concerned, the history of the Church commences with the Fall. Properly speaking, therefore, it is the history of the divine œconomy of human salvation through the merits of a crucified Redeemer, beginning when sin had rendered that redemption necessary, and ending with the final subjugation of the great author of evil. We may apply to the whole mediatorial kingdom what has been said of the book of Psalms, that it presents to our view one magnificent drama. 'The redemption of man and the destruction of Satan is the plot.' The persons are—the ever-blessed Trinity; Christ, uniting in one per-

son the divine and human natures; Satan, his host, and all other beings who have become his agents; the Church of obedient and blessed angels, and of the just made perfect, as well as the Church militant here on earth. The scenes, Heaven, Earth, and Hades. 'The time of the action, from the fall to the final overthrow of the apostate faction and the general judgment.' The several acts, the epochs of human history.

"In these epochs, the benevolent designs of Almighty Wisdom have been apparently frustrated by the machinations of Satan, and the consequent corruptions of mankind; and it is very observable that each of these periods ends with a signal act of judgment and righteous retribution inflicted on the enemies of God; or, to use the language of St. Paul, 'the righteousness of God revealed' in blessings 'to every one that believeth,' and 'in wrath' 'against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.'

"I. The first period extends from the triumph of Satan, and the promise of a Redeemer, to the epoch of the General Deluge.

"II. The second commences with the ark and its inhabitants—the Church of Noah—and ends with the general corruption of the second human race, of which he was the parent; the separation and call of Abraham alone as the great father of the faithful, and the consequent abandonment of the whole Gentile world to their voluntary blindness and impurity.

"III. The third extends from the call of Abraham, and exhibits the corruption of his own posterity, included in the covenant of circumcision, which led to the separation of the Israelites, and the giving of a written law.

"IV. The fourth period contains the history of that small nation into which the chosen people had now become narrowed; of their corruptions, and especially their idolatry; and of God's judgments upon them in particular, gradually increasing in wrath as their enormities increased; from the giving of the law to the destruction of the first temple, and their captivity in Babylon.

"V. The fifth exhibits a still smaller reduction of the covenant people, and extends from the return of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levitical priesthood, under the Persian monarchy, and the building of the second temple, until even these filled the measure of their iniquities by the rejection of the Messiah, and thus brought upon themselves the consequent destruction of the second temple, and the general dispersion of the Jewish race among the Gentiles.

"VI. The sixth period is that in which we live; beginning with the resurrection of Christ, by which He was declared to be the Son of God with power; and containing the divine manifestation of mercy, hitherto restricted more and more, but now opened again, and enlarged so as to embrace all the nations of the world; and looking forward to the Second Advent of the Son of God, when the final separation will take place between the wicked and the good. This whole period is declared by St. John to be *THE LAST TIME*; and it will end at the *GENERAL JUDGMENT*, of which all inferior judgments of the preceding periods have been so many types. Then the enemies of God throughout the universe will be entirely subdued and punished; his sovereignty over all his creatures fully vindicated; the immeasurable distance between the Almighty and the highest of created beings fully displayed; and to the present strife between good and evil will succeed *THE EVERLASTING SABBATH*, the never-ending rest, promised to the sons of God—the noon-day of eternity."

No one can fail to be struck with the largeness of view which characterizes this arrangement. If comprehensive simplicity can recommend any ground plan of History, it certainly does the one just quoted. The volume before us comprises the history of the first five of the periods laid down above, and therefore brings us to the commencement of the History of the Christian Church.

The whole plan, then, plainly is grounded on that view which has always been maintained by the great lights of the Anglican Church, and which enters into all sound English Theology, namely, the existence from the very beginning of a Church, a Ministry, and Sacraments. In Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, this sublime view is set forth at length, and remains as the solemn synodical decision of the Church of England. For although King James I. refused his sanction to the work, because he disliked certain political expressions in it, still it passed both Houses of Convocation in 1606, and therefore becomes synodical in its character, and weightier in its decisions than even the consentient views of numerous single writers. By no such writer has it been more clearly or eloquently stated, than by Dean Field, in his Books of the Church. We can scarcely do better for our readers, than by presenting them with some extracts from this great Divine, of whom old Fuller says, that his "memory smelleth like a Field the Lord hath blessed."

"All these, as well angels that stood by force of grace upholding them, as men restored by renewing mercy, have a most happy fellowship among themselves, and therefore make one Church of God: yet for that the sons of men have a more full communion and perfect fellowship, being all delivered out of the same miseries, by the same benefit of gracious mercy; therefore they make that more special society, which may rightly be named the Church of the Redeemed of God. The Church began in him in whom sin began, even in Adam, the father of all the living, repenting after his fall, and returning to God. For we must not think, that God was without a Church among men, at any time; but so soon as Adam had offended, and was called to give an account of what he had done....the promise was made."

"Yet for that Abel was the first that the Scripture reporteth to have worshiped God with sacrifice, and to have been divided from the wicked....therefore we usually say the Church or chosen company of the redeemed of the Lord, began in Abel; who being slain by Cain, God restored his Church again in Seth, in whose race and posterity He continued His true worship till Noah....and chose from among his children Shem, his eldest son, in whose race He would continue the pure and sincere knowledge of Himself, and the expectation of the promised Seed."

"God vouchsafed to be called the God of Shem, till the days of Abraham....God called him out from his father's house, and gave him the promise that He would make his seed as the

stars of heaven.....Great was the honor of his people above all the nations of the world....of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came....in whom that which was foretold was fulfilled, that which was imperfect supplied, and all things changed into a better estate ; so that by his coming, all things are become new ; a new priesthood, a new law, a new covenant, new sacraments, and a new people."

" The society of this new and blessed people began in the apostles.....Here was the beginning of that blessed company, which, for distinction's sake, we call the Christian Church..... And though the Church of the Old and New Testament be in essence the same, yet for that the state of the Church of the New Testament is in many respects far more glorious and excellent, the fathers and ecclesiastical writers for the most part, appropriate the name of Church to the multitude of believers since the coming of Christ."

We ought perhaps to apologize for the length of our extracts : but they present precisely that Anglican view, which, as might have been anticipated, Dr. Jarvis has followed, not only in the admirable general arrangement, but in the details of his learned work. How utterly it differs from the view generally taken by Protestant writers, outside of the Anglican Church, is too plain to need a word of proof. Let it not be forgotten, that it differs also from the Tridentine theory. The Trent Catechism, expounding the Creed, says, that the name of synagogue is applied to the people under the law, " because, like brute beasts, who are wont to gather themselves together, they had respect only to earthly and perishable goods." So does Rome dispose of those, of whom St. Paul says, that " they had respect unto the recompense of reward," putting herself thereby on the ground of those Anabaptists, whose similar folly even Calvin rebuked. Compare with this the language of our VIIth Article, and of our standard Divines ! It is a point which may readily escape even a scholar's notice, but it is one, after all, of no small importance.

With thus much for that general view, which underlies the whole of Dr. Jarvis' work, and gives it its specific character and tone, we proceed, as was proposed, to speak of its great value under different aspects. The first of these is naturally that, in which it comes before us, as a History. Now, we think that one of the great defects in the study of Ecclesiastical History, has been in commencing it improperly. What correct estimate of it can be formed, by one who abruptly begins his studies at the Ascension, or the great Pentecost ; thus leaving out of view the Forty Days, the Lord's Life, and all

the previous Sacred History? What can be the result of such a course, except the one which actually has taken place: namely, that the plan of the Dispensations has been violently ruptured, so that its previous portions remain as the imperfect frustrum of a pyramid, while its latter are removed from their proper position, and we obtain two broken pieces, instead of a united whole? All this imperfection and confusion will be avoided, by making this volume the first book to be read by the student of Church History. And in this lies one of its most direct and obvious uses, and one which we know is deeply cherished by its author.

But besides this, even if Church History is properly adapted and arranged, and there is no such unwarrantable rupture, as that of which we have been speaking, still there is always a difficulty in realizing it to one's self. And this difficulty, we believe, is especially felt, in reference to the Sacred History. We do not indeed forget the valuable and learned labors of Shuckford and Prideaux; still we cannot but remember, that since their time, a vast advance has been made in all that knowledge, which enables us accurately to connect sacred and secular History. And this very connection is absolutely indispensable, in order to the realizing of the former. True indeed it is, that the sacred History is as it were a separate strand running on by itself in the many twined cord of the world's story. Still it is a strand, which, at all points, is touched by and touches all the other strands in that wondrous combination. May it not, in truth, be said to be, the life-strand of the whole, and on that very account, the more difficult to be made real to individual minds?

The value of Dr. Jarvis' volume, in reference to this matter, can hardly be overestimated. It places before the student or the general reader—for it is quite as well adapted for the one as for the other—all those connections and jointings of the sacred History, with the story of the world, which are so much needed: it accomplishes this, within a moderate compass, and in a way which interests, and draws a reader onward. Who but must plead guilty to at least a slight feeling of anticipated weariness, as he has read that long and confused sentence with which Prideaux opens his history? Who but has said to himself, as he has looked at the side date, "Anno 747," How am I to get at the previous connections, and why am I to jump into the deep waters, just at this point? Who but has trembled at the prospect of searching out from many books for himself, and with all the chances of blundering after all, those things, which he wants done ready to his hand, as a *πρὸ ὅρων*,

and which his after studies will enable him to accept or correct, as need shall be? There are many other points of view, from which we might enlarge, on the value of this volume as a History, but we have wished to present these, as theologically the most important ones: as bringing before us two great and acknowledged difficulties; difficulties which must entitle any man who shall meet and obviate them, to the thanks of scholars, as well as of general readers. Other and more obvious considerations, we therefore pass by, and proceed to speak of the exegetical value of the work before us.

And here, that great principle which, as we have said, underlies the whole work, naturally claims the first place. There is, in truth, no other principle of exposition, which will not lead into the most utter error, than that of St. Cyril, quoted by Dr. Jarvis on his title page, *Μηδείς οὐν χωρίζετω τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης*; of the Ven. Bede, *Novum Testamentum, Veteri velabatur, Vetus Testamentum, Novo revelatur*; and of our own Article VII—drawn up with that scholastic care which distinguishes all the Articles, and a little thorough study of which, would save shallow sneerers the exposure of their conceit and ignorance—"The Old Testament is not contrary to the New." How mournfully in many quarters this principle has been lost, and to what results men have thereby been led, our readers are no doubt aware. Some have gone one way, and some another. If the Papist at one time has denounced the Church of the Old Testament, and compared it to a herd of cattle, so at another has he sought for the resemblances of the Dispensations merely in outward things, and not in certain fixed principles. If many of the Reformed writers, divorcing those two holy Volumes, which God has joined together, have cast aside the Old Testament, as a mass of "beggarly elements" and things only tending to bondage, so we learn that in a New England University, others, and those claiming to be the very foci of all illumination, have discovered that only the Pentateuch is inspired! All these, Papists and Reformed alike, separate, divide, and therefore nullify the Dispensations. The Papists do so to justify their will-worship, the Reformed, to justify their will-organization. Meantime the Church of England adheres to her old ground, received from the Primitive Church. She holds, to use the words of Mr. Derwent Coleridge, that "there is a true as well as a false parallel to be drawn, between the dispensations of God's mercy before and after the coming of our Saviour. The plan of salvation did not begin to operate in those last days, when the Son of God was manifested. Laid in heaven

before the foundations of the world, it was displayed on earth before the gates of Paradise were shut upon the sinning authors of our race. From that time it has been carried uninterruptedly forward to the present hour. Issuing from one source, directed to one end, it were strange if throughout its various modifications, we could not recognize some common features. (Patriarchal, Jewish, Christian, it is, in fact, the same scheme in different stages of maturity." Here then is the ground principle, which must never be lost sight of in the exegesis of the Scriptures.

Now, in the volume before us, this principle is distinctly preserved and acted on. And, for this reason, an especial exegetical value attaches to it, in reference to Prophecy and the Types. The germs of all Prophecy which relates to Christ and His Church, lie enclosed in the awful promise made to "the seed of the woman." From that, as from a kernel, has stalk, and leaf, and flower unfolded. Nor is there one declaration in all the magnificent roll displayed by Isaiah, which may not readily be referred to it. Nothing can more assist the student of this branch of Prophecy, in comprehending all the rich fullness of its significance, than a connected view of its progress and stages, from that vast, indefinite, but most meaningful promise, down to the minute statements of Isaiah and the precise calculations of Daniel. In connection with this main stream of Prophecy, must come in, from time to time, adjusted in their proper places, those Prophecies which relate to the Jewish state and to the neighboring nations. And in this way a consistent and finished view of Prophecy may be obtained. Closely connected with this study of Prophecy, if indeed it may not rather be said to form part of it, is the study of the Types. And here, certainly, there has been a want in English Theology. Jones of Nayland's *Figurative Language*, and Mr. Temple Chevallier's *Hulsean Lectures*, are indeed most valuable. Still, they by no means suffice to meet the want. But we are sure that no one can carefully read Dr. Jarvis' volume, without gaining a pretty thorough understanding of the Types of the Old Testament, as well as a connected and enlarged view of Prophecy.

And these enlarged views are the very things most needed in Scripture exegesis. We are well aware of the importance and value of verbal criticism: and we have no wish to disparage it, provided it be kept within its proper limits, and not suffered to become all in all. If this caution, however, is not observed, the habit of mind which it engenders is fatal to every thing like grasp and width of view. And, after all, is it

not rather the sum of Scripture Doctrine, the general run of statement, as one may say, that the expositor is in search of, and is not this likely to be lost, if he confines himself to verbal criticism alone?

As a help, then, to the comprehension of the Scriptures; resting on a great principle, held alike by the Primitive Church and our own, and with great beauty and accuracy tracing the progress of Prophecy, and expounding its meaning and connections; opening and illustrating the Types, in all the fullness of their mystic meaning; and, withal, contributing to aid the student in forming wide general views, and in avoiding narrowness and cramped notions, we know hardly any work which equals the one before us, none which surpasses it. Nor while we are thus speaking of its value to the student, would we be understood as intimating that it is wanting in attraction to the general reader. It is not so. Its clear and flowing style, severe in simple beauty, and of an honest Saxon texture, will render it accessible to all, and fit it to be, to unlearned as well as learned, what we know its author chiefly wished it should be, a Companion to the Bible.

There yet remains to be considered, the dogmatical, or, if the word be preferred, the doctrinal bearing of the work. Its direct and striking connection with Article VII, has already been sufficiently dwelt upon. It is therefore enough, simply to call attention to it here, and to urge again its immense importance. That Article embodies the Church's solemn protest against Manicheanism of every kind, and in every age, held consciously or unconsciously, directly or by implication, simply or in conjunction with undoubted truth. This is, of course, not the place to inquire how far, and under what modifications, Manichean notions enter into much of the ordinary religionism of the day, as well as into the exaggerated notions of self-mortification, held by such persons as Alphonso de Liguori. Still, were the inquiry carried out, it would perhaps be better apprehended of how much value is so elaborate a defense of the true doctrine, as that which Dr. Jarvis' volume furnishes.

One of the most important points of dogmatical Theology, and one for which, in our day, great safeguards and guides are needed, relates to the position of the Eternal Word in the previous Dispensations, and His Incarnation in the last. For while prevalent forms of disbelief deny the preëxistence of the Son, many forms of belief seem practically to forget His presence in all the economies of God, before the time when, being made man of the substance of His Mother, he assumed the

Human Nature, "of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting." The opinion of the early Church was distinct and undoubting. In every thing she saw Christ, and in all time, the central Sun of all the Dispensations: "Him first, Him last, Him midst, and without end." And even as the gorgeous clouds of evening or of morning, receive their all of pomp and splendor from that mighty orb which bathes them in its glory, and makes them living with its lustre, so does every part and portion of all God's plans receive, in her view, from Him, its light, and life, and power. He is everywhere, and without Him is nothing. Nor is this all. Bishop Bull declares that he knows little of the writings of the Fathers, who does not know, that all those appearances, in which the name of Jehovah and the honors due to Divinity are given to Him who appears, are regarded by them as appearances of the Son of God; so that the frequent appearances of God, which are spoken of in the Old Testament, are thus reconciled with the declaration of Scripture, that "no man hath seen God at any time." And Bishop Heber has stated the argument from reason, for the same belief, in his usually eloquent and impressive manner: "Whom did the Elders of Israel go up into the mount to see? Who was it whose presence Moses prayed to look upon, and the skirts and passing train of whose glory were revealed to him as he lay beneath the rock in Horeb? Was this any other than the 'Lord, gracious and mighty,' the Eternal, the God of Israel? Then was the promise of the Most High of none effect, and His word to man made vain! Was it the God and Father of all? Why then is the same person repeatedly called an Angel? or how has St. John declared by the Holy Ghost, that 'no man hath seen God at any time?' Surely there is no way to solve these difficulties, unless we admit that the Fountain of Deity Himself has never vouchsafed His presence to the eyes of men, but that it was the 'God of God,' the 'Light of Light,' the 'Very God of Very God,' the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, who has on these occasions declared Him."

Nowhere, however, have we ever seen the doctrine more vividly brought out, or more impressively presented, than in the "Church of the Redeemed." It is all the more striking, that it is not stated dogmatically, or as doctrine, but enters into the ordinary course of the narrative. All along its pages we meet our Lord. His presence gives light in the Ark of Noah, glows above the Tabernacle in the desert, and dwells between the Cherubim upon the Mercy Seat. He is with

Abraham at Mamre, with Jacob at Peniel, with Moses on Horeb, and with Joshua before Jericho. Everywhere is God the Word : not indeed hypostatically united in His one divine Person to the Human Nature, but still in visible, bodily form, the Person by whom God the Father communicated with men.

Intimately connected with this doctrine is another, which we hope will never be obscured, or overclouded, or displaced, whether by direct omission, or by pushing the doctrine of the Incarnation to its exclusion ; namely, that since the Ascension of our Lord, the third and not the second Person in the adorable Trinity, has become the agent of communication, if one may reverently so speak, between man and God. Miraculous visions of the ascended Lord, were indeed granted to St. Stephen and St. Paul. Still it holds none the less true that since the Mediatorial Kingdom has been won, and the glorified Humanity has ascended with the all-glorious Divinity to the right hand of the Father, it has been through the presence of the Eternal Comforter, that the presence of the Father and the Son has been vouchsafed to men. The jointed, articulated Body of the Lord, united to its Head, and made living as by a soul through God the Holy Ghost, who yet lives in every faithful individual spirit in all His awful might and majesty, this great reality sums and completes all Dispensations upon earth, and can itself receive no other change or consummation, than that by which earth shall be exchanged at last for heaven.

The true doctrine of Sacrifice is also enforced with great power in the volume before us. There has been so much written in a crude and undigested way, on this important topic, that it seems now to need especial safeguards, and that in two points of view : first, in reference to its *character*, and secondly, in reference to its *origin*. That course of argument, which may be said to have begun with Socinus and Crellius, against the vicarious import of Sacrifice, whether in the Types of the early Dispensations, or in the verity of our Lord's one Sacrifice, has, in widely distant quarters, produced its legitimate results. Accordingly, we find a disposition prevailing, to adopt theories of Sacrifice, which shall, in one mode or another, explain away their vicarious character, and thus prepare the way for the adoption of similar explanations of the Atonement. Coincident with such explanations, appears to be the idea of the human origin of Sacrifice. True, indeed, this is matter of opinion, and not of the essence of the Faith. One may, undoubtedly, as many of the Fathers seem to do, hold that Sacrifice was of human origin, and still hold, as they did, to its vicarious character. Still, as matter

of fact, the denial of a divine origin and a vicarious import to Sacrifice, usually, in our day, go together. While there are many reasons why this *opinion* of the Fathers should be modified and corrected by the arguments and proofs of later Theologians; many reasons, too, why it was natural that, under the circumstances and exigencies of the time, the Fathers should use language of the heathen Sacrifices,—whose fires were hardly extinguished,—which appeared to assert their human origin, though it was only intended to brand their existing forms as a device of man, and not to deny their originally divine institution.

In our day, however, not only does the doctrine of the human origin of Sacrifice go hand in hand with all those forms of heresy, which have attempted to explain away the vicarious character of the Atonement, but it is also the companion of that infidel notion of a self-evolved progress of humanity, which is leading men to such heights of daring blasphemy. We welcome, therefore, with peculiar joy, the sound doctrinal views on these points, everywhere inculcated in Dr. Jarvis' volume; and are thankful for the decided, consistent, and unflinching testimony which it bears against some of the most miserable and mischievous errors of the day.

We have thus endeavored, within such limits as we could command, to indicate that great principle which underlies Dr. Jarvis' learned work, and to present certain leading views of its value as a History, pointing out, at the same time, some of its important bearings upon Interpretation and Doctrine. Like many another great work, it more than keeps its promise to the eye. And while it claims its position as a History, it will often be appealed to, and never without profit, on many of the highest questions in Theology. Should its revered author proceed no farther in his well planned series of volumes, still, he has here built up an enduring monument to his laborious and finished scholarship, and, what we know he values more, has furnished a safe guide alike to the student and the reader, and a strong defense of the Faith once delivered to the saints. Never can the hoary head be as a nobler crown of glory, than when, with unweakened powers of mind, the Christian scholar pours from the rich treasures of his old experience, solemn words, and sacred truths, and living thoughts, which cluster and hang, in beautiful harmony and meaning order, around the mighty verities of the Eternal Gospel. Never can better memories gild the evening of his days, than when they console him with the thought, that his earliest and his latest labors have been consecrated to the illustration, the explanation, and the defense, of the blessed Word of God!

THE WORLD IN THE CHURCH.

ART. VII.—*Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, 1850.*

MOST of our readers have probably heard the story of the man who was in great perplexity at the sight of a fly which had been embalmed in a piece of amber. There was nothing very wonderful in the fly itself. It was quite a common fly, not differing at all, in shape or color, from myriads of other insects of the same species, which float about in the atmosphere. Nor was there anything, either, remarkable in the amber. It was, indeed, a substance of beautiful hue and of rich transparency, but not unfrequently gathered, in some parts of the world, on the sea-shore. The poor man was puzzled neither by the fly nor by the amber individually. The thing that did puzzle him was this: How did the fly get there? How did that little creature, with wings and legs and proboscis so thin and fragile, pierce through that hard body, and become so imbedded in its lucid and golden depths, and yet have all its delicate proportions kept perfect and unbroken? There was the rub. He gazed and gazed, and racked his brain to solve the mystery. But all in vain. His curiosity was utterly baffled.

Now, how the World has got into the Church, may be equally hard to explain, though in that matter we have an opinion. That it is there, no one doubts who has his senses. It is evident to all eyes, we think, and this is enough for our present purpose. But still, lest some of our good readers should be startled from their propriety when we assert this, we propose to show, perhaps in a somewhat desultory manner, in what respects, and under what aspects, the world is in, not merely the Church in general, but in our own especial branch of it—the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States.

That the World is in our portion of the Catholic Church, is too sadly evident, from the withholding of funds from Missionary and other religious charities. With what a miser's grasp do many of our richest laymen hold on to their gold! How many, who pride themselves upon belonging to an Apostolic Church, do nothing at all towards extending that Church!

How many are almost angry at the audacity of the clergyman who says a word about the poor heathen, or the destitute emigrants to our distant frontiers! How many who boast of their Episcopal blood, disgrace that blood by their un-Episcopal contractedness and coldness in the Missionary cause! Thank God, the day has long since gone by when the great body of the clergy could be charged with indifference to it. If they cannot or will not all go forth and personally lead the way, and make the glad tidings of heaven known from their own lips abroad, they can plead for this holy cause at home. And they do plead for it. We know of but very few ministers of our communion whose hearts are not overflowing with zeal for its success. Would that the same could be said of the great body of our laity! But, alas! while the pastor is willing to exert himself to the utmost in kindling up among the people of his flock a godly fervor in its behalf, how often is he met with lukewarmness, nay, with opposition, on their part! And frequently is this indifference, or resistance to all Missionary effort, shown by those who are the most indebted, for their own life and prosperity as a Church, to that very spirit which they are condemning, and to which, under God, they owe every religious privilege which they enjoy. Yes, here, in the old Atlantic States, the spiritual garden of the American Continent, how hard is it, sometimes, to stir up the people with a holy zeal to impart to their destitute brethren a small and scanty portion of those favors with which God has made their cup to overflow! Where they should give their tens of dollars, and their hundreds of dollars, they give their shillings, or their sixpences, or their pennies, or they give nothing at all. And even in some of the wealthiest Churches of our Atlantic cities, a generous contribution to Missions is, too often, a forced business—a hot-bed process. A great deal of worldly machinery must be put into operation before the owners of millions will unclasp their purses. The Whitfield or the Irving of the hour must be advertised beforehand in the newspapers as about to preach, like some popular actor who is to play the part of Hamlet or of Romeo. Thus the vast church is filled with crowds, tiptoe with curiosity. They become still as death beneath the electric spell of mortal eloquence. They hardly breathe as the orator pours out his burning words. As he paints to the life the wants and woes of the heathen, or the sufferings of our forlorn countrymen on the distant western borders, even the children of pride and vanity are touched and dissolved. Even the Wall-street broker weeps and begins to feel in his pocket for a bank-

note! Even the daughter of fashion, who was out the night before at the Opera till midnight, raises her embroidered handkerchief to her eyes, and takes from off her finger a diamond ring and throws into the contribution box! But do they give to the cause for the cause's sake? Do they give to Christianity for Christ's sake? Not at all. Their donations are bestowed merely out of compliment to the preacher, as a kind of fee and reward for his oratory, and for the luxurious feeling excited in their bosoms; precisely as they would clap their hands in ecstasy at the noble acting of a Kean or a Macready, or would drop their wreaths of flowers upon the stage, in gratitude for the superhuman melodies of Parodi or of Jenny Lind!

This is not an over-drawn picture. Every Advent and every Epiphany season bears too striking testimony to its truth. And while we cheerfully and gratefully acknowledge that, here and there, there is a wealthy congregation which, the whole year round, pours out steadily the abundance of its riches towards the diffusion of the Gospel far and wide, still, we can count up too many churches, the aggregate of whose pecuniary means is absolutely startling, and yet whose stated contributions to Missions make a sorry and disgraceful figure. The amount of money given by the great body of Churchmen in our land to the propagation of the Gospel at home and abroad, when compared with their vast possessions, is as an atom of dust compared with the mighty mountain. Ye merchant kings of Boston, and New York, and Philadelphia, and Baltimore! ye, whose houses are glittering with oriental splendor! ye, whose marble palaces imperial Nicholas might sigh for, and royal Victoria might envy! ye Planters of Virginia, and South Carolina, and Louisiana! ye who call yourselves Episcopalians, and rejoice that ye belong to an Apostolic Church! cheeks burning with shame become ye, that of the millions upon millions which God has given you, such paltry and insignificant sums should be forced out from your hands towards the sending forth the Gospel, and the Gospel ministry, over the world.

We are, indeed, degenerate sons of noble sires. We pride ourselves on our old English blood. We boast that we came from the glorious Anglo-Saxon stock. But, in a thousand ways, we shame our lineage. We have lost the family likeness. We have lost the large-hearted benevolence of our fathers beyond the deep. Think of their munificent endowments of colleges, of schools, of churches, of hospitals! Think, too, of the boundless liberality to religion of modern English-

men! Think, not only of their death-bed alms, but of their life-time alms! We can scarcely take up a newspaper, without reading an account of some stately temple being built for the spiritual wants of the poor, at the sole private expense of some nobleman or commoner, or the founding of some Bishopric or Mission among the heathen, by some lady of "high degree" or "low degree," whose heart the Lord hath opened. True, there are men and women of such stupendous fortunes in Great Britain, that the largest holders of property in our land have but small possessions when compared with theirs. Still, the benefactors to the Church among them, both as it regards means and numbers, are out of all proportion to the benefactors to the Church among us. How soon can we enumerate our most distinguished almoners to our various Church institutions! When we have mentioned a Lawrence, a Sherrod, a Moore, a Hanna, a Stuyvesant, a Kohne, a Bartow, a Warren, a Rogers, and a few more whose names our readers will readily call to mind, we have gone through the catalogue.

"Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

We often talk of our daughter Church on this side of the Atlantic, as if she far outshone, in spiritual beauty, her illustrious mother on the other side. But this is mere ecclesiastical vaunting. The time is far remote when we can say, in the language of Horace, to our own American Zion:

"O matre pulchra filia pulchrior!"

Before that day, the World in our Church must be plucked out.

As still another proof that the World is in the Church, we would mention the growing want of respect, especially in New England, for the ministerial character and office.

To this it may be answered, it is the fault of the clergy themselves. We admit that they are, sometimes, in a measure accountable for it. But it is wrong to make the whole body of any professional men responsible for the blemishes of a few individuals who belong to it. The Episcopal ministry in the United States are as pure and blameless a ministry as are to be found on the face of the earth. They preach faithfully and they practice what they preach. If, here and there, a clergyman be found who proves himself a wolf in sheep's clothing; if, now and then, there occur some melancholy downfall in our ranks, such exceptions always have been in the Church in the best ages, and always will be, till she cease

to be a Church militant. Her Lord and Founder foretold them. If there be an increasing disrespect among our laymen for those who are over them in the Lord, the clergy in their aggregate capacity are not responsible for it. They are entitled to the love, the confidence, the veneration of their people.

The true cause we take to be this: the oblique influence of Puritanism and her distorted offspring, Congregationalism. Puritanism always was and always will be unfavorable to gentleness, urbanity, and modest deference to any thing higher and better than itself. The sour and turbulent men who gave it birth, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, have transmitted it down from generation to generation with their own disagreeable features indelibly stamped upon their successive progeny. It is morose, stiff, precise, angular, ungracious, awkward, and repelling. It has ever been rebellious against authority, though most tyrannical in enforcing its own notions of right. And Congregationalism, which teaches that every man has a right to get up and preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments if he pleases, and the sovereign people are pleased to have him do so, necessarily inculcates the idea that ministers are only a sort of theological professors, hired for a while to give a few lectures, and then to be turned adrift, just as soon as their auditors are tired of them. The great body of the people look upon their pastor as but little more than a layman dressed up in a black coat. The most insignificant person among them feels that he is quite as good as his clergyman, if not better. The result is that, throughout New England, the Congregational societies are torn with dissensions, or are perpetually on the eve of explosions. If some private individual wants his minister to get up an artificial excitement, or to harangue on some of the ultra topics of the day, and the minister refuses, why, there is a plot immediately laid to unseat him. A few of the "*Dii minorum gentium*" meet in solemn conclave, and conclude that he must go—and go he must. He must shut up his house, sell his furniture, and with wife and children unprovided for, set out on a pilgrimage for another place. And the same disregard for a clergyman's character and feelings is shown in a multitude of other forms. The painful result of all this is, that our Episcopal laity, who are altogether in the minority throughout the greater part of our country, are influenced by these bad examples, and have unconsciously copied the fashions around them. Kept in countenance by such overwhelming majority, they are not ashamed to practice what their own Church and her cardinal

principles never taught, but condemned. That Church inculcates on all her members, from their earliest childhood, that they should "submit themselves to all their governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters, and to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters." This, Episcopalians! is the teaching of your Mother. But let the frequent wanton severing of the pastoral tie; let the irreverent deportment in the house of God; let the harsh criticisms upon sermons; let the disdainful look when some other preacher than your own idol ascends the pulpit; let the reduced or the delayed pew-rent, in order to gratify personal spleen against the clergyman for having honestly done his duty, or defended his rights, bear witness to your unfilial conduct!

But lest we may be thought partial and to bear too hard upon our lay brethren, we now turn for a few moments from them to our own professional brethren, the clergy. In too many ways, at this present era, even they show that the world is in the Church. They are accountable for some part of the evil.

It is seen in the two extremes of formalism and of informalism. In extravagant overacting and extravagant underacting; in theological foppery and in theological slovenliness, in those who may be called the High-fantasticals, and in those who may be called the Low-fantasticals of the Church. Both are caricature specimens of divinity, and, we are thankful for it, totally unlike the large body of discreet and sensible men who compose the rank and file of our clergy. The one class lay such mighty stress upon the chancel arrangements, and the ornaments upon altar cloths, and the carvings on fonts, and the devices on Communion vessels, and the shape of coat collars, and the wearing of cassocks in the street, and on particular postures and attitudes in worship, that you would suppose that the salvation of immortal souls were depending upon such issues. Alas, alas, how little have such things in reality to do with the great object of the Almighty in establishing His Church on earth—the fitting of fallen man for eternity.

We once knew a young and intelligent brother who, during the greater part of his brief ministry, had been a clergyman of the school just described. He was always talking about forms and ceremonies. A nice attention to externals seemed to be paramount with him. If you did not come up to his standard of propriety in these matters, he at once waged a verbal battle with you. Still he was honest and conscientious, and you could not but respect him for his sincerity. After laboring faithfully and not unsuccessfully in his holy vocation

for one or two years, he was gradually stricken low by insidious consumption. A few days before he died, he was visited by an elder brother in the ministry, who prayed with him and conversed with him on spiritual things. Before they parted forever in this world, the dying man remarked, "In my brief professional career, I have talked much, like many other young novices in the ministry, upon mere ceremonies and proprieties in sacred things. I feel, now, that I have overrated their importance. They are excellent in themselves, and when kept within the limits to which God in his wisdom has assigned them. But there may be such a reliance on the forms of godliness as to lead to a neglect of their power. At this moment, my only stay, my only comfort, is the Lord Jesus. On Him only I lean as a child leans on its mother's bosom, lovingly, confidently. May He receive my spirit." In this better and happier mind, in a few hours he died.

But there are those who err on the other extreme. These seem sedulous to deviate as much as possible from the prescribed rules and customs of the Church to which they belong, and whose pious usages they have solemnly vowed, at their ordination, to observe. They endeavor to throw off not only the surplice, but even the black silk gown whenever they can do it. They are sure to give the go-by to the Prayer-Book every chance they can get. They are fond of abridging and mutilating the Church service. The devotions which saints and martyrs loved to repeat, in life, and breathe out their souls with in death, are not good enough for them. No; they are not content with the beautiful and perfect language of our Collects, but must needs mar their symmetry with some flowers of rhetoric of their own.

"To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume on the violet,
To smooth the ice, or add another hue
Unto the rainbow, or with taper-light,
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish,
Is wasteful, and ridiculous excess."

Such persons, too, in the doctrines which they preach, symbolize far more closely with the austere dogmas of the Westminster Confession and the Saybrook Platform, than with the kind, genial, and loving spirit which exhales, like celestial odor, from our Articles, and from every page of the Liturgy. They make, too, in despite of the explicit declaration of our formulas, Episcopacy a thing of mere expediency, and the Sacraments and ordinances nothing more in reality than the merest Quakerism. Now, sympathizing with one sect, and now,

with another; now, hand and glove with Presbyterians, and now with Methodists, and now with Baptists, and now with Unitarians, they are a sort of amphibious Churchmen, neither fish nor flesh. This class, likewise, mistaking singularity for humility, take pleasure in appearing in an unclerical dress. They will wear, perhaps, a brown suit instead of a black. They will appear even on public occasions in the black stock or the fancy-colored cravat, instead of the white neck-cloth. Every one to his taste. But there is a true Church taste even about trifles, and we would not see it violated. There is a decorum belonging to every profession, and there is a nice decorum which appertains to the Christian minister, and it cannot be laid aside without detriment to religion and dishonor to the Church. We would see neither a slavish and effeminate bondage to outward things, nor a wanton deviation from them. We would see the golden mean between the two extremes. The spirit that runs into the extravagances of either, though it professes to spring from a sounder Churchmanship, or a higher evangelicism, if truly analyzed, will be found to come from "the world," and the world only. It is self-willed, censorious, pharisaical.

That the world is in the Church, is plain, still farther, from the too common abandonment by the clergy of the strict duties of their profession, for mere academical or literary pursuits. We know that we are here treading upon delicate ground, and we shall try to walk cautiously, lest we give unnecessary offense. We therefore premise what we have to say on this point by affirming that where a clergyman's salary is not sufficient for his support, as is almost universally the case in the country, and even in some of the city parishes, it is right, it is necessary for his family's comfort, and to relieve his mind from painful solicitude as to the future, to endeavor to add to his narrow stipend by the instruction of youth. He can thus, too, at the same time that he attends to his temporal wants, be keeping up his scholarship and improving all his mental faculties. This course has often been and is now pursued by many of our worthiest divines. But they have not sunk the Bishop, or the Presbyterian, in the pedagogue. They have not made the work of preaching subordinate to the task of teaching boys Latin and Greek, and collecting punctually their school-bills. The honor of God, and the salvation of souls, they have kept uppermost in their minds. It often happens, too, that very estimable clergymen, who have a desire to fulfill their holy calling to their life's end, are prevented from doing so by delicate health, by the failure of their voice, or from absolute in-

ability to procure a parish through their want of attractiveness as speakers. To teach, and to do nothing but teach, becomes their forlorn hope, and they do right not to let their talents rust. But we ask, with all becoming respect, are there not in our small band of American clergymen, too many who have the health, and strength, and talents to preach the Gospel acceptably, who, because they may not happen to procure such agreeable parishes as they wish, throw aside the ministry, bury themselves in academic shades, or turn into gentlemen of elegant leisure, and thus become perfectly secularized in all their thoughts and feelings? Are there not, too, cases of those who, as soon as they become independent in property, are too independent to preach, or fancy themselves to be subject to a thousand ills and infirmities which they never dreamed of having before they became affluent, and which complaints would, in all probability, soon leave them, were they reduced back to their former narrow fortunes, and compelled to go to work again in the Lord's vineyard? For our own frail selves, it is our humble and devout prayer, that if by some strange event we should ever become wealthy; if "our rich uncle in England" should die and leave us a large estate, or some "rich widow, who lives all alone," should take it into her head to remember us in her last will and testament, we may not be tempted to forsake our holy vocation, but delight, as much as ever, in preaching glad tidings to the meek, binding up the broken-hearted, and comforting them that mourn.

We might go on and give many other proofs that the World is in the Church. We might speak, at length, of the extravagant outlays in the erection of Church edifices, and in the unnecessary alteration of old ones, while the poor are actually driven away from our doors by the exorbitant price of pews; of the violent competition between neighboring congregations which shall have the most captivating preacher, or the largest organ, or the loudest bell, or the highest steeple. We might speak of the practice, in some places, of importing the Prima Donna of the stage into the Church choir, and thus making the work of singing praises to God a theatrical exhibition, rather than a part of devotion by all the assembled people. But our limits compel us to forbear. We think we have shown our motto to be true, and that is all we wanted. A few more words and we have done.

The American Church, in the Providence of God, has a high destiny to fulfill, and we would behold that Church without spot or wrinkle or any such thing. She has a great work to do, and we would see her perfectly accomplished for her

task. If she is sober, and prayerful, and vigilant, and improves her opportunities, and is quickened by the spirit of a warm and comprehensive charity, she will go on conquering and to conquer. Her glory will keep pace with the glory of the American nation. We pray that all her sons now living, like her sons who are departed, may be emulous to do their part in keeping her honor bright. With all her faults we love her still. We are not ashamed of her past nor of her present history. We are not ashamed of the great and good men who once adorned and now adorn the ranks of her Bishops, her clergy, and her laity. We remember that among her sainted prelates and doctors she numbers a Seabury, a White, a Hobart, a Griswold, a Dehon, a Bowden, and a Bronson. We remember that among the laymen who knelt at her altars and have gone to sleep in her Faith, were George Washington and Patrick Henry; John and Edward Rutledge; John Jay and Alexander Hamilton; William Samuel Johnson and John Marshall. We call to mind that the undaunted and veteran Chase still lives to preside over her Councils; that the mild and sagacious Brownell yet survives—and may he long survive!—to teach us her lessons of wisdom; that the kind-hearted and indefatigable Kemper is lengthening her cords and strengthening her stakes in the wilds of the distant West; that the gentle and accomplished Burgess is proclaiming her truths along the romantic rivers and bold headlands of the East; that Hopkins, and DeLancey, and McIlvaine, and Whittingham, and others not a whit behind, “mighty men, men of renown,” are guarding well her central bulwarks and towers. We call to mind that among her living doctors are the flower of American scholars, Samuel Farmer Jarvis, and the peerless pulpit orator of the land, Francis L. Hawks. We call to mind, also, that among the living laymen who repeat her Apostles’ Creed, and who reverently join in her solemn praises, are they who are the foremost men of this nation, and who are known, wherever the English language is spoken, for forensic genius and diplomatic power, for parliamentary eloquence, and for military skill and heroic valor,—Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Lewis Cass, and Winfield Scott. A Church that numbers such men among her sons, and multitudes of others of less note, but fast rising into fame, to defend her and adorn her, has nothing earthly to fear. She has nothing to fear either from the treachery of Rome or the sneers of Dissent. Come what will of the political destiny of our country in its majestic march over this continent, whether it shall remain, as now, a Confederate Republic, or shall be

gradually changed, in the Providence of God, into a Kingdom or an Empire, our Church will grow with its growth. Wherever the American ensign floats, over river, and lake, and mountain, and prairie, there will the banner of the Cross be uplifted from the forts and palaces of our Zion. There will her services be celebrated, there will her festivals be kept. The chimes of her Christmas and her Easter bells shall mingle with the roar of the Atlantic and the low murmur of the Pacific. Her songs shall be sung by the shores of the Penobscot, by the banks of the Oregon, and by the gold-flowing waters of the Sacramento. From ocean to ocean, one long succession of spires, reflecting one by one the brightness of the sun in its course, will tell from day to day of her glory! God hasten it in His time!

But her children must do their duty to her by their generous benefactions to her cause, by the holy consistency of their lives, and by preserving and handing down, in all its beautiful simplicity, untarnished by Romish corruptions or infidel innovations, "the Faith once delivered to the saints." Thus shall the World be no longer in the Church, but the Church shall prevail and transform the World!

ART. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

A COPIOUS AND CRITICAL LATIN-ENGLISH LEXICON; founded on the larger Latin-German Lexicon of Dr. WILLIAM FREUND, with additions and corrections from the Lexicons of Gesner, Facciolati, Scheller, Georges, &c. By E. A. ANDREWS, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We preface our remarks upon this Latin-English Dictionary by saying, that we doubt the propriety, and even the morality, of the title stamped upon its cover, and by which it is announced to the American public as ANDREW'S Latin-English Lexicon. It may secure immortality for the name thus prefixed; but it is cheaply purchased, and by scholars generally will be duly appreciated. The work itself, in its conception and execution, is Freund's; and as such it ought to be known. Even the translation from a German to an American dress, was not made by Mr. Andrews; but by Professors Robinson and Turner; the latter of whom, who performed most of the labor, is one of the most accurate and industrious scholars in the country, and withal, as we say, a self-made man. Even the labor of proof-reading was performed by another, and the orthography was left almost entirely to the printer. The labor of the American Editor seems to have consisted mostly in omitting many of the citations of the *Wörterbuch* of Freund, and, as he says, in inserting words which Freund had omitted, and in verifying references. All this may have required industry; but we cannot bring ourselves to the belief that it gives him a right to appropriate to himself the credit of the profound learning and the herculean labors of the great German lexicographer.

The work itself comes before the world with large pretensions, and yet we believe these pretensions are entirely and nobly sustained. To give our readers a true idea of the work, we should need to transcribe the entire preface of the author, which is a most valuable contribution, and which must impress the reader with the conviction of the author's qualifications for his proposed task, and of the exceeding value of the results at which he has aimed. It is certain that we have had heretofore no perfect Latin Lexicon; and it is as certain, that the author's plan has enabled him to furnish an approximation at least to such a result; because it is a plan philosophically arranged, and in its comprehensiveness embracing all the necessary objects of attention in such a work. It will be in vain for us to attempt to give even a sketch of the design which the author has carried out. But we may say, that he regards it as the task of Latin Lexicography, to give the nature of every word in the Latin language; not only its outer nature, as its form, class, syntactical connection, &c., but its inner nature or meaning. Thus he views lexicography as having its *grammatical* element; its *etymological* element; its *exegetical* element; its *synonymous* element; its *special-historical* element; its *rhetorical* element; and its *statistical* element. In *etymology* he has exhausted modern and ancient resources in tracing the origin of Latin words, without presuming to dogmatize upon the mooted point, whether the Sanscrit or the German element should predominate. In *Exegesis* he has opened a comparatively new field. Unlike most lexicographers, he has gone back to the remains of old Latinity; the *Leges Regiæ*, the fragments of the Twelve Tables, the inscriptions on the Columna rostrata, down to Lucretius and Varro; and has thus detected the primitive meanings of many words, as well as their tropical and derived meanings. This leads him also to examine what he terms the *Chronological* element, or the various periods of the language; which he distributes into *Ante-classical*, from the oldest fragments to Varro and Lucretius; *Classical*, from Cicero and Cæsar, to Tacitus, Suetonius, and the younger Pliny; and *Post-Classical*, from that time to the fifth century. These divisions he also marks more distinctly, by still more minute sub-divisions. To aid him in developing this plan he had previously prepared on the ante-classical period, six special separate lexicons from minute ex-

animation of those early fragments; which lexicons are still in manuscript. The most valuable peculiarities of this Lexicon, therefore, are, first, its comprehensiveness; embracing every word in the Latin language from its earliest period to the downfall of the Roman empire, but not extending to the middle ages; and secondly, its philosophical arrangement of the meanings of each word, with distinct reference to the authors, where such meanings obtain. And we are glad to see that Mr. Andrews has retained every one of these references.

From what has been said, the reader will be able to form some conception of the design and value of this new Latin-English Lexicon. The American Editor, Mr. Andrews, by omitting many of the citations, has brought the four volumes of Freund within the compass of one large royal octavo of 1,663 pages. Each page contains three closely printed columns; and yet by means of a bolder type to mark the leading words, and the clearness of the impressions, the eye easily finds any word of which it may be in search. The work is sold for five dollars, which is only one-fifth the price paid for Ainsworth's large dictionary lying before us.

We may add, that a gentleman, whose pursuits have led him to study the Latin Fathers with accuracy, has tested this dictionary by a reference to Tertullian, Cyprian, and Ireneus, and in respect to a class of words not inserted in former dictionaries, and thus far he has not found this noble work of Freund at fault. We have no hesitation in saying, that this book must at once take its place as the Standard Dictionary of the Latin language.

A NEW CLASSICAL DICTIONARY of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography; partly based upon the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. By WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., editor of the Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities, and of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Revised, with numerous corrections and additions, by CHARLES ANTHON, LL.D., Professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Columbia College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 1039. New Haven: S. Babcock.

It is never too late to unlearn our errors, and the world, as it grows older, is growing wiser, if not better. In our school-boy days we pinned our faith on the old dictionary of Lempriere, as ultimate authority in all questions of Greek and Roman Antiquities. But that old standard is now obsolete, as full of errors and defects. It cannot be denied that to German scholarship modern scholars are mostly indebted for works of profound antiquarian research. The text-books used in the English Universities, and our own Colleges, are little more than reprints or abridgements of German productions. The present "New Classical Dictionary" is designed as a text-book for ordinary and common use. It is derived mostly, by Dr. Smith, from a series of larger and elaborate works, which he, and some twenty-eight *Collaborateurs*, have been preparing, in which Greek and Roman Antiquities, Biography, Mythology, and Geography, are treated thoroughly, and in all the light of modern research. In preparing an American Edition of this Dictionary, Professor Anthon has laid scholars under great obligation; nor would it be surprising if this edition were to be reprinted in England, and were to supersede the original work of Dr. Smith, as we think it deserves to do. Not only has he inserted more fully, Articles upon names occurring in authors ordinarily used in colleges, but he has read the work of Dr. Smith with a critical eye, and has availed himself of the aid of the most reliable authorities, as Ersch, Gruber, Grosekurd, Mannert, Ukert, Cramer, Nieburh, Pauly, Kraft and Müller. His own additions amount to more than 1400 independent articles; besides numerous corrections, of some most certainly singular mistakes in the English edition, and of utter carelessness in the accentuation of Greek names. The value of the American edition is also enhanced by an Appendix, containing "Chronological Tables of Greek and Roman History," from the Dictionary of Biography and Mythology, and drawn up with great care; and also "Tables of Weights, Measures, and Money," from the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

The whole work contains articles pertaining to Biography, (including History, Literature and Art,) Mythology and Geography. The Historical Articles include all names of importance, from the earliest times down to the extinction of the

Roman empire, A. D. 476; with a few names of a subsequent date. The articles on Mythology, are written with proper discrimination between the Greek and Roman Mythologies, and with suitable delicacy. On the whole, we doubt not, that a work for which there is a real demand, and which combines at once the industry, and accuracy, of German, English, and American scholarship, will become extensively useful and popular. We ought to add, that the enterprising publishers have put the work at a moderate price.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, from the Adoption of the Federal Constitution to the End of the Sixteenth Congress. By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. Vol 1. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 704. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This is the first volume of the present series, and the fourth volume of the important work upon which Mr. Hildreth is engaged. Each series, however, is separate and independent and complete in itself. The first, embraced our colonial and revolutionary history; the second, will include the period subsequent to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. The present volume is devoted to the administration of Washington; the second will embrace the administrations of Adams and Jefferson; the third, and last, that of Madison. We have had occasion to test his Colonial History with some severity, and we are free to say that we have found it more full, and more faithful and impartial, than any history within our reach. Should he carry out his plan to its completion with the same success, his History will, for aught that has yet been written, be the standard work of the language on this subject. The two objections, and the only ones, we believe, thus far urged against the work, are, the absence of ornament and of philosophical theory, and his omission to name the authorities from which he has drawn the details of his statements. The first objection is a positive and crowning excellence; and will be so regarded by every person whose opinion is worth consideration. If men want poetry or rhapsody, they can find them in their appropriate place. He is the faithful historian, who states clearly the exact truth, without a particle of embellishment, and there stops. The writer who goes one step beyond this, ceases to be a historian. We think his style, as a historian, admirable. It is clear, precise, unambitious. We see not the writer, but his subject. The other objection, we are ready to yield also. We should like to know his authorities, and in his Colonial History especially, we felt the want of them. The truth we presume is, that his resources embrace a vast amount of published and unpublished matter, documents and manuscripts, some authentic and some apocryphal, and that he has exercised his own judgment and drawn his own conclusions upon the facts before him. And he has certainly shown some confidence in his results, in the modest manliness with which he has published them to the world. In these later volumes, it will be less difficult to subject him to a close examination. Thus far, we give him the credit of freedom from political prejudice or bias. Why should not the administration of Washington, and our early Colonial History, be thoroughly studied in our Schools and Colleges, as well as the histories of the governments of the old world?

THE ISLAND WORLD OF THE PACIFIC; Being the personal narrative and results of travel through the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands and other parts of Polynesia. By Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER. With engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 406. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This work is not from the Mr. Cheever, of famous "alligator" memory. Still it is from a Mr. Cheever; and its style is decidedly *Cheeverish*. Thus he describes the mariner on shore, as he "lies along under its palms," &c., and "lists to the mighty knocking of the ocean's great battering-ram against the impregnable ramparts of coral," &c. He says "the sinner must have heard the surf beating against the lea-shore of perdition, and have seen the white caps gather and flash upon the gloom of his night, before he will put his helm hard down, wear ship, and stand about for heaven." The volume is copiously interlarded with second-hand poetical

quotations, obviously hunted up for the occasion, and often in the strongest possible contrast with the tone, taste, and spirit of the writer. The publication of works written in this style of inflated bombast provokes, and justly, the oft-repeated charge that the popular American mind is destitute of true refinement.

This "*Inland World of the Pacific*," on examination, dwindles down to little more than a hasty and superficial sketch of one or two islands of the Hawaiian group; and is valuable chiefly for its accounts of missionary labor; its statements of the rapid depopulation of the native tribes, with its causes; descriptions of volcanoes, &c. His account of the origin of that long chain of islands, of which the Hawaiian group forms a part, will probably amuse geologists, if it ever gains their attention, which however is doubtful.

MANUAL OF MODERN GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By WILLIAM PUTZ, Tutor of the Gymnasium of Duren, &c. Translated from the German by the Rev. R. B. Paul, M. A., Late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. First American Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 386. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

It is the design of the author to give an outline of every important event of modern history, from the Discovery of America, 1492, to the present day. The Peace of Westphalia, and the French Revolution, divide this interval into three Periods. The author's statements are made with great precision, with apparent impartiality, and remarkable condensation. It may be called a Dictionary of facts and dates. The copious questions, appended, will be of great service to both teacher and scholar. As a book for schools, it is better than any thing else which we have seen. The private reader, who wishes to mark out a thorough course of modern history can hardly do better than to make use of this as his text, consulting every author who can throw light on the point under examination. This is the only way to read modern history satisfactorily, and especially when the modern historian so often becomes little better than a mere writer of romance. For ourselves, we eschew the whole tribe of D'Aubignes and Macaulays, even if they are "as interesting as a novel."

LAVENGRO: the Scholar—the Gypsy—the Priest. By GEORGE BORROW, Author of "the Bible in Spain," and "the Gipseys of Spain." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 198. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Lavengro may fairly be pronounced one of the literary novelties of the season. It is almost as curious, in its odd and disconnected materials, as Southey's "Doctor," though not as enigmatical, nor marked by the extensive reading of that queer book. Scholars and boxers, Gipseys and Jesuits, the gibberish of the dingle and discussions of literature and ecclesiastical order and discipline, Oxford theology and Methodism, high life and low life, Cheapside and the wild heath, philologists and tinkers, the tamer of snakes and the English Churchman, are jumbled together with laughable confusion. The peculiar force of the writer lies in his powers of description. The best feature of the work, to us, is the boldness and truthfulness with which he describes the policy of Rome in its present movements in England, and the infatuation of England in its past line of conduct adopted towards Rome. Borrow evidently understands Popery most thoroughly. It can creep like a cat, roar like a lion, hiss and sting like a viper, or become meek and gentle as a lamb, to suit its purpose. He sees, too, where the weakness of the English Church at the present day consists, in not adapting itself, as a working institution, to the real wants and necessities of the mass of the people. It has had an immense sale in England, for which country, and especially at the present day, it is principally intended; but it is worth reading here.

THE BARDS OF THE BIBLE. By GEORGE GILFILLAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. and Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 378.

Gilfillan, as we understand, is a Scotchman. He has some reputation as the author of the "*Galleries of Portraits*," several volumes containing sketches of

English authors. He seems to have become a mere portrait painter. All the prominent characters of the Bible become not only poets, but standard poets; and his work is a sort of running contrast between Patriarchs, and Prophets, and Apostles, and even Jesus Christ, *as poets*, and the greatest of earthly bards. The conception of such an idea is irreverent; the attempt to illustrate it shockingly impertinent, as well as ridiculous. Besides, Gilfillan is the last man for such a work. He lacks both the intellectual and moral qualities. His style is stilted and inflated. Perpetually straining to be sublime, he forgets the fatal step, and runs into the ridiculous. Out of a multitude of passages, we quote one which happens to lie before us. He is descanting upon the "poet" Job. "Have our readers never fancied, during a thunder-storm, that each new peal was an *ironical* question, proposed to the conscience from the cloud, and succeeded by a pause of silence, more *satirical* still! Thus, God from his heaven, while pointing to his gallery of works, *rising in climax to leviathan, laughs at the baffled power and wisdom of man; and terrible is the glory of his snorting nostrils!*" He speaks of the "Minor Prophets," as "a mass of minute particles of glory;" of "John's piled and enthroned thunder." He speaks of poetry in the Jewish economy "as *God's spur*, suspended by the side of the system, as it moved slowly forward." The writer seems to have attempted the splendid imagery of Macaulay, the lofty eloquence of Chalmers, the intense thoughtfulness of Coleridge, and the lawless boldness of Carlyle. His soaring rhetoric reminds us of the great flying machine at New York.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF SCOTLAND, and English Princesses connected with the Regal Succession of Great Britain. By AGNES STRICKLAND, Author of the "Lives of the Queens of England." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 374. Vol. I. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Miss Strickland, whose "Lives of the Queens of England" is so well known to our readers, has commenced a similar history of the Queens of the sister realm. She appears to have become an enthusiastic admirer of the Scotch character, and to have had access to valuable unpublished documents, in the preparation of the present work. She mentions the contents of "the charter-chests of many of the historical families of Scotland;" "excerpts from the Royal Exchequer Records of Scotland;" "items of Privy Purse Expenses;" "inedited Letters of Queen Mary;" "Mary's Secret Correspondence, recently discovered in the family archives of the House of Moray," &c. The volume now published includes the Lives of Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV, the uneducated, passionate, headstrong, irreligious sister of Henry VIII, whom she seems strongly to have resembled; of the amiable and beautiful Magdalene of France, Queen of James V, daughter of Francis I and Queen Claude; and of Mary of Lorraine, second Queen of James V, and who was descended from one of the proudest of the royal families of France, and whose beauty, wit, and talents made her one of the most brilliant ornaments at Court, and to whom not only James, but his uncle Henry VIII, became suitors. Notwithstanding a constantly occurring want of perspicuity of style, the volume is intensely interesting, especially for the light it throws upon the manners, customs, amusements, state of religion, &c. &c., at that period.

FOREIGN REMINISCENCES, by HENRY RICHARD LORD HOLLAND. Edited by his Son, Henry Edward Lord Holland. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 230. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

These "Reminiscences" extend through a period of thirty years, from 1791 to 1821, and give us anecdotes and desultory sketches of distinguished personages in France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Prussia, and Russia; and among these, of Mirabeau, Lafayette, the Duke of Orleans, Talleyrand, Marie Antoinette, Ferdinand VII, Alexander of Russia, and particularly of Napoleon, to whom nearly half the volume is devoted. Lord Holland's acquaintance with the distinguished characters of the past generation, his social position at home, and his literary reputation, have given to this work considerable interest in England, where it

has been extravagantly praised and severely criticised. It deserves neither. It is simply a collection of personal anecdotes, gathered mostly at second hand, related in a chatty style, exceedingly readable, but throwing little new light upon the public character and policy of their subjects. Its disclosures of venality, corruption, and intrigues, are not calculated to impress Republicans with any very exalted conception of the morality of royal courts.

THE OLD RED SANDSTONE; or *New Walks in an Old Field*. By HUGH MILLER, Author of "*Foot Prints of the Creator*," &c. Illustrated with numerous engravings. From the Fourth London Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 288. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The science of Geology is still, comparatively, in its infancy, and is encountering almost as much opposition, from its supposed conflict with the Mosaic account of the Creation, as Astronomy did from the *infallible* Romish Church. And yet, the facts which Geology alleges are a beautiful and exact illustration of the progressive steps of the Creation, recorded in the first Chapter of Genesis, commencing with the lowest, and proceeding on to the highest forms of organic life. Firmly established as are the main principles of this science, there are, however, numerous facts yet to be explained and harmonized. Among these are the Old Red Sandstone. It has been formerly denied that this is a distinct Formation at all; and we believe even Mr. Lyell and other British Geologists have regarded it as composed of the debris of the primitive rocks. Mr. Miller, a Scotchman, has devoted great attention to the eastern and western coasts of his native land, and the northern coast of Sutherland and Caithness, where there are immense continuous beds of Old Red Sandstone. In this Formation one hundred and five species of fossil fishes have already been discovered, indicating a vast extent of animated life in that early age of the world. Mr. Miller himself is a remarkable man. Although entirely self-educated, his style is exceedingly pure, and his felicity in description won the admiration even of Dr. Buckland. We are glad to find him a vigorous and open opponent of the infidel "development theory" of Maillet, Lamarck, and Agassiz.

CHRIST IN HADES: A Poem. By WILLIAM W. LORD. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 184.

This work of Mr. Lord's is one of the loftiest and boldest achievements of modern poetry. Its conception is enough to prove the possession of intellectual and moral powers of the highest order. And that he should have attempted a flight in a region where John Milton has been so long left to soar alone, indicates a spirit which dare attempt great things. It describes the two-fold region of Hades, the residence of fallen angels and apostate men, and the paradise of the blessed, immediately before the descent of Christ to subdue the former and to give victory to the latter. It portrays the jealousy, hatred, and fierce contests of the one, and the joyful anticipation of the other; and the final conquest of the powers of darkness by Christ, not, as Milton conceives, by physical or merely spiritual weapons, but by the moral omnipotence of goodness. It is, in this respect, what we deny to *Paradise Lost*, a truly Christian poem. Its author is a true scholar, and his work shows an intimate acquaintance with the heathen mythology, as interwoven into the texture of ancient classic poetry. A new poem, on such a theme, and from a writer unquestionably endowed with the noblest of gifts, is sure to arrest attention, and we hazard nothing in saying will command the admiration of those who are capable of appreciating the splendid creations of genius.

SOUTHEY'S LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE. Part. VI. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Such of our readers as wish for a really choice book, can hardly be disappointed in this Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey. During the first

forty years of the present century there was scarcely a public man in Great Britain with whom he did not, indirectly, in some way come in contact, or a public measure which he did not appreciate, and, to a greater or less degree, affect. In the year 1829, when the Peel ministry was yielding to the popular clamor, Southey prophesied what is now matter of history. This "Part" also contains (in an Appendix) the sharp correspondence between Southey and Byron; with the terrible rejoinders which Southey gave in the public press. It also has a list of all his published works, and of his contributions to the London Quarterly, and other periodicals. We have seen no modern biography so intensely interesting. His son, in editing this work, has discharged his duty with modesty, with great propriety, and with entire success. Though in a delicate position, we see nothing in his editorial labor to regret. We are now able to promise a tribute to the memory of Southey, in some degree worthy of him, to which we are the more inclined as the London Quarterly has failed to do him justice, and one of our American Quarterlies has done him gross injustice.

THE HOME; or Family Cares and Family Joys. By FREDERIKA BREMER. Translated by Mary Howitt. The Author's Edition. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1850. 12mo. pp. 449.

It is not too late to present a notice of this volume, which ought to have appeared in our last number. "The Home" is to us the most fascinating of Miss Bremer's works. It exhibits true genius, genuine sentiment, and a nice observation of the shades of character which are often grouped together in the social circle. Her characters, of which there is a great variety, are clearly drawn and well sustained. The whole is a picture of "family cares and family joys," not only in a high degree entertaining, but which cannot but impress the reader with the importance of self-discipline, kindness, forbearance, and sympathy. It will tend to awaken those home-affections, which ought to sweeten the cup of human life, and yet which are so frequently neglected, or sacrificed.

Mr. Putnam has published the work in a very elegant edition, and, as the fair writer herself shares in the profits of the sales, we hope it will have, as it deserves, a large circulation.

PRESIDENT WOOLSEY'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSE before the Graduates of Yale College, Aug. 14, 1850, 150 years after the foundation of that Institution.

This discourse presents a graphic view of the history of Yale College for a century and a half. Yale College is educating, at this day, more Episcopal students, we believe, than any other college in the country. The following extract from the discourse, giving an account of the conversion to the Church of President Cutler, will be read with interest.

"Scarcely had the college emerged from the waves of discord and reached a secure port, when it was exposed to another trial. In 1719 a new Rector was chosen, the Rev. Timothy Cutler, then minister of Stratford, and a graduate of Harvard. He removed to New Haven, and had filled his office for something more than three years, when he declared his conviction that the Anglican theory of church government was the true one, and the orders of the New England ministry invalid. The only tutor, Mr. Daniel Brown, shared his opinions; and several neighboring ministers, most of whom were graduates of the College, and several had been officers, were more or less of the same way of thinking. That these gentlemen were honest in their persuasion seems undoubted; and, indeed, under the circumstances in which they found themselves the first champions of an unwelcome theory in the Colony, and dissenters from the Church order there established, there was every motive for dishonest or timid men to conceal their opinions. There seems to be little doubt that they studied together the points of difference between the Church of England, and other sects which had separated from it, and that books in the library of the College wrought this change in their sentiments. A departure, for the first time in the Colony, and of so many at once, from the views of New England churches, and a return to that church from

which the Pilgrims had fled into the wilderness, filled the minds of men with apprehension and gloom—feelings which extended into the neighboring Colony. I suppose that greater alarm would scarcely be awakened now, if the Theological Faculty of the College were to declare for the Church of Rome, avow their belief in transubstantiation, and pray to the Virgin Mary. A public disputation was held at the Commencement of 1722, in which Gov. Saltonstall, who had been a minister, took part against the Anglican doctrine; and the result was, that two of the gentlemen who had united with the Rector in his views, professed themselves convinced that their ministerial ordination was valid, while the Rector, persisting in his opinions, was excused by the trustees from further service. The tutor also resigned his post at the same time. This act of deposition all will allow to have been necessary in a seminary, which was intended for the training of ministers, as much as for any other purpose; and which was founded, endowed, and governed by adherents of the Congregational system. It was followed by an act of the Trustees imposing a test, the aim of which was to maintain, in their soundness, the faith and Church theory of the Puritans.

"It may not be impertinent to add that these gentlemen, who thus left the Puritan platform, were not inclined to array themselves in hostility to the College. They were rather inclined to regard it as a hopeful place, where, in process of time, views similar to their own would flourish. In particular, one of them, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Johnson, first President of Columbia College, appears to have taken a friendly interest in the welfare of the College, and to have rendered to it important services. Subsequently, a large number of the more eminent and active Episcopal ministers, both in New England and to the westward of it, were educated at Yale College."

We learn from the Appendix that the general funds of the College are about \$140,000; and that the income from all sources is annually about \$23,000. The price of tuition is \$38.00. The average salary of the Professors is about \$1150. There are, besides the President, nine professors, six tutors, and several other lecturers, &c. More than one hundred and sixty clergymen of the Church have been educated at Yale College.

JANE BOUVIER; or, *Prosperity and Adversity*. By CATHERINE SINCLAIR, Author of "Sir Edward Graham," &c. &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 234. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Miss Sinclair designed this story, not for wives, mothers, and daughters, but for that class of single ladies, whom she terms "The Sisters of England." Her motto is—

"Skill to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find."

She describes less the manners, etiquette, fashions, and customs of social life, than its dignity, usefulness, and respectability; less distinctly the outward and formal, but more the spiritual and real. She portrays most faithfully the entire heartlessness, the utter wretchedness, the cold selfishness which almost necessarily mark the course of what is termed fashionable life in English society. To have made it a truer mirror of such life this side the Atlantic, her plan must have embraced a large admixture of the grossest vulgarity.

BISHOP COBBE'S SERMON ON THE BAPTISMAL COVENANT. *From Acts xi, 38, 39. Addressed to the members of the P. E. Church in the Diocese of Alabama.* 1851.

This sermon reminds us of the teaching of Bishop Hobart, twenty-five years ago. It is the plain, practical view of Baptism, as presented in the Bible and the Prayer-Book. Nor do we believe it possible to go *essentially* beyond this sermon, or to stop *essentially* short of it, without stumbling into Rome or Geneva, and teaching another gospel; a gospel which finds no response in the hearts and wants of men, a gospel which is sure to breathe blighting and mildew as its inevitable fruits.

LIFE'S DISCIPLINE; A Tale of the Annals of Hungary. By TALVI, Author of "Heloise," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 171. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

The author of this thrilling story is Mrs. Robinson, wife of the distinguished lexicographer. She is one of the most remarkable women of the age. She was born at Halle, in Germany, in 1797. Her father was professor in the University there; but in 1806, was appointed to a professorship at Charkow, in Russia, whither his daughter accompanied him, as also to St. Petersburg, in 1810. In 1816, she returned to Halle, and in 1828, became the wife of Prof. Robinson, whom she accompanied to America. She early manifested a talent for the acquisition of languages, and has acquired, besides the modern languages of Europe, several of the aboriginal languages of America, and a thorough acquaintance with Servian and Sclavic literature. Among her productions are a translation of the Popular Songs of the Servians; a Historical View of the Sclavic Languages; Historical Characteristics of the Popular Songs of the Germanic Nations; a History of the Colonization of New England; and, in 1849, a Historical View of the Languages and Literature of the Sclavic Nations; in 1850, a Novel, *Heloise*, containing pictures of social life in Germany. The work before us is a tale of Hungarian Life, and evinces genius of a high order. The historical sketches are boldly drawn; and the main design of her story, which is announced in the title, is illustrated and enforced with great success.

THE WOMEN OF ISRAEL. By GRACE AGUILAR, Author of "Woman's Friendship," "Mother's Recompense," "Vale of Cedars," &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. Two vols. 12mo. pp. 270, 336. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

If we were a Jew, we know of no work which would be more likely to confirm us in Judaism, than this. It is not professedly argumentative, yet in reality it is so. While it portrays the "Women of Israel," it constantly and earnestly vindicates the Jewish religion from those reflections and aspersions which Christian writers have often cast upon it. Especially, she aims in this work to show the character and tendency of the Jewish Dispensation in elevating the position and destiny of Woman. She says, "The women of Israel must themselves arise and prove the truth of what we urge—by their own conduct, their own belief, their own ever-acting and ever-influencing religion, prove without doubt or question that we need not Christianity to teach us our mission—prove that our duties, our privileges, were assigned us from the very beginning of the world, confirmed by that law to which we still adhere, and will adhere for ever, and manifested by the whole history of the Bible," (vol. 1, p. 11.) This short extract is, we think, the key to the whole work. Now, we have no hesitation in admitting, to a great extent, all which the writer here claims; and on that admission, we would found our strong argument for that very Christianity, which she so blindly rejects. The religion of the Old and New Testaments, is one. All are but parts of one great comprehensive plan. Nor can we read her earnest appeals—the outpourings of a devout overflowing Jewish heart, a heart deeply alive to the past, the present, and the future—without feeling, that the devout Jew of olden time, and the devout Christian now, are both one, and one in Christ.

Grace Aguilar was deeply read in the details of Jewish History; and she felt deeply the moral argument of Israel's present and long continued degradation. But, she says, "We were, we are chastised, not for rejecting Jesus, but for long, long years of disobedience to our law." Of course, the issue here, is not between the Jew and the Christian, merely. One greater than both, when He wept over the Holy City, as He foresaw what it was to become, and still is, said, it was "because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." Neither are we disposed to deny the reality of that splendid vision of the future, which the authoress beholds in the light of unfulfilled prophecy. Nay, as Christians we may not only admit all this to be true; but in the words of a Christian Apostle, St. Paul, we see a far more glorious day about to dawn, than a mere Jew is permitted to anticipate.

We have no room to notice certain doctrinal opinions, which the writer unconsciously betrays in these volumes; one of which, concerning the Atonement, suggests a long train of grave reflections. The work exhibits a vigor of thought, an eloquence of style, and an earnestness and depth of emotion, unequalled in her previous productions. No intelligent Christian can read it, without having awakened fresh feelings of sadness and sympathy.

THE MOTHER'S RECOMPENSE; *A Sequel to Home Influence.* By GRACE AGUILAR. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 499. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

Grace Aguilar's writings are distinguished by simplicity and energy of style, purity and truthfulness of sentiment, and felicity of description. It is, however, in delineation of those home influences which mould the social character and develop the affections, that her pen is most successful. The work before us has interested us most, as showing how thoroughly the heart of a devout Jewess (and such was Grace Aguilar) may be imbued with the spirit and principles of Christianity, even as the Psalms of David are found the best and truest lyrics of the Church, from age to age. "The Mother's Recompense" is a good book to be read by mothers and daughters.

POPULAR EDUCATION, *for the use of Parents and Teachers, and for Young Persons of both Sexes.* Prepared and published in accordance with a resolution of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, by IRA MAYHEW, M. A., late Superintendent of Public Instruction. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1850.

Mr. Mayhew is a clear-headed, intelligent man, and he has written a sensible book on Education. His views on the importance of harmony in physical, intellectual, and moral training, are judicious and well expressed. His remarks on the popular tendency to teach Astronomy, Geometry, Botany, &c. to infants, are sound and apposite. His book also contains a mass of statistics of great value. On the whole subject of Christian education, distinctively as such, without which all other culture is worse than useless, the public sentiment needs to be corrected. The public system of education, for which several of the States have made munificent appropriations, is in danger of becoming a great nursery of infidelity.

TO LOVE AND TO BE LOVED. *A Story.* By A. S. ROE, Author of "James Montjoy; or, I've been thinking." New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851.

A story, marked by the same descriptive talent, and the same high moral sentiment as his former work, which has been well received.

THE MOORLAND COTTAGE. By the Author of "Mary Barton." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 184.

A fine story of various phases of English life; a story admirably told, sure to find readers, and as sure to do good.

MALLEVILLE; *A Franconia Story.* By the Author of the "Rollo Books." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 18mo. pp. 220. New Haven: S. Babcock.

It is quite enough for the little folk, to tell them that this is the first of a series of entertaining stories by the author of the Rollo books. The book is handsomely bound and printed, and the story is illustrated by several pretty engravings.

LOSSING'S FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION. No. 11. Harper & Brothers.

This noble work loses none of its interest or attractiveness. It deserves to be circulated throughout the length and the breadth of the country whose early revolutionary struggles it so vividly commemorates.

The following serials and pamphlets have been received:—

United States Monthly Law Magazine and Examiner, Vol. III. No. 2. New York.

Journal of the Convention of the Church in California, San Francisco. 1850
Catalogue of the General Theological Seminary for 1850-51.

Rev. Jas. Cole Tracy's Sermon, at Troy, N. Y. on the Moderation of the Church.

Rev. Jas. D. McCabe's Sermon, at Wheeling, Va. on the Sins of the Season. An earnest and faithful discourse.

Rome and Geneva; or, False Protestantism exposed. By Rt. Rev. Bishop H. Ivaine, D. D. Published by the Society P. E. K. pp. 30.

Proceedings of the Union Meeting, at New Haven, Ct. Dec. 24, 1850. We are glad to see the noble addresses of the Messrs. Ingersoll, Rev. Dr. Taylor, and others on that occasion, preserved for future reference.

Obituary addresses on the death of President Taylor, delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives; with the Rev. Dr. Pyne's Funeral Sermon on the occasion.

Catalogue of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, at Cheshire. 1850-51. This time-honored Institution, one of the monuments of Bishop Seabury, is still in a vigorous and healthful condition. It has five teachers and seventy-eight scholars. It may be commended to Churchmen abroad with confidence.

Narrative of certain occurrences at the late Special Convention of the Diocese of New York.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Smith's Sermon at the opening of the General Convention at Cincinnati, Ohio, Oct. 2, 1850.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Chase's Address at the close of the General Convention, Oct. 16, 1850.

Journal of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, 1850; together with the Constitutions and Canons of the Church.

ART. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

THE Sermons, Charges, &c. of the Rt. Rev. H. U. Onderdonk, D. D. are to be published in two large 8vo. vols. in Philadelphia. An English Translation of the Syriac New Testament, by Rev. Dr. Murdock, is in press. Also, by the same, a Translation of Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine, in 2 vols. 8vo. will shortly be published. Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, of Boston, have in press the Biography of Wordsworth, by his nephew, Rev. C. Wordsworth, D. D. Mr. E. G. Squier, late American Charge to Central America, has in press a work on Nicaragua. The Life of Washington, by Washington Irving, is nearly completed, and will appear in the autumn. Rev. Dr. Hawks has nearly ready for the press, The Monuments of Western and Central America, which will be an attractive work. Salander and the Dragon, or a Romance of the Hartz Prison, is the title of an Allegory by Rev. F. W. Shelton, and is well spoken of. G. P. Putnam has in press a Commentary on Ecclesiastes, by Moses Stewart. A correspondent in the New York Evening Post proves that Sparks, in his edition of the "Writings of Washington," published several years since, took great liberties with his author, not only abridging his letters, but altering their language. Such conduct deserves the severest reprobation. The Secretary of the State of New York reports to the Legislature, that persons in the employ of the State have matter prepared sufficient to make ten printed volumes of Colonial History of that State. Little & Brown, of Boston, have issued proposals for publishing by subscription a new and uniform edition of the Speeches, Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster, in six volumes. Blanchard & Lea, Philadelphia, will shortly publish a Life of Penn. by Hepworth Dixon, in which the author will refute many of the statements of Macaulay.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held Jan. 7, 1851, at which Annual Reports were read, Officers elected, &c. Twelve meetings of the Society were held during the year.

In the month of February, a paper was read by Rev. Rufus W. Griswold, upon the Early Introduction of Printing in New York.

In March, Rev. J. O. Choules read a Biographical Sketch of Alexander Wilson, the Ornithologist.

In April, Rev. P. J. Van Pelt read a paper on the First Settlement of New York and its Environs. The decease of Mr. Calhoun was announced at this meeting.

In May, Rev. Dr. Hawks read an Account of the Colonies and Provinces of New England.

In June, the President of the Society, Hon. Luther Bradish, presented, on behalf of Mr. James Lenox, a copy of his edition of Washington's Farewell Address, printed from the original manuscript; and read a paper on the question of the authorship and history of that work.

In July, the death of President Taylor was announced, and a series of appropriate resolutions introduced by Hon. Charles King, President of Columbia College, and adopted.

In October, the resignation of Mr. John R. Bartlett as Foreign Corresponding Secretary was received, and Rev. Dr. Robinson was appointed. A paper was also read by Mr. E. G. Squier, on the Archaeology of Nicaragua.

In November, Mr. Andrew Warner resigned the office of Recording Secretary,

and Mr. Maunsell B. Field was appointed. Mr. Joseph B. Varnum made some remarks upon the subject of the Washington National Monument.

At the Forty-Sixth Anniversary, an Address was delivered by Hon. William Campbell, on "The Progress of Historical Research during the last Twenty-Five Years."

In December, Hon. John R. Brodhead read a paper on the Dutch in the Netherlands and the Dutch in New Netherland.

The whole number of new members added to the Society during the year was 204, as follows:—Honorary Members, 6; Corresponding Members, 26; Resident Members, 172; Total, 204.

The following gentlemen were elected Officers of the Society for the year ensuing:—President, Hon. Luther Bradish; 1st Vice President, Rev. Thomas DeWitt, D. D.; 2d V. Pres., Frederick DePeyster; For. Cor. Sec., Rev. Edward Robinson; Dom. Cor. Sec., Hon. James W. Beekman; Rec. Sec., Maunsell Bradhurst Field; Treas., William Chauncey; Librarian, George H. Moore.

ENGLAND.

Blunt's Reformation in England has reached a twelfth edition. Sharon Turner's Sacred History of the World, 3 vols. 8vo., appears with the author's final corrections. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, translated by James Murdock, D. D., edited with additions by Henry Soames, M. A., 4 vols. 8vo., appears in a new edition, by Longman, Brown & Co., sold at \$12.00. Robinson's Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament is also re-published by the same house. W. E. Painter, 342 Strand, is publishing a series of works on Popery; as Horne's Popery Delineated; Horne's Popery the Enemy and Falsifier of Scripture; Horne's Mariolatry; Powell's Roman Fallacies and Catholic Truths; Powell's Episcopal Succession of the Catholic Church in England; England under the Popish Yoke, from 600 to 1534; Papists Saved or Damned! Williams' Church of England independent of the Church of Rome in all ages; Popery not the Old Religion. The Rivingtons have also published the sixth edition of Wordsworth's Theophilus Anglicanus, 8vo. Parker has issued an Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, Historical and Doctrinal, by Edward Harold Browne, 2 vols. 8vo. A new edition of Maitland's Church of the Catacombs, illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains, is from the press of Longman & Co.; who also publish Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art; and her Legends of the Monastic Orders, 1 vol. \$6.50. The same publishers have issued Dr. Bloomfield's Additional Annotations, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory, on the New Testament, (being a Supplemental Volume to his Greek Testament with English Notes,) in 2 vols. 8vo. The Rivingtons have published Conversion not Regeneration, by a Fellow of a College at Cambridge; also, Dr. Wordsworth's Lectures on the Apocalypse, Critical, Expository, and Practical, 2d edition, \$3.50; also, his Greek Text of the Apocalypse, with an English Translation, and Harmony and Notes. William Brown advertises Dr. McVicar's Life of Bishop Hobart, edited by Rev. Dr. W. F. Hook. John Murray has just published the 2d edition of Rev. James Brogden's Catholic Safeguards against the Errors of Rome, or Discourses from Eminent Divines of the 17th Century; also, Illustrations of the Liturgy and Ritual, from Eminent Divines of the 17th Century. Both these works are recommended by the Bishop of London in his late Charge. Parker advertises the 2d edition of Archdeacon Hare's Mission of the Comforter, 1 vol. 8vo. \$3.00. Hatchard has just published a Practical Exposition of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Hebrews, in the form of Lectures, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1 vol. 8vo. \$2.25. Twysden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England, in point of Schism, Collated and Revised with the MS. Additions left by the Author, 1 vol. 8vo. \$1.87, is published by J. W. Parker. The 5th edition of Perranzabuloe, The Lost Church Found, by Rev. T. C. Trelawny, has appeared; Rivingtons. The same publishers have issued Dr. Beavens' Elements of Natural Theology, small 8vo. The Oxford University Press has just issued a new edition of Cardwell's Reformation of Ecclesiastical

Lava, as attempted in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth, 1 vol. 8vo. \$1.62. H. Colburn has published a 2d edition of *Revelations of the Life of Prince Talleyrand*, edited from the Papers of his Private Secretary, the late M. Colmache. Talleyrand's Memoirs and Papers are to be published at the end of forty years from his death, or in 1878. Dr. Richardson's *Etymological Dictionary*, 3 vols. 4to., has appeared in a 2d edition. The *Gunpowder Treason*, being the Evidence on the Trial of Guy Fawkes, Winter, Garnet the Jesuit, &c., has been re-printed, with a Preface by the Bishop of Lincoln. Rev. George Townsend's *Journal of a Tour in Italy*, his interview with the Pope, &c., is published by the Rivingtons. He represents Rome at head-quarters as a mass of hideous idolatry, &c. The following works have been issued from the Oxford University Press:—The Wycliffe Versions of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha; The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth, by Rev. E. Cardwell, D.D., 8vo. \$1.62; The Two Books of Common Prayer of Edward VI; Documentary Annals of Reformed Church of England from 1546 to 1716; A Collection of Articles of Religion, Canons, &c., of the Province of Canterbury, from 1547 to 1717, with Notes, &c., 2 vols. 8vo. Murray has published an important work on Christianity in Ceylon, by Sir James Emerson Tennant. William G. Ward has just had published *The Anglican Establishment contrasted in every Principle of its Constitution with the Church Catholic of every Age*. It is a thoroughly Romish book. *Sermons in Sonnets, &c.*, has just appeared, by Chauncey Hare Townsend, the friend of Southey. Hutton's *Chronology of Creation*, and Goulburn's *Bampton Lectures on the Resurrection of the Body*, are well spoken of. Mr. H. G. Bohn has just published the *Pictorial Atlas of Fossil Remains*, 4to., with 75 plates, and 900 colored figures of fossil animals and plants, by Dr. Mantell, at the low price of \$11.00. The illustrations are selected from Parkinson's and Artis' invaluable works, and the volume of Mr. Bohn seems to equal in value the original works, which sold at \$85.00. Miss Martineau has written a work on the "*Laws of Man's Nature*," recently published, in which she appears as an avowed enemy to Christianity. A new work by Rev. W. Goode has appeared, *Aids for Determining some Disputed Points in the Ceremonial of the Church of England*. Dr. Achilli's *Dealings with the Inquisition* has just been published by Hall, Virtue & Co.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Green, William F.	Johns,	Feb. 9, 1851.	Bruton Par.	W'mburg, Va.
Roberts, H. Wm.	McCookry,	Nov. 26, 1850.	Christ Ch.	Adrian, Mich.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Clarkson, Roberts H.	Chase,	Jan. 5, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel,	Ill.
" Dashiell, Erastus F.	Whittingham,	Dec. 8, 1850.	Christ Ch.	Calvert Co. Md.
" Dunn, I. W.	Hawks,	Nov. 24, 1850.	St. Mary's,	Fayette, Mo.
" Magee, Edward,	McCookry,	Dec. 23, 1850.	Mt. Clements,	Mich.
" Robertson, Wm. C. H.	Burgess,	Feb. 26, 1851.	Christ Ch.	Gardiner, Me.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Ashburn, D.,	Ch. of the Evangelists,	Philadelphia, Pa.
" Banister, James M.,	St. Paul's,	Greensborough, Ala.
" Bartlett, G. R.,	_____	Marquette, Wis.
" Clarke, Thomas M.,	Christ,	Hartford, Conn.
" Cushman, George F.,	_____	Auburn, Ga.
" Durell, George W.,	_____	Calais, Me.
" Eaton, Theodore A.,	St. Clements,	New York.
" Elliott, James H.,	Holy Trinity,	Grahamville, S. C.
" Franklin, B.,	_____	New York.
" Gardner, Charles H.,	Grace,	Lockport, W. N. Y.
" Gallahan, S. G.,	_____	Dartford, Wis.
" Gray, Richard,	Trinity,	Cincinnati, Ohio.
" Harlow, W. D.,	St. John's,	Jacksonville, E. Florida.
" Hagar, E. W.	Chaplain in Penitent'ry,	Auburn, W. N. Y.
" Hopkins, John H.,	St. George the Martyr,	New York.
" Horne, George W.,	Ch. of the Evangelists,	Oswego, W. N. Y.
" Jarvis, Wm. Oscar,	_____	Duanesburgh, N. Y.
" Johnson, William,	Christ,	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
" Kerr, David,	Trinity,	Washington, D. C.
" Marlin, J. I.,	St. John's,	Prince George Co., Md.
" Moss, J. B.,	_____	New Rochelle, N. Y.
" Nelson, Robert,	Missionary,	Shanghai, China.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Nicholson, Joseph L.,	St. Thomas',	Orrings Mills.
" Okeon, N. A.,	St. John's,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Parkman, O. M.,	—	Edenton, N. C.
" Parker, Samuel P.,	St. Mary's,	Castleton, Staten Island.
" Pinckney, O. C.,	Grace,	Charleston, S. C.
" Platt, George Lewis,	St. Ann's, (Ass.)	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Rees, William H.,	St. Luke's,	Roseville, Staten Island.
" Russ, L. W.,	Christ,	Jordan, W. N. Y.
" Scott, Thomas F.,	Trinity,	Columbus, Ga.
" Smith, J. Howard,	—	Bridgeport, Conn.
" Smith, Orasmus H.,	Christ,	Reading Ridge, Conn.
" Stewart, S. K.,	Worcester Parish,	Berlin, N. Y.
" Ticknor, James H.,	St. James,	Livingston, Ala.
" Thrall, S. Chipman,	Trinity,	Camden, W. N. Y.
" Tolford, D. W.,	Female Seminary,	Wheeling, Va.
" Tracy, J. C.,	Holy Cross,	Troy, N. Y.
" Warland, William,	St. Peter's,	Hebron, Conn.
" Walker, William F.,	St. Thomas',	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Woodward, Charles,	Missionary,	Steuben Co., N. Y.
" Woodward, James A.,	Ch. of the Evangelists,	Philadelphia, Pa.
" Wilcoxson, H. T.,	Christ,	Smithfield, Va.

CONSECRATIONS OF CHURCHES.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
St. Mary's,	Fayette, Mo.,	Hawks,	Nov. 23, 1850.
Christ,	Lexington, Mo.,	Hawks,	Dec. 1, 1850.
St. Philip's,	Summit Hill, Pa.,	Potter,	Dec. 8, 1850.
St. Stephen's,	Dorchester Co., Md.,	Whittingham,	Dec. 19, 1850.
St. Paul's,	Key West, Fla.,	Gadsden,	Jan. 4, 1851.
St. Paul's,	Paterson, N. J.,	Doane,	Jan. 25, 1851.
Trinity,	Watertown, W. N. Y.,	DeLancey,	Jan. 23, 1851.
Ch. of the Crucifixion,	Philadelphia,	Potter,	Feb. 14, 1851.

TRIENNIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS AT CINCINNATI.

At this meeting the Rev. Dr. Atkinson of Baltimore offered the following resolutions, which were adopted. The preamble to the first resolution was proposed by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Gadsden of South Carolina.

Whereas, in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America the number of Congregations is not less than 1,700, and the number of Dioceses 29; and therefore if each Congregation (the larger according to their abundance and the smaller according to their means) contributed forty dollars on an average, and if each Diocese contributed according to the number of its parishes on an average, the sum of \$2,100, the amount would be above \$60,000. Therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That there ought to be raised in the ensuing year, for the service of the Domestic Branch of the Board of Missions of this Church, and for coming years, not less than \$60,000.

2. *Resolved*, That a similar amount, or more, should be raised for the service of the Foreign Department of said Board.

3. *Resolved*, That the Bishops of this Church be earnestly requested to take upon themselves the charge, in their respective Dioceses, of urging upon the flocks committed to their care, by personal appeal, or otherwise, to every parish in the same, the duty of sustaining this resolution.

4. *Resolved*, That the respective Committees of the Board of Missions be enjoined to bring before the Church, through the Spirit of Missions, or otherwise, the most general Missionary intelligence, as to the Missions of the Church of England, as well as of our branch of the Church.

5. *Resolved*, That the Foreign Committee be instructed to renew the Mission to the decayed Churches in Asia Minor, in the manner they shall deem the most likely to accomplish the best results, and that the late Missionary Bishop to Turkey be requested to submit his views on the subject.

On motion of the Bishop of New Jersey, it was *Resolved*, That it be respectfully recommended to the House of Bishops to nominate, at their present session, a Presbyter, to be the Missionary Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, at Cape Palmas, and the parts adjacent, on the West Coast of Africa.

The Rev. John Payne was accordingly nominated and elected.

ROMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Archbishop Eccleston, of Baltimore, has been raised to the dignity of Primate, and New York, New Orleans, and Cincinnati have been erected into archiepiscopal Sees. The Apostolic brief, for the erection of the See of Cincinnati to the rank of a Metropolis, having Louisville, Vincennes, Detroit, and Cleveland for its Suffragans, has been received from Rome by the Bishop of the Diocese of Cincinnati.

The following brief statement of the present ecclesiastical divisions of our country by the Roman Catholic authorities, is from the *Roman Catholic Mirror* :

1. Archbishopric of Baltimore, having as Suffragan Sees, Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston, Pittsburg, Wheeling, and Savannah. The Rt. Rev. John MacGill has been appointed to the See of Richmond, and Rt. Rev. Dr. Whelan to the new See of Wheeling, and Rt. Rev. F. X. Gartland to the new See of Savannah.

2. Archbishopric of New Orleans, having as Suffragans, Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock, and Galveston.

3. Archbishopric of New York, having as Suffragans, Boston, Buffalo, Hartford, and Albany. The Rt. Rev. B. O'Reilly has been appointed to the See of Hartford.

4. Archbishopric of St. Louis, having as Suffragans, Nashville, Dubuque, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul's. Rt. Rev. Joseph Cretin has been appointed to the new See of St. Paul's, in Minnesota territory.

5. Archbishopric of Cincinnati, having as Suffragans, Louisville, Detroit, Cleveland, and Vincennes.

6. Archbishopric of Oregon City, having as Suffragans, Walla Walla, Neequally, Fort Hall, and Colville.

Besides the above mentioned Sees, there is that of Monterey in Upper California, to which the Rt. Rev. Joseph Alemany has been appointed. There are also two Apostolic Vicariates, viz : that of New Mexico, which has been placed under the charge of the Rt. Rev. John Lamy; and that of the territory east of the Rocky Mountains, which has been confided to the administration of the Rt. Rev. John B. Meigs.

Archbishoprics, 6; Bishoprics, 28; Apostolic Vicariates, 2; and when the Bishops elect shall have been consecrated, there will be 6 Archbishops and 27 Bishops in the United States.

LIST OF APOSTATES TO ROME.

The following we believe is a complete list of all the apostacies to Rome from the ranks of our clergy, since the establishment of the Church in this country. It may be convenient as a matter of reference.

Names.	Diocese.	Year.
1. Rev. Virgil H. Barber,	New York,	1815.
2. " Virgil H. Barber, Jun.,	Connecticut,	1815.
3. " J. Prentiss Kewley,	New York,	1816.
4. " Pierce Conolly,	Mississippi,	1836.
5. " J. Roosevelt Bayley,	New York,	1842.

	Name.	Diocese.	Year.
6.	Rev. Henry Major,	Pennsylvania,	1846.
7.	" Nathaniel A. Hewitt,	Maryland,	1846.
8.	" Edgar P. Wadhams,	New York,	1846.
9.	" William H. Hoit,	Vermont,	1846.
10.	" George Allen,	Pennsylvania,	1847.
11.	" J. M'y Forbes, D. D.,	New York,	1849.
12.	" Thomas S. Preston,	New York,	1849.
13.	" J. Huntingdon, M. D.,	South Carolina,	1849.
14.	" Donald McLeod,	North Carolina,	1849.
15.	" Edward J. Ives,	Connecticut,	1851.
16.	" F. E. White,	New York,	1851.

Of these we have reason to believe that Mr. Kewley was originally a Romanist, and Mr. Conolly has since renounced the Romish faith.

OBITUARY.

Died at Paris, (France,) Feb. 2, 1851, Rev. JOHN D. OGILBY, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary, aged 40 years. We gather from several sources, the following imperfect sketch of his history. He was a graduate of Columbia College, New York.

Ere his college course had been completed, he was selected by the observant eye of the Rev. Dr. Harris, to commence the establishment of the Grammar School of Columbia College, in which arduous task he was eminently successful. He subsequently was appointed *Professor of Ancient Languages* in Rutgers College, New Brunswick, and remained in that honorable post for several years, performing its duties with the utmost acceptance and fidelity. While there, after a long and diligent preparation for the Sacred Ministry, he was admitted to the Diaconate, and in due order of time to the Priesthood, in the Diocese of New Jersey. In the close of 1840 he was, on the nomination of P. G. Stuyvesant, Esq., the founder of St. Mark's Church-in-the-Bowery Professorship of Ecclesiastical History, unanimously elected to that important post, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Whittingham to the Episcopate of Maryland. The testimony of those whom he instructed, and the general approbation of the Church, attest how ably and diligently he filled this station. The excessive mental labor he underwent, and his untiring assiduity in all the duties of his office as a Professor and a Presbyter, may be considered as the primary cause of his bodily prostration, and then of his premature departure from the scene of his earthly toils and cares.

Prof. Ogilby was an earnest and sincere man, a thorough and indefatigable scholar, and his loss to the Seminary and to the Church at large, one which cannot well be filled. We may add that Prof. Ogilby had expressed a warm interest, from the outset, in the Church Review, and at the time he left for Europe, had chosen as the subject of an article for our pages, the *Eastern Churches*. We publish with pleasure, the following appropriate Resolutions, which have been transmitted to us:—

GENERAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, } February 22, 1851. }

At a meeting of the Faculty of the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held in the Seminary, on Friday, the 21st of February, 1851, the Faculty ordered the following entry to be made upon the minutes:—

"The Faculty have this day heard, with emotions of deep and heartfelt sorrow, of the death, in a foreign land, of their beloved brother and associate, the Rev. JOHN D. OGILBY, D. D., St. Mark's Church-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History. For nine years had he fulfilled the duties of his arduous station with great fidelity, unremitting industry, and distinguished ability; respected and beloved by the students, honored and esteemed by his colleagues in office. Health impaired by his severe studies, forced him to seek rest from his toil, and a more genial clime. The hopes and prayers of many went with him; but it has pleased Almighty God not to permit him to return to us; and his chair is now, in the

wise providence of our Heavenly Father, vacant. Mourning his loss, as of one endowed with many virtues,—the kind and generous friend, the ripe and accomplished scholar, the able and successful teacher, the humble and devout Christian, the zealous and devoted minister of the cross,—the Faculty would yet bow with submission to the decree of the Allwise and merciful God, and not sorrow as those without hope. And while they weep for themselves, they would mingle their tears with those of his attached pupils, and especially with those of his bereaved family and mourning friends, and offer their fervent prayers that He who 'hath taken away,' will pour into their bleeding hearts the soothing balm of His heavenly peace and consolation.

"*Ordered*, That in respect to the memory of our lamented associate, the chapel be hung in black—that the Faculty wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days—and that a sermon, commemorative of his life and character, be preached on Quinquagesima Sunday morning, by Prof. Haight, before the professors and students, and that the resident trustees be invited to attend.

"*Ordered*, That a copy of the foregoing proceedings be sent to the wife and mother of our departed brother,—communicated to the students—and published in the Church papers.

"SAMUEL R. JOHNSON,
Sec'y of the Faculty."

At a meeting of the students, held this day, Mr. Eugene Augustus Hoffman announced the death of the Rev. JOHN D. OGILBY, D. D., "St. Mark's Church-in-the Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Whereupon, Messrs. E. A. Hoffman and Jubal Hodges, of the Senior class, Messrs. W. E. Armitage and John Philson, of the Middle class, E. A. Foggo and E. M. Peck, of the Junior class, were appointed a committee to draft resolutions expressive of the feelings of the students on the sad event. After retiring, the committee reported the following resolutions:—

"*Resolved*, That we have learned with the deepest regret the decease of our late beloved Professor of Ecclesiastical History, the Rev. JOHN D. OGILBY.

"*Resolved*, That while we bow our heads in submission to this afflictive dispensation of our Heavenly Father, in removing him from his sphere of usefulness in the Church Militant, we cannot but mourn the loss of his deep learning, untiring energy, and self-consuming zeal, which he always employed to advance the interests of the Church he loved so well.

"*Resolved*, That in him we have lost one whose heart ever overflowed with sympathy for the student, whether at the bed-side of sickness, or amid the mases of Ecclesiastical History; whose wise and careful instruction was ever wont to kindle in us a 'filial love and reverence for our Mother, the Church;' and whose devotion to this, her chief school of the prophets, was manifested by his 'constant prayer, that God might keep us by His grace from all temptation, and prepare us to serve Him in His Church, to His honor and glory, and our own eternal gain.'*

"*Resolved*, That we sincerely sympathize with the bereaved family of the deceased, and commend them to the protection of Him, who alone can 'endure their soul with patience under their affliction, and with resignation to His blessed will.'

"*Resolved*, That in token of respect for the deceased, we will wear the customary badge of mourning for thirty days.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to the family of the deceased, and to the Church papers for publication.

"LAWRENCE S. STEPHENS, Chairman.

"WM. WHITE MONTGOMERY, Sec'y."

Died at Savannah, Ga., Dec. 25, 1850, Rev. EDWARD NEUFVILLE, D. D., aged 48 years. The deceased was a native of the city of Washington, and was first installed as Rector of the Episcopal Church in Prince William's Parish, S. C., from which place he was called to the rectorship of Christ Church, Savannah, soon after the death of the Rev. Mr. Carter. During a period of twenty-three years, he

* Last words of the deceased to the students.

performed the pastoral duties of this Church, having seen, in this time, nearly all the other Churches of the Diocese of Georgia grow up around him.

He died calmly, in the consolations of that religion which he had so long preached, surrounded by weeping friends, among whom were the Bishop, and many of the clergymen of the Diocese, who had repaired to Savannah, in order to manifest the last tokens of affection to their beloved brother.

DIED at Charleston, S. C., Dec. 29, 1850, Rev. ANDREW FOWLER, aged 91 years. Mr. Fowler was born at Guilford, Conn., June 10th, 1760, of Congregational parents. He entered Yale College in 1779, where he was graduated in 1783. Soon after entering college, his attention was attracted by certain books on the Episcopal Controversy, mentioned in the catalogue of the College Library, of which he heard much, but knew little. He asked for the books, and was referred to the President, who declined his request, on the ground that they were "dangerous books." Such a denial, for such reasons, served to stimulate his curiosity, and he was induced to inquire for them of some Churchmen in New Haven, with whom he was acquainted. The books were procured, read, studied, digested, and he converted. He commenced reading service in East Haven, under the direction of Rev. Bela Hubbard, of New Haven, in 1782, with consent of the President of the College, in the house of Mr. S. Tuttle; and a Parish was organized there in 1788. He also read service awhile in West Haven and North Haven. In 1842, just sixty years after, he preached at North Haven, and administered Baptism; he then found but two persons there who recollected his reading service. He also read service awhile in Hamden, at the house of Capt. Brooks; and at Bethany at the house of Mr. Mallory. In 1784, he read service at New Canaan, in this State, and subsequently at Staten Island.

He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Provost, of New York, in 1789, at Staten Island, and soon after Priest, at East Chester. He was Rector of the Church at Peekskill, N. Y., in 1792, of that of Bedford in 1795, of that of Spotswood, N. J. in 1799, of Middletown and Shrewsbury in 1801, of St. Bartholomew's, Charleston, in 1808—remaining in that and the neighboring Parishes, until 1843, when he was disabled from active duty. During all this period, he has done the work of an Evangelist faithfully, and we trust, successfully.

At the request of Bishop Seabury, Mr. Fowler commenced collecting materials for Biographical Sketches of the Clergy, as early as 1790, and his attention was continually directed to that object, until deprived of his sight, in 1848. He has twice made the journey from Charleston to Connecticut, *on foot*, pursuing different routes, for the purpose of gathering materials for that purpose, all of which have been carefully preserved. Mr. Fowler published an *Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer*, which received high commendation from Bishop Dehon and the clergy of Charleston; an *Exposition of the XXXIX Articles*; a *Catechism of the Church*; *Scripture Lessons*; a Sermon (by request) on the word "Amen," &c. Several volumes of his MSS. are now in the hands of Rev. A. B. Chapin, Ct.

DIED, on the morning of Monday, March 10th, the Rev. GEO. WM. FAIR, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Williamsburgh, L. I., in the 86th year of his age. Mr. Fair was a beautiful example of perseverance. Though he had his heart turned towards the ministry, as the pursuit of his life at a very early age—at the time when as a mere boy he was confirmed and admitted to the communion in Zion Church, New York—he was first given to other employments. Nevertheless, in his hours of leisure he commenced and continued a course of study which enabled him to enter the Junior class of Columbia College, from which institution he, two years afterwards, graduated with honor. He then connected himself with the General Theological Seminary, where he remained until he had completed its full course of study. He was ordained Deacon in 1840, and in the proper time thereafter received Priest's Orders. Although nearly the whole of his ministerial career was given to duties essentially missionary, he found time to increase his attainments, and to become, in particular, a good oriental scholar.

It were difficult to speak of his virtues and career in a way to do them justice, and not seem to be extravagant. He was modest and retiring to a fault. None therefore but his most intimate associates thoroughly knew his worth. By assid-

uous and faithful exertions bestowed upon the flock of which he had the oversight, he had, with the blessing of God, brought it to so much of prosperity as to justify the commencement of a Church edifice.

The Vestry of St. Paul's have passed resolutions expressing their deep sense of the loss which they have sustained, and of respect for his memory.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

CHRISTMAS ORDINATIONS.

Bishop of Canterbury, 10 Deacons, 10 Priests; York, 6 Deacons, 6 Priests; London, 17 Deacons, 13 Priests; Durham, 2 Deacons, 11 Priests; Winchester, 13 Deacons, 14 Priests; Bangor, 4 Deacons; Bath and Wells, 11 Deacons, 6 Priests; Chichester, 9 Deacons, 13 Priests; Exeter, 8 Deacons, 9 Priests; Gloucester and Bristol, 8 Deacons, 12 Priests; Hereford, 9 Deacons, 6 Priests; Lichfield, 16 Deacons, 14 Priests; Lincoln, 10 Deacons, 6 Priests; Llandaff, 12 Deacons, 6 Priests; Oxford, 17 Deacons, 21 Priests; Peterborough, 9 Deacons, 9 Priests; Ripon, 4 Deacons, 7 Priests; Rochester, 5 Deacons, 9 Priests; St. Asaph, 5 Deacons, 2 Priests; Salisbury, 9 Deacons, 17 Priests; Worcester, 6 Deacons, 2 Priests; Armagh, 5 Deacons, 12 Priests; Cork, &c., 5 Deacons, 1 Priest; Limerick, &c., 2 Deacons, 3 Priests; Ossory, &c., 2 Deacons, 2 Priests. Total, 204 Deacons, 211 Priests.

Of these were of Cambridge University, 74 Deacons, 73 Priests; Oxford, 69 Deacons, 74 Priests; Durham, 4 Deacons, 8 Priests; London, 3 Deacons, 7 Priests; Do. Missionary College, 7 Deacons, 1 Priest; Birkenhead, 1 Deacon, 4 Priests; Chichester, 2 Priests; St. Begh's, 3 Deacons, 4 Priests; St. David's Lampeter, 8 Deacons, 3 Priests; Trinity College, Dublin, 28 Deacons, 26 Priests; Literate, 7 Deacons, 9 Priests. Total, 204 Deacons, 211 Priests.

DEATH OF BISHOP INGLIS.

The Rt. Rev. John Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia, died at London on the 27th of October, at the age of 73 years. He was born at New York, on the 9th of December, 1777. His father, who had been many years Rector of Trinity Church in New York, then removed to England, and carried with him his only son John. In 1787, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, the late Rector of New York, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia. It was mainly owing to his exertions that King's College at Windsor was established, and his son, the subject of this memoir, received his education at that Institution. In the year 1800, Mr. Inglis went to England to advance the interests of his Alma Mater. Upon his return in 1801, he entered into Holy Orders, and was appointed to the Mission of Aylesford, where he was beloved and esteemed. In 1802, he married Eliza, daughter of the late Hon. Thomas Cochran, by whom he had a large family. Upon the death of his father, in 1816, the Rev. Dr. Stanser, then Rector of St. Paul's, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Dr. Inglis succeeded to the charge of this Parish. In 1825, Dr. Stanser's health and advanced age compelled him to retire finally from the country, and Dr. Inglis was appointed his successor. The Diocese at that time included New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Bermuda; but extensive as it was, no part of it was neglected by this indefatigable Prelate. In November, 1849, this pious Prelate was engaged in the performance of his Epis-

epal duties, at a distance from his home, in the County of Lunenburg, where he was suddenly attacked by serious illness. After suffering months of pain, he was advised to try a change of climate, and left in the steamer *Canada* on the 8d of October last. He reached England, but his strength was gone, and he expired in London on the 27th of the same month.

The Rev. Herbert Binney, of Worcester College, Oxford, is named as the successor of Bishop Inglis. The See has no endowment except from the Propagation Society.

SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

By the kindness of the Rev. T. H. Horne, B. D., we have received the 149th Annual Report of this Society, and the 51st Report of the Church Missionary Society. The progress which the Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel exhibits, may be favorably compared with that of any previous year. It contains a record of correspondence with no less than *twenty-two* Bishops in the various colonies and dependencies in which the British Church is now bearing witness to the truth. In last year's Report, the receipts (including a Queen's letter collection) amounted to £95,158; in this year, (without that addition,) they have reached £91,874, or \$459,370. The total number of Missionaries maintained, in whole or in part, by the Society last year, amounted to 355; it is this year 389. The increasing favor which the Society receives from the Church at large is evident from the fact that 209 additional parochial associations have been formed this year, and that the receipts under this head have been proportionably enlarged.

The greater activity, which, since the extension of the Episcopate, has prevailed in colonial Churches, has served to bring to light an accumulation of neglect and spiritual destitution, the existence of which was unknown before. At no time during the past years of the Society's existence was there a more rigid economy in the administration of its funds; at no time were the calls upon it so numerous, so various, or so urgent; and at no time has God opened the hearts of His people to afford it so liberal a support, as at the present.

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The anniversary meeting of this Society was held at Exeter Hall, the Earl of Chichester in the chair. The report states the gross income of the Society for the year, to be £104,273 6s. 10d., (or about \$521,000;) showing an increase over the income of last year of £3,269 18s. 5d. The Society has, in all, 147 clergymen laboring in the missionary field, besides 29 European laymen, catechists, secretaries, printers, &c. There are attendants on Christian worship in the Society's missions throughout the world, about 107,000 persons, and of communicants, 13,551, besides 40,000 children under Christian education. In the past year, the number of baptisms has been 5,885, and the increase in the number of communicants, 543. During the year, the Society has opened the Missionaries' Children's Home, and a large new church in Freetown, Sierra Leone. They have also commenced missionary operations in Syria, and caused missionary tours and discoveries to be made in the interior of Eastern Africa. In Western India they have prepared several natives for the ministry, and projected a mission to Scinde and the Punjaub. In China, also, the society expect to produce a beneficial influence, and they anticipate good results from the sailing of a Bishop with four Missionaries to Victoria. In New Zealand a great increase of converts has taken place, and the education of the natives is rapidly advancing there; nor have they neglected Northwest America, where the arrival of the Bishop of Rupert's Land is expected to have a great effect in civilizing and Christianizing the inhabitants in these regions.

The Missionaries of both these Societies speak of untiring opposition in various missions from Jesuits and other emissaries of the Roman Church. The Missions in Northern and Southern India are becoming more consolidated and systematized, and the work begins to assume a position of the greatest impor-

tance and promise to the vast population of that country. The ancient Malabar Syrian Church, of which Buchanan in his *Researches* bore witness, is still in a condition of great ignorance and distraction. There are about 100,000 native Christians; and perhaps 160 churches still standing, in most of which the Syriac Liturgy is still used, though understood by few if any of the priests, and by none of the people. The Romanists have only been partially successful in bringing these representatives of an ancient and pure Church over to the Papal obedience, and that after a fierce persecution.

In our notice of the Reports of these two Societies last year, we gave a full synopsis of the condition and doings of each mission; and to that synopsis we refer the reader. The present Reports indicate that an advance has been made in almost every Missionary Station.

REPORT OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

This ancient Society is really one of the most efficient and useful instrumentalities which the English Church has now in operation. It acts as the handmaid of the two great Missionary Societies, in publishing books and tracts for the benefit of poor schools and parishes, in translating the Bible and Liturgy into foreign languages, in attending to the spiritual wants of emigrants leaving the shores of England, and in extending aid in erecting and establishing churches, schools, and colleges. There is scarcely a Missionary Diocese which has not been, during the year, the recipient of its beneficence. The Foreign Translation Committee report the completion, during the year, of the French Bible, the Italian Bible, the third volume of the Greek Septuagint, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke in the Arawak language, the Psalter in Arabic, and the Arabic and Danish versions of the Prayer-Book. During the year, nearly four millions of books and tracts have been circulated; more than 220 schools have been assisted with grants of publications; about 200 Lending Libraries have been established or augmented; and the plan of Lending Libraries for the use of young men in populous places has been followed up with good effect. Grants have been made, also, to railway laborers, sailors, mariners, the police, fishermen, bargemen, to inmates of hospitals, penitentiaries, houses of refuge, &c. The receipts during the year were about *two hundred and forty thousand dollars*. The Report forms a volume of over 300 pages.

SOCIETY FOR BUILDING NEW CHURCHES.

The 30th Annual Report of her Majesty's Commissioners for Building New Churches, dated July 25th, states that 21 churches had been completed since the last report, providing 14,793 sittings, of which 10,114 are forever free. In the whole, 470 new Churches have been erected, and provision made for 498,066 persons, including 291,190 free sittings for the poor; 32 churches are in process of erection, and plans for 17 others are approved of.

Thus, while a half dozen noisy men about the Metropolis are sowing the seeds of sedition and distraction, and poisoning the minds of weak-headed young men, the great mass of the English Church never exhibited such vitality as at the present time.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND ROMANISM.

On Friday, Feb. 7, Lord John Russell brought in a bill to meet the present emergency, of which the following are the main features. Its chief enactment is, that any person assuming the name, style, or title of Archbishop, Bishop, or Dean, of any city, town, place, territory, or district, without a legal authorization, is liable to a fine of £100 for each offense. It further declares void any deed or writing, made, signed, or executed, after the passing of this act, by, or under the authority of such assumers. It also prohibits the transfer of property, by will, for the maintenance of such dignities as come under the enactment.

The Radicals and Papists in the House, denounced the measure as intolerant, while several Churchmen opposed it as inefficient, as not equal to the necessities of

the occasion, as impracticable in Ireland, and as intolerant to the Church in Scotland. On the vote subsequently for leave to bring in the bill, there were *for* the motion 395, *against* it 68; majority 332. This is a clear indication of the temper of the House. Immediately after the vote, John O'Connell, M. P. from Dublin, hurried home to stir up an agitation. The twenty-eight Romish Bishops in Ireland have been summoned by their Primate, Dr. Cullen, to meet at Dublin. The priests are obtaining signatures in great numbers, on Sundays, after mass, to a petition or protest. The Irish members of Parliament who have opposed the Pope's policy, are denounced. The Tablet, a Romish paper, is almost insane with fury. Every effort is being made to awaken an excitement among the papists. Lord John Russell acknowledged, in the House, that he had mistaken the real character of Romanism in his previous policy, and pleads guilty to inconsistency in this respect. There is some probability that he may succeed in forming a new Ministry, in which event, he has intimated that he will pursue a bolder policy than that now recommended.

RESIGNATION OF THE BRITISH MINISTRY.

On the 21st of Feb. Lord John Russell and his colleagues tendered their resignation to her Majesty. The immediate cause was a disagreement with the House of Commons, on a question of the extension of the franchise. On the 20th of Feb. Mr. Locke King brought forward his motion in the House of Commons, for the extension of the borough £10 franchise to counties. Lord John Russell opposed the bill, and said that he intended to introduce a bill to extend the franchise next session. The bill was seconded by Hume. After a short debate, the House divided: *for* the motion 100, *against* it 52. *Majority against ministers* 48. *This result was received with long and protracted cheering.* Much excitement and some apprehension exist in view of the probable result of this rupture at the present time. Lord John Russell and Lord Stanley, up to this date have both attempted in vain to form a new Ministry.

CHURCH UNIONS.

In our April number, (1850,) we mentioned (p. 168) the formation of the "London Church Union," of which the object was the restoration to the Church of certain inherent rights and prerogatives. Other Unions have been formed in England, embracing, as it now seems, a class of men who are not satisfied with the principles which were the basis of the English Reformation; to wit, Holy Scripture interpreted by Catholic Antiquity. At a late meeting of the "Bristol Church Union," the Rev. William Palmer (V. President) presented certain resolutions, based on a certain Statement of Principles. These resolutions were opposed, and an amendment adopted by a large majority. We record the names of the *opponents* for future reference; Rev's Dr. Pusey, J. Keble, M. W. Mayow, A. Fane, A. Watson, and Lord Forbes, Mr. A. B. Hope, and Sir George Prevost. The Statement of Principles brought forward by Mr. Palmer, is as follows:—

"I. That the English branch of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which has reformed herself, taking primitive Christianity as her model, has a claim upon the undivided and faithful allegiance of the whole English people.

"II. That the Roman Church (including the other Churches in communion with her) having repudiated communion with all the Churches which do not recognize the claims of the Bishop of Rome, and having, by formal decrees and other authoritative acts, and in her popular practice, corrupted the primitive faith and worship of the Holy Catholic Church, and persisted in the said claims and corruptions, communion with the Roman Church, on the part of Churches, and therefore of individuals of the English Communion, cannot, consistently with the laws of Christ, be restored, until the Roman Church shall have relinquished her pretensions; and sufficient provision shall have been made for the maintenance of Christian truth in all its purity and integrity.

"III. That the serious dangers to the faith, arising from the abuse of private judgment, and from a mere negative Protestantism, having of late years been greatly aggravated by the insidious propagation of rationalistic notions, and by

the encroachments of a latitudinarian State-policy, it is the duty of all the Members of the Church of England to offer to these several abuses, errors, and pernicious principles, the most active and uncompromising opposition."

In consequence of the refusal of this Union to sanction these principles, Mr. Palmer, and Rev. G. A. Denison (Secretary) resigned their offices, and it was subsequently determined by the minority, to form a new Union. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Denison, in their letters of resignation, thus state the real point at issue. We beg our readers to give to the above "Statement" and to the following letters, a careful perusal:—

"To the Venerable Archdeacon Thorp, President of the Bristol Church Union.

"Dear Mr. Archdeacon—In placing in your hands the resignation of my office as Vice President of the Bristol Church Union, and in withdrawing from that society, I beg to state that I do so on the following grounds:—I am convinced that if we seek to engage the people of England to take part in the contest for their faith, and for the emancipation of their Church, we must not shrink from the fullest exposition of our fidelity to the *Church of England*, in all respects, and our firm resolution to maintain the religious system of that Church as it has descended to us from the Reformation, without deviation in the direction of any other system whatsoever. A proposal, embodying this view, having been yesterday rejected by the majority of a general meeting of the Bristol Union, and, to a considerable extent, on the avowed principle of the impropriety of making any declarations against Romanism; and this latter principle being connected with a system of indulgence towards Romish error and superstition, which I think perilous to the Faith as it has been delivered to us, I feel compelled, by a sense of responsibility to the Church and to its Divine Head, to withdraw from further association with the body of which you are President.

"I remain, dear Mr. Archdeacon, your faithful servant in Christ,

"WILLIAM PALMER.

"Whitchurch Canoniconum, October 2, 1850."

"To the Editor of the English Churchman.

"Sir—In forwarding to you the above documents, I wish to be allowed to state publicly that I have resigned my office as Secretary of the Bristol Church Union, and have withdrawn my name from the Committee of the London Union on Church Matters. My reason is simply this, that it appears to me that those who are persuaded that, at the present crisis, it is necessary, with a view to any sound, healthy, and vigorous action in the Church's cause, to put forth a formal and explicit statement of principles, and those who are persuaded that it is not necessary, cannot work together. Very faithfully yours,

"GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON."

The position taken by Mr. Palmer and Mr. Denison, has led others of the majority to define their position. They justify their refusal to subscribe to Mr. Palmer's Statement on the ground that it is a new test and uncalled for in the purposes of the Church Union.

At a meeting of the London Church Union, held Oct. 15th, a resolution was proposed, embodying Mr. Palmer's declaration. It was opposed by Dr. Pusey, and withdrawn. While Dr. Pusey, in his speech professes loyalty to the Church of England, and declares his determination to die in her communion, yet he avows opinions concerning the Church of Rome, which are wholly inexplicable. He says, "I believe, most entirely, that, on the doctrines of Original Sin and Justification, the English Articles and the Council of Trent present different aspects of the same truths."

On the contrary, concerning these same doctrines, the teachings of those two Churches are wide apart as Heaven and Earth. They are the point, where the two systems of doctrinal teaching first begin to diverge. The adoption of the Romish view in respect to these two doctrines was, we believe, the first step toward Rome, in the case of some whose history we have closely marked. And we hazard nothing in saying, that wherever this Romish doctrinal error is embra-

ced, consistency requires that the whole system must be received with it. Men cannot remain comfortably in a church, which holds up everywhere, so conspicuously, the *Righteousness of Christ*, while they themselves are trusting in a *righteousness of their own*. Looking at the present aggressive movements of Rome, in England, there can be no middle ground. Not to be against her, is to be for her. We fully believe that the Reformed Church of England is based on principles which are immutable and clearly defensible; and that the whole genius of Rome is thoroughly and necessarily opposed to her.

REV. MR. BENNETT AND THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

A long correspondence between Rev. W. J. E. Bennett and the Bishop of London has just been published, involving points of permanent interest. Mr. Bennett was lately Rector of St. Paul's and St. Barnabas' Churches, London, and is known as the author of a work on the Liturgy, and of a pointed attack against Popery. He has the reputation of a laborious parish clergyman, and Lord John Russell is said to have attended upon his ministrations, formerly, for several years. The Bishop of London, on the 1st of July last, wrote a long letter of "complaint and remonstrance" to Mr. Bennett, on account of practices in celebrating divine service in St. Paul's, "approaching too nearly those of the Church of Rome," and "contrary to the spirit and intention of the rubric of our Church, if not to its express letter." These practices were, "putting the cup to the lips of the communicants," and not into their hands; "putting the bread into their mouths;" celebrating the holy communion with his back to the congregation; the custom of his assistants of rising and crossing themselves while he prefaced his sermon with an invocation of the Trinity. The correspondence continued from July 1st to the close of the year 1850. Mr. Bennett justified his practices, from the examples of Mr. Dodsworth, Mr. Richards, and Mr. Murray, and of some of the Cathedrals of England; and especially from the "universal standards" "of the Catholic Church, both in the East and in the West." The Bishop denied the authority of these standards, and persisted in his remonstrance. Mr. Bennett refused obedience to his Bishop, and proposed resignation, to which the Bishop assented. Mr. Bennett formally resigned "the curacy of St. Paul's," Dec. 4, 1850, which the Bishop accepted Dec. 6th. Mr. Bennett's three Curates resigned Dec. 13th. The *Guardian* contends that Mr. Bennett "was, on the whole, treading the right path;" "that the English Church has a common origin and common traditions with Rome, and with the East;" and declares that she has not "the stately and solemn beauty" of the Romish service. Sir John Harrington, Mr. Bennett's Warden, has since seceded from the Church.

This single instance illustrates some of the present difficulties in the English Church. Ceremonials and practices, which at best are the language of a mawkish sentimentalism borrowed from Rome in her worst days, have become the tests of Catholicity! and the occasion of the guilt of schism; and Mr. Bennett has shown himself ready to disobey his Bishop, and to violate every true principle of Catholic order and discipline, rather than yield his own taste in such matters.

REV. DR. PUSEY.

This gentleman has just published a letter to the Bishop of London, making a volume of 250 pages, in reply to the charges of Mr. Dodsworth. In this long letter, he takes occasion to reiterate his belief in the apostolicity and authority of the English Church; he denies that the recent secessions have proceeded from "certain teachings and practices;" he contends that the Church maintains all the essentials of Unity, in her possession of the "Unity of Faith, in common Sacraments, in common Apostolic descent, in union in our one Lord, in Common Prayer," &c.; he affirms the working of a truer and deeper life in the Church, that "she is recovering from a deep sickness, the lukewarmness of a miserable century;" and he pleads for the restoration to the Church of the Church's legislature, &c.

We are free to say, that the letter is more hopeful, and filial, and loyal in its tone, than we anticipated.

REV. DR. HOOK.

This gentleman, having been invited to attend a meeting of the "Yorkshire Church Union," held on the 10th of October, published a letter in excuse for non-attendance, which our limits forbid copying. Having been then assailed for separating himself from some with whom he had formerly associated, he vindicated himself in a letter, of which the following is an extract:—

"When I now find these calumniators of the Church of England, and vindicators of the Church of Rome, flattering the vices of the Romish system, and magnifying the deficiencies of the Church of England—sneering at every thing Anglican, and admiring every thing Romish—students of the Breviary and Missal—disciples of the schoolmen—converts to Mediævalism—insinuating Romish sentiments—circulating and re-publishing Romish books—introducing Romish practices in their private, and infusing a Romish spirit in their public devotions—adopting Romish prostrations—introducing the Romish Confessional—enjoining Romish penances—recommending Romish litanies—muttering the Romish shibboleth, and rejoicing in the cant of Romish fanaticism—assuming sometimes the garb of the Romish priesthood, and venerating without imitating their celibacy—defending Romish miracles, and receiving as true the lying legends of Rome—almost adoring Romish saints, and complaining that we have had no saints in England since we purified our Church—explaining away the idolatry and pining for the Mariolatry of the Church of Rome—vituperating the English Reformation, and receiving for the truth the false doctrines of the Council of Trent; when I find them whispering in the ears of credulous ignorance, in high places as well as in low, that the two Churches are in principle the same—when they who were once in the pit on the one side of the wall, have now tumbled over on the other side, and have fallen into a "lower deep, still gaping to devour them," I conceive I am bound, as a High Churchman, to remain stationary, and not to follow them in their down-falling. I believe it to be incumbent upon every High Churchman to declare plainly, that it is not merely in the application of our principles, but in our principles themselves, that we differ from the Church of Rome; and that no man can secede to Rome, the system of which is opposed to the truth as it is in Jesus, without placing his soul in peril, and risking his salvation."

This is a bold and honest letter, and it will touch a chord in the breast of every man who is not at heart a Romanist; or, who has any true conception of the distinction between the Catholic and the anti-Catholic Church.

SOCIALISM IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

From recent accounts, it appears that a new party is growing up in the Church of England, who are embracing many of the modern notions of Socialism. This party contains enough of talent and of truth in its elements, to make it a fruitful source of mischief. Professor Maurice, well known in this country, and Rev. Mr. Kingsley, author of "Alton Locke," are said to be at its head. We look upon this movement as another legitimate offshoot from an Erastian Establishment. So long as Lord John Russell stands at the head of the Church, appointing its Bishops, and ruling its doctrine, so long as the mouth of Convocation is gagged, just so long will men in the Church, according to their temperament, or habits of thought, verge towards Socialism, or Romanism, or Dissent. Nor are these men all idle dreamers. Many of those commonly called "Puseyites," are, and for years have been, among the most self-denying and hard-working of the Clergy—gathering in the poor, visiting the sick, seeking out the haunts of vice and wretchedness. We have reasons for saying, that the entire bench of Bishops are in favor of restoring to the Church her legitimate authority; and the Church will, if she is wise, adapt herself to the practical wants and necessities of Society. Even Socialism, with all its monstrous absurdities, embodies an idea full of truth-

ful importance, and one which the Church cannot overlook, if she is true to herself. Both Romanism and Socialism in that Church, are, we believe, the shadows of a great and glorious object a little in the distance. Southey well says, "No good work, upon any great scale, has ever been undertaken, in which *fanatics* and *formalists* have not thrust themselves forward to make and to mar."

LAITY IN CONVOCATION.

We learn from various sources that the idea of introducing the "lay" element into Convocation when that Body shall be revived in England, is gaining ground. A Clerical correspondent of the London Guardian, under date of Sept. 30, who writes over his own name, says: "At the dinner which succeeded the visitation of the Bishop of Chichester, held at Lewes on Tuesday last, his lordship proposed the health of the laymen present, and after expressing the pleasure it always gave him to see the lay members of the Church, on such an occasion as that which had called them together, he proceeded nearly as follows: 'It may be interesting to you to learn that if a Synod of the Church be assembled in Convocation, or otherwise, it is the unanimous opinion of the whole bench of Bishops, without a single exception, I repeat it, *without a single exception*,—that there should be a considerable infusion of the lay element in its Constitution.'" The Bishop of London in his late Charge expressed himself in favor of such an introduction.

We observe that the example of the American Church, in this particular, is not without its influence, though the primitive practice of the Church is also appealed to.

MORE APOSTACIES TO ROME.

The Rev. Henry Wilberforce, brother of the Bishop of Oxford, the Rev. J. H. Woodward, of Bristol, formerly Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, the Rev. Thomas W. Allies, late Rector of Launton, Mr. Stuart Bathurst, and Mr. F. R. Ward and wife of Bristol, are among those who have lately gone over to the Roman schism. We are startled at seeing the "Guardian" simply announcing the event as "deserting our branch of the Catholic Church for the Roman." The same paper concludes its parenthetical Jeremiad by saying, "the Catholicity of the Church of England depends upon us, her members, who remain in her fold—upon our earnestness, our self-devotion, our mutual charity and forbearance, our personal piety, our prayers." Not exactly that, Mr. Guardian! The Catholicity of the Church of England depends upon the Catholicity of her Faith, of her Doctrine, and of her Discipline. And we cannot avoid feeling and saying that that Church would be truer to herself, in expressing her humiliation at having so long nurtured such traitors within her camp, and then in declaring to these apostates, that they peril their own salvation by the step which they have dared to take. Pray, how many "*branches*" of the Catholic Church are there in England! The Romish Tablet has lately given out that the Rt. Rev. Dr. Forbes, a Scottish Bishop, has gone over to Rome. With what motive it sets such unfounded falsehoods afloat, knowing them to be such, it can best tell. We understand that Romish priests in this country, are not unapt to regale their hearers with stories of this sort. The number of apostates from Oxford is now put down at 90, and from Cambridge 51, making in all 141. Mr. Dodsworth has resigned his curacy. Mr. Maskell has an oratory fitted up in his *cellar*, where lamps and candles are kept constantly burning.

IRISH CONVERTS FROM ROMANISM.

We have before alluded to the remarkable work now in progress in Ireland. The Bishop of Tuam has just made an appeal for aid to build eight new churches in the strong holds of Romanism. The Irish Society was only established in 1846. Now it has fifteen ordained missionaries preaching in the Irish language, in fifty different places; 721 teachers; and 120 Scripture-readers. The teachers have about 30,000 pupils under instruction. In Trinity College, Dublin, twenty-five young

men are preparing for Holy Orders. One of the missionaries, Rev. Mr. Burke, was formerly an influential priest of the Romish Church, with a large income; now, with a stinted salary, he is laboring with great zeal and success. The converts are already reckoned by thousands, and are found mostly in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Tipperary, Sligo, Mayo, Roscommon, and other parts of western Ireland. The Bishop of Tuam is reported to have said in his place in the House of Lords, that he has in his diocese not less than 10,000 converts from Popery. The Rev. Mr. Greig, of Dublin, in a late tour through Connemara, reports whole villages as having gone over from Romanism to the Establishment, and also having met thirteen clergy of the Church, all of whom had been Romanists, and three of them had been Roman priests. The *Dublin Warder* of February 8th, states that in the dioceses of Tuam, Ardfer, and Emly, there have been, within the last three months, one thousand five hundred and sixty converts to the Protestant religion!

BELGIUM.

DECLINE OF ROMANISM.—A letter recently published in England, from Charleroi, near Brussels, states that "the district of Charleroi contains a population of 150,000 souls; and up to the year 1842, was completely given over to Popery. At the present moment it numbers four Protestant churches; and above 900 Roman Catholics have left that Church." Aside from the present spasmodic movement in England, Popery is losing ground throughout Europe.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Right Rev. Bishop Lowe, of Ross and Moray, being incapacitated for active service by old age, an election was appointed at Elgin, October 2d, when Rev. Mr. Mackay, of Inverness, received four votes, and Rev. Mr. Eden, of Essex, four votes. The casting vote was given for Mr. Eden by Rev. Mr. McLaurin, who, on the following Sunday, declared his own conversion to the Romish Faith. The Bishops pronounced the election invalid. Subsequently Mr. Eden was chosen, and was to have been consecrated on the first Sunday in Lent. Rev. Mr. Mackay was ordained Deacon and Priest in the United States.

The Bishop of Glasgow has recommended and enjoined the Rev. A. J. D. O'Neay, minister of St. John's Anderston, to discontinue,

1. The intoning of the Prayers;
2. The turning to the East at the Creed;
3. The omission of the *Collects* before and after sermon.

AFRICA.

REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.—The independence of this infant Republic, which has been acknowledged by France and England, has not yet been acknowledged by our Government. Memorials praying for this act have been presented to Congress by the most respectable bodies. We are sorry to say that our Church at this moment has not a Church nor a School in the Republic. The Methodists have a large Mission, and one gentleman has pledged \$30,000 as an Endowment for a Methodist College. The Presbyterians have a flourishing school in operation, and are now moving vigorously to plant a College for the purpose of raising up native missionaries. We learn that some incipient measures are in progress in Philadelphia, to establish, under Church auspices, a School, Seminary, College, and Church, at Bassa Cove. One gentleman has pledged \$1,200 per annum, for five years.

It is our conviction that Colonization is the only effectual way to Christianize that Continent of 150,000,000 of idolaters; or rather that our Missionary efforts should seize hold of that enterprise as the most hopeful method of accomplishing their ends. We know of no one cause which can be made to draw more generally or largely upon the charities of the Church, East and West, North and South. Let individual Faith and self sacrifice commence the enterprise; or let the Church, as she ought, enter upon this noble work, and there are a thousand combining mo-

tives, to make it the great Foreign missionary labor of the Church. Money will be given freely; prayers will ascend to Heaven; personal sacrifices will be offered. Africa, once the home of Tertullian, and Athanasius, and Augustine; the cradle of science and art, and the teacher of Greece; Africa, the centre of civilization and refinement, when Europe was savage and barbarous; has been left in a mysterious Providence to call forth the Christian charity of these latter days of the Church.

COLONIAL CHURCHES.

DIVISION OF THE DIOCESE OF TORONTO.

The Bishop of this Diocese, (Bishop Strachan,) during his late visit to England, introduced the subject of the division of his Diocese, in a letter, from which we make the following extracts:—

"To the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS forming the Council appointed to arrange measures, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, for the Erection and Endowment of additional Bishoprics in the Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain.

"The Diocese of Toronto extends along the St. Lawrence and the great Lakes of Canada, nearly six hundred miles, and if Lakes Huron and Superior be included, more than twelve hundred miles. It contains 800,000 inhabitants, of whom 200,000 are members of the Church of England; and from the rapid increase of population, (for it doubles in less than ten years,) the Province will soon contain many millions, and become the stronghold and principal seat of the Church in British North America.

The Diocese of Toronto, or Province of Upper Canada, is at present divided, by the local Government, into twenty-one Districts, and these might with some slight modifications be conveniently arranged into three Dioceses, allowing to each seven Districts. Such division would give to each Diocese a front on the River and Lakes of nearly two hundred miles, running back the whole breadth of the Province, which may average from eighty to one hundred miles; and each Diocese thus would contain an area of from sixteen to twenty thousand square miles.

1st. The seven Eastern Districts, which at present contain about one hundred townships, and about forty clergymen, might constitute the Diocese of Kingston.

2d. The second Diocese, retaining the name Toronto, might comprise the seven middle Districts: containing one hundred and twenty-nine townships and about seventy clergymen.

3d. The third Diocese might be called the Diocese of London; or, if that name be inconvenient, some other town within its bounds—Woodstock, Sandwich, or Chatham. It would comprise the seven Western Districts, with their one hundred and thirteen townships, and about thirty-six clergymen.

4th. The North-Western, or Diocese of St. Mary.

Some idea of the rapid increase of the present Bishop's labors may be attained from the following:—

Visited, in 1840, 96 parishes or stations, 71 clergy, 1,791 confirmed; 1843, visited 102 parishes or stations, 103 clergy, 3,699 confirmed; 1846, visited 197 parishes or stations, 118 clergy, 4,358 confirmed; 1849, visited 230 parishes or stations, 142 clergy, 5,213 confirmed.

But as it is not likely that the division of Toronto, into three Dioceses, can be made at once, I would respectfully suggest that the Eastern, or Diocese of Kingston, be first established, having a prior claim, as comprising the older Settlements, and because the Western Division is less distant from Toronto and more easy of access."

We learn that the Bishop brought with him from England between £15,000 and £16,000, or about \$80,000, which, with sums contributed in Canada, will ensure the speedy establishment of a Church University in Toronto. All American Churchmen will rejoice in this successful result of firm adherence and devotion to the principles of the Church of Christ in the midst of the most determined and reckless opposition.

CANTERBURY COLONY AT NEW ZEALAND.

This new scheme of Colonization on the Church plan, in which Lord Lyttelton has taken so deep an interest, has already become a matter of history. The four vessels, the *Randolph*, the *Cressy*, the *Sir G. Seymour*, and the *Charlotte Jane*, left England, September 25th, with the first band of Colonists. Each of the ships has its Chaplain and the largest has two. The Rev. T. Jackson, Bishop elect of Lyttelton, accompanies the expedition. The Colony are attended also by a complement of schoolmasters, and the Colony commences at once as a fully organized Church Colony.

CHURCH IN INDIA.

The present charter of the East India Company expires in 1858; and has been renewed at intervals of twenty years. In 1813, the Bishopric of Calcutta was erected; an Ecclesiastical Establishment formed; and the right granted to all Christians of missionary operations within the limits of the British rule in India. At the renewal of the charter in 1833, the See of Calcutta was subdivided into the Dioceses of Madras and Bombay; and since then have followed the right in the service of Government to all classes of native subjects; the removal of all disabilities of native converts, on their conversion to Christianity; the development of a thorough scheme of a merely secular education; and the partial disassociation of the British Government from support of, or connection with, the pagan religions of the country.

Enquiries are already being made, in anticipation of the renewal of the charter in 1858, which contemplate more vigorous and efficient action of the Church. In the Colonial Church Chronicle, we find the following heads presented, under which definite information is solicited:—

1. A comparative view of the state of Christianity, and the extent of its spread in the years 1813 and 1833, with reference,

1. To the Church of England;

2. To all other Christian communities.

2. A detailed and statistical account of the Church of England in the Dioceses of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, in the year 1851. The number of Clergy, Churches, Communicants, &c. under the two heads,

A. Of British congregations.

B. Of Native congregations.

3. An economical view of the same subject. The expenses of the ecclesiastical establishment of the East India Company, and of the various Missionary Societies of the Church, specifying to what extent the voluntary principle has been carried out.

4. A condensed history of the operations of the Missionary Societies of the Church, showing what ground has been lost or abandoned, and what gained, and where the prospects of success seem most promising.

5. A special account of the Missionary *educational* establishments of the Church of England in the three Dioceses.

6. Special Reports upon such changes as might be advantageously made in the organization of the British congregations in India, the status of the clergy, parochial rights, &c.

7. Special Reports on the best mode of rendering the Native Church indigenous and self-supporting; how far Government might be called on to *aid* its development, or endowment, on the principle of applying the funds of extinct or disused temples.

8. Detailed accounts of all the various Missionary establishments external to the Church of England, both Roman Catholic and Protestant.

9. Reports upon the *distinctive* plans adopted in such Missions, *e. g.* the Free Kirk, Roman Catholics, &c.

10. Accounts and lists of the various *charitable* institutions in India connected with Christianity, and springing from it.

11. Reports upon the various translations of the Scriptures and the Prayer-

Book at present existing, their respective excellencies or defects. What facilities and institutions exist for such translations, and what translations remain yet to be made.

12. Lists of all such translations of Theological books or others, as exist, bearing upon Missionary work :

1. Of the Church of England ;
2. Of other bodies.

13. Report upon the ecclesiastical law of the Church of England in India, *e. g.* law of marriage, powers of the Diocesan, discipline of the clergy.

14. Hints upon the formation of a body of Missionary Canons for the Church of England.

15. An account of the Government establishments for secular education, with lists of books ; Report how far any change in it, in a Christian direction, might rightly be sought for. Might Christian Colleges, after the fashion of the Irish, be affiliated, and so partly maintained by the State ?

16. A special report upon those tribes and districts which have hitherto been quite unvisited by the Gospel, *e. g.* the Ghond, Seikhs, &c.

17. What changes affecting the Church of England would it be desirable to seek for at the renewal of the charter ?

AUSTRALASIAN ENGLISH CHURCH.

Letters have recently been received in England from Sydney, which state that the conference of Australasian English Church Bishops met at Sydney on the 1st of October, last year, at the Cathedral, for divine service and holy communion. Six Bishops, sixteen Clergy, and others. The Metropolitan of Sydney, the Bishops of Newcastle, Melbourne, Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand. The letters speak of the plain and genuine hospitality of the Bishop of Sydney, and of the happy and friendly meeting—the Bishops seem to have preached in turn, and the people are spoken of as having been urgent to hear them. The Bishops were received with marked attention on all sides. Of the nature of the matters discussed in conference, nothing is said. Bishop Selwyn is spoken of as a noble fellow, and as having preached a solemn and most impressive sermon. There was a public meeting on the 29th October, crowded to excess, and the people anxious to see and hear the six Bishops. The object of the meeting was to support the Bishop of New Zealand's mission to several islands within his diocese—some of which he had visited, and others he was desirous of visiting, with a view of bringing some of the natives to his college, where he has several trained from childhood, and employed in different trades. In the evening of the 29th, as one result of the meeting, a gentleman rose and proposed an immediate subscription to provide the Bishop of New Zealand with a suitable vessel for visiting these islands in the South Seas, as his present vessel of twenty tons is considered unsafe. All these points show progress in the good cause of the Church of England. The meeting of the Australasian Bishops appears to have broken up on the 31st October, when the Bishops of Melbourne and New Zealand embarked for their respective dioceses. The Bishop of Adelaide was to go on board ship within a few days of the 31st October.

ENGLISH CHURCH MISSIONS IN AFRICA.

Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Nicoll, the colored gentlemen who were ordained deacons recently by the Bishop of London, are about proceeding, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, to Sierra Leone, where there is at present a scholastic establishment in connection with the Church of England, but no Bishop. The newly ordained gentlemen will start for the distant scene of their future labors immediately. A great effort is about to be made, both by the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to extend missionary operations throughout Africa : indeed, the Colonial Bishops' Fund Committee have intimated their intention of erecting Sierra Leone into an Episcopal See, at the earliest possible opportunity. It is desired by some influential persons, that the new Prelate should be one of Africa's sable sons—"a real black Bishop"—as Mr. Stowell expressed it. There is some prob-

ability of this suggestion being carried out, although it has been, for some time past, confidently stated that the first occupant of the See would be the Rev. T. Weeks, M. A., incumbent of St. Thomas', Lambeth, who was formerly Principal of the Church Missionary's College at Sierra Leone.

MARRIAGE OF ROMISH PRIESTS, &c.

It appears that the Rev. Henry Allen, Vicar of Patcham, Sussex, has addressed two letters to Dr. Wiseman, inquiring whether the Oriental Maronites were considered to be in strict communion with the Church of Rome, inasmuch as they received the communion in both kinds, had a married priesthood, and that their public service was not conducted in the Latin tongue. Dr. Wiseman, in reply, says that they differ in no doctrine from the Holy See; that their ecclesiastical language is Syriac; and that the "use of the cup," and the marriage of priests are allowed to the Maronites, in common with "many Churches in communion with Rome."

ANOMALOUS POSITION OF THE ENGLISH COLONIAL CHURCHES.

The following remarks, taken from the "Colonial Church Chronicle," (London,) exhibit the anomalous position of the English Church in the Colonies. American Churchmen will see, that the disabilities under which we labored as Colonists, and which hung like a mill-stone around the Church in Virginia and the Carolinas, are not yet *all* removed.

"The great question of the position of the Church in the Colonies has been opened in both Houses of Parliament. It was impossible that so anomalous a state of things as is presented by the Church in our Colonial Dependencies could fail at a very early period to make itself seen and felt; or that the very first disturbance of its affairs should not betray its strange and unnatural position. This unnatural position consists in its being partly established and partly not; and it appears that the practical result of this condition is, that the Colonial Church, while stripped of that help or strength which the church at home derives from connection with the State, is still crippled by that connection, in supplying for itself the deficiencies which its partial separation from the State has caused.

The exact state of the grievance appears to be this:—By the patents under which the several Colonial Bishops were appointed to their Sees, all the laws and ordinances affecting the Church and the Clergy at home were extended to the Church and the courts. But, on the very first occasion of these powers being put to the test, they were disputed; and on reference being made to the highest legal authorities at home, it was determined, that in granting these powers, the Crown had exceeded its authority. They were therefore withdrawn from all subsequent patents.

But now, since the ordinary exercise of authority by the Episcopal courts is altogether banished from the Colonies, what is to be a substitute for it, in order to the right regulation of the Church and of its members?

This question has naturally arisen. And the ready reply of men who seem unable to appreciate the difficulty, but not unwilling to keep it unsolved, is—Let Churchmen meet and make their own internal spiritual regulations, as the various denominations of Christians do. But this is exactly what Churchmen cannot do. Here the semi-connection of the Colonial Church with the Imperial Government, through its connection with the mother Church, comes in and binds and fetters its action. The Colonial Bishops are suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury,—they promise allegiance to him. Appeals from the Clergy in the Colonies lie to the Court of the Archbishop at home. The Canons of the English Church are binding upon the Clergy in the Colonies; and (as is maintained by lawyers,) so are the several Ecclesiastical Acts of Henry VIII, particularly that of the 25th Henry VIII. Now, by these it is provided that the members of the Church of England shall not, under severe penalties, meet together to deliberate upon the internal arrangement of their affairs, without obtaining the previous consent of the Crown: and we apprehend, that—even if (as the Attorney General took upon him to state) no such penalties as those of fine and *præmunire* were to be

enforced against the Bishops, and Clergy, and Laity, of any one of our Colonial Bishops for thus meeting together and deliberating—still it would be ruled, in the Colonial or in any other courts, that all regulations there passed were null and void, and would not be binding upon any member of the Church; even, also, though he had given in his adhesion to them—because he had given his consent to acts unlawfully done. Thus, then, the Colonial Church is fettered and crippled. It has all the incumbrances of an Establishment, with none of its benefits.”

ANOMALOUS POSITION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH AT HOME.

The humiliating position of the English Church at home, is beginning to attract serious attention among her members. And well it may. The time cannot be distant when that Church will be constrained to throw herself upon her inherent, or rather divine and inalienable rights. She is catching the spirit of St. Ambrose; “The Emperor is of the Church, and in the Church, but not above the Church.” She is beginning to realize the inconvenience as well as humiliation of depending for her legislation upon, or being subject to the authority of, a body more and more composed of her malignant enemies; a body which legitimates Buddhism in India, Romanism in Canada, Presbyterianism in Scotland, and Episcopalianism in England and Ireland. A pamphlet has lately been addressed by the Hon. Richard Cavendish, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the writer forcibly puts the case as follows.

“Almost every divine who either from station, character, or ability, is entitled to be quoted as an authority upon such points as those to which I have now called your grace's attention, has attributed this most lamentable state of things to the same cause—the suspension of the Church's legislative powers. When we see distinguished men of the most diverse schools of thought and opinion—such, for instance, as the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishop of Oxford, Archdeacon Wilberforce and Archdeacon Hare—concurring on this one point, surely no slight presumption is raised by such an agreement in favor of their common conclusion. Even Mr. Noel justifies his secession from the Church by pointing to the same anomaly and the hopelessness of removing it. Coleridge pronounced the loss of the convocation, ‘the greatest and, in an enlarged state policy, the most impolitic affront ever offered by a Government to its own Established Church.’ Let it be ever remembered, too, that we owe the suppression of convocation to the most profligate of ministers and the most profligate of courts. Convocation threatened proceedings against the openly Socinian Bishop Hoadley. Queen Caroline and Sir Robert Walpole manifested their love of liberty and their sense of justice by not only stifling all inquiry into the doctrines broached by their protégé, but also by sentencing the audacious assembly which demanded it, to virtual extinction. Well, indeed, might Coleridge deliberately say that ‘the virtual abrogation of this branch of our Constitution is one of the three or four Whig patriotisms that have succeeded in de-anglicising the mind of England.’

“Since last century vast national changes have taken place. Parliament was then composed of none but members of the Church. It might pretend, not unfairly, to represent the laity, while convocation represented the spirituality of the Church. The case is now widely altered. Parliament has now lost the power of taking part, as a united body, in ecclesiastical and religious affairs. It is surely self-evident that Parliament should abstain from passing laws on religious questions, which laws must obtain the free concurrence of Romanists, Churchmen, and Socinians. The Church is Christ's institution; she is the witness to a certain definite and unchangeable body of truth, which has been handed down to us from the time of the Apostles. Parliament is the expression of the infinitely various and ever-changing wills and opinions of the men who happen to be in possession of the right of voting for its members.”

ROME.

NEW CARDINALS.

Fourteen new Cardinals have recently been created; and what is mainly noticeable, twelve of the number have been chosen from other countries than Italy.

Last year out of fifty-nine Cardinals then in existence, fifty-two were Italians. This new appointment indicates a more liberal policy on the part of the Pope, as the predominance of Italian influence in that body, has long been a source of jealousy among the ultra-montanists. The number of Cardinals is limited to seventy. There are still four vacancies. There is a report that Archbishop Hughes of New York, has been elevated to that rank.

ROMISH SYNOD AT THURLES.

This body before its adjournment published an Address to the Romanists of Ireland; which was principally occupied with the subject of Education. The Queen's Colleges are denounced and recommendation made for the establishment of a new College in Ireland, under the entire control of Romanists. This Address was carried however only by a vote of 14 to 13; and the minority have appealed to Rome to prevent the sanction of the condemnation of the Queen's Colleges on the part of the Pope. The subscription for the new College has been started; and at the same time, the attendance of Romanists at the Queen's Colleges is on the increase.

ROMANISM IN ROME.

The following extract is from a letter published in a late number of the Medical Journal, from its accomplished editor, Dr. J. V. C. Smith, who is now sojourning for a short time in the city of Rome.

Our readers here have the evidence of an eye-witness of the religious influence of the Romish system, where it has all law, civil and ecclesiastical, in its own hands. *'By their fruits ye shall know them.'*

A sabbath in Rome differs but little from one in France. Markets are active through the day. Grocery and bread shops, and restaurants, are open as usual—cries of good figs, buona della uva, &c., are as shrill as ever. The troops march through the streets to the music of a fine band, and everywhere lottery offices have their scheme opposite their doors, and sales of tickets are going on; and finally a splendid band performs in the afternoon on Monte Pincio, where thousands assemble to hear it. Interspersed through the crowd, are priests in all kinds of dresses, quite as social as others. Last Sabbath, Sept. 23, bills upon the streets announced a horse-race at one o'clock P. M. Two Sabbaths in succession, we drove from church to church, at the hours of service, and rarely saw much of an audience. At high mass in St. Peter's last Sunday, the priests wholly outnumbered the listeners and worshipers. Better vocal music is seldom heard, although there was not a female voice in the choir. There is unproductive wealth enough in one or two of the three hundred and sixty churches of Rome, were it put in circulation, to revive the drooping spirits of a miserably governed nation. No real estate is either bought or sold. Torlonia, the rich banker, has got possession of lands without the walls, by loaning money to the religious communities by which they were owned, and they fell into his hands by foreclosure of mortgages. Cardinal Antonelli, the wily politician, the mainspring and all-in-all, in matters of state, asserted, in the presence of several distinguished foreign functionaries, on a certain occasion when a French company proposed to light the city with gas, that the real estate had not changed owners for seven hundred years! The Jesuits hold the most, and therefore their revenues are enormously large. The nunnery of St. Cecilia, filled exclusively by noble ladies, no others being admitted, was the Saint's property, which came to her from her father, a Roman Senator, perhaps seven or eight centuries ago. By such means, the lands have been swallowed up by different institutions. The Borghese family are said to own one tenth of all the soil in the papal dominions, beyond the city. Two families have the hereditary privilege of inflicting death, without accounting to any tribunal—a right which the head of one of them exercised on two of his serfs, within a year or two. It was a wanton, wicked act, said a foreign minister, who related the atrocious deed to us, which the family excused by saying he was not in his true mind. No inquiry was instituted; such would have been useless, because there is no civil law—ecclesiastical law being predominant.

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WORDSWORTH.

ART. I.—*The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth, Poet Laureate, etc., etc.* Edited by HENRY REED, Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia: Troutman & Hayes, 1851. One Vol.

AMONGST the illustrious dead of the year 1850, there are six names that will not readily be forgotten. Calhoun, Jeffrey, Louis Philippe, Taylor, Peel, and Wordsworth, each in his appropriate sphere, of War, Literature, or Statesmanship, contributed not a little to mould the destinies of that remarkable half-century whose end was coincident with the term of their own existence.

The Soldier, the Statesman, and the Poet, represent perhaps the three principal types of human greatness; and we would here note in regard to them a curious balancing of advantages, in obedience to that great law of compensation which prevails throughout the universe.

The qualities of a great Soldier have this attraction, that they are mostly such as can be valued by the multitude. Physical courage, devoted patriotism, and skill in the art of warfare, bring to their possessor an immediate reward in the shape of contemporary popularity. But then, on the other hand, the fame of the Soldier is not of the most permanent kind; being liable to die out sooner perhaps than any other.

The Statesman's calling is less showy, and far less appreciated by the mass of men. But it demands gifts of a higher order than does the Soldier's vocation. And, though its rewards are less certain and more remote than those of the military man, yet the ultimate effects of true statesmanship are far more enduring than those of warfare.

And the great Poet has still less prospect of a right appreciation in his lifetime, than either the Soldier or the Statesman; whilst, as a counter-balancing advantage, his office is far higher than that of either, and the good he may effect a thousand fold more diffusive and imperishable.

The names of Taylor and of Peel, for example, are now on the lips of hundreds in America and England, who never perhaps have even heard of Wordsworth. But the influence of the Poet is at present just beginning to be felt. As time rolls on, it will continue to increase; and when Taylor and Peel shall have come to be remembered only as shadowy names of the nineteenth century, Wordsworth's writings will be as household words with the children of Anglo-Saxons, not only in the Poet's native island, but in the new regions of America; in China and India; and in the distant homes of New Zealand and Australia.

The life of Wordsworth, like that of most literary men, was one of very little outward incident. He was born at Cockermouth, in the extreme North West of England, on the 7th of April, 1770. His father, a lawyer, who acted as agent for Lord Lonsdale, died whilst his children were young. He left them a comfortable support; but of this they received no benefit until they were all otherwise provided for, so that in youth the Poet's means were extremely scanty. Of his sister and brothers a word must be said, since they are referred to, more or less, in his writings. Richard, the eldest of the family, was an industrious and thriving solicitor in London, who retired to die in his native region. The third son, next to the Poet, was the late Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and editor of the well-known collection of Ecclesiastical Biography. The fourth and youngest, John, perished by shipwreck whilst on duty as commander of a vessel belonging to the East India Company. He was a man of high character and fine abilities. His virtues and his untimely end are more than once plainly alluded to in his brother's poetry. Dorothy, the only sister,* a woman of superior intellect and fine feeling, deserves especial mention,

* This lady yet survives; a mere wreck, however, of her former self.

as being for many years the Poet's chief companion in his mountain rambles, and the person to whom are addressed, besides several other pieces, those immortal Lines composed near Tintern Abbey.

At an early age, William Wordsworth was sent to the grammar school of Hawkshead, a small town in the very heart of the Lake district, where he remained until the time came for him to enter College. It was here that nature first secured her hold on the boy's affections. As for the regular studies of the place, he does not seem to have been a very great proficient in them. In after years, he was, it is said, an excellent Latin scholar, and read Horace especially with a peculiar relish; though he never made great attainments in the critical study of Greek. At about the age of eighteen, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge. He there paid much attention to French and Italian; and, what may surprise many, was a devoted admirer of the higher mathematics, for whose cultivation this university has been always celebrated. Those who wish, however, to gain a just knowledge of the Poet's earlier years, and to learn how a youth of genius is schooled and trained by outward events which would be lost on others, should read carefully "The Prelude," which, though for many years completed, was first published in the last summer, both in England and in this country. This work is alone of its kind in all our literature, and is a most valuable contribution for future philosophers as well as poets. Our chief regret in regard to it is, that the growth of the writer's religious opinions, and of his ardent devotion to the Church Catholic in England, should have been passed over in utter silence. In the case of one whose poetry is all more or less religious, such an omission was hardly to have been expected.

Wordsworth's first volume, containing "The Evening Walk," and other pieces, was published in 1793, only eight years after the appearance of Cowper's *Task*: a fact which is worth remembering, since it brings our two great reformers of poetic diction more nearly together than we are commonly used to think of them. Of Wordsworth's journeys to the Continent; of his acquaintance with Coleridge, and of his earlier publications in their order, we shall not stop to speak particularly. In 1802, he married his cousin, Mary Hutchinson,* and went to reside, first in the vale of Grasmere, and

* Perhaps the most particular account yet published of Wordsworth's domestic life and habits, is contained in a series of papers in *Tait's Magazine* for 1839, entitled "Lake Reminiscences: by the English Opium Eater." We are there told that Mrs. Wordsworth is delineated in those fine lines so often quoted, "She

afterwards at Rydal Mount. Southey too retired to the same region, and Coleridge was a frequent visitor to these his devoted friends. It was from this circumstance that they, with their associate, 'the gentle Elia,' were absurdly classed together as the Lake Poets.

In 1814 first appeared *The Excursion*, being a portion of what was meant to be a longer poem, entitled '*The Recluse*.*' Lord Byron and others had been very severe in their notices of Wordsworth's earlier performances. But now, the whole force of the *Edinburgh Review* was brought to bear, to accomplish his destruction. Mr. Jeffrey, its editor, wrote a review of the poem, which is at this time valuable only as a proof of the blindness of contemporary criticism. "This will never do!" is the opening sentence of the article, which might more appropriately serve as a label for the critique itself. Jeffrey, however, seems to have thought that he had crushed the volume, and a correspondent of Southey ventured to write in that strain to him. Southey's reply is as admirable for its spirit, as for its clear perception of the relative greatness of Wordsworth and of Jeffrey: "*He crush The Excursion!—Tell him, he might as easily crush Skiddaw.*"

After *The Excursion*, other poems appeared from time to time, which many took the liberty of liking, in spite of the reviewers. Each new volume was hailed with increasing interest, and relished by a wider circle. And more than this, the previous writings of the author, which were at first utterly neglected, kept rising into notice; until Wordsworth's copy-

was a phantom of delight," &c. Having alluded to those papers, we must add, that they are perfectly unique, like every thing else from the pen of Mr. De Quincy. They are full of genius, and of feeling, good and bad. Wordsworth himself, together with his wife and sister, are described with great spirit, as the writer first knew them in 1807. The gossiping disposition is carried in these *Reminiscences* to its utmost bounds. We feel sure that if any American had so exposed the interior of a great man's home, the fault would have been set down to the defects of our transatlantic manners. These articles go quite beyond certain '*Pencilings by the Way*,' which raised such a storm against their author some years ago, in the English journals.

* The following information as to the poem here referred to, is taken from a preliminary note by the editor of *The Prelude*: "*The Recluse*, if completed, would have consisted of three parts. Of these, the second alone, viz: *The Excursion*, was finished and given to the world by the author. The First Book of the First Part of *The Recluse* still remains in manuscript; but the Third Part was only planned. The materials of which it would have been formed have, however, been incorporated, for the most part, in the author's other publications, written subsequently to *The Excursion*." So, it appears, that even the chief production of Wordsworth, who consecrated more than fifty years to Poetry, must (to use his own comparison of his work to a Gothic Building) stand forever unfinished, like the great Cathedral of Cologne.

rights, which once were valueless, began to yield him something of an income.

From the time of his retirement to the Lake country, our author's devotion to poetry, during a period of fifty years, was as intense and undivided as that of any one of whom there is any record. Provided at first with the means of simple living by the bounty of a friend,* whose name he has recorded in *The Prelude*, and also in a *Sonnet*, he afterwards derived most of his support from the government appointment of Stamp Distributor for the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. In 1835, he received a pension of £300 a year from Sir Robert Peel's government, with leave to resign the office just named in favor of his son. On the death of Southey, he was appointed Poet Laureate, to which honor Tennyson has now most worthily succeeded.

The pure and even tenor of the Poet's life continued in a good degree unbroken down to the hour of his death. Some severe domestic bereavements had indeed cast a partial shadow over the brightness of his later years.† But his own health was always good, and he continued to spend much of his time in the open air. Early in the Spring of 1850, he had a violent inflammatory attack, which left him very feeble; and on the 23d of April the spirit of William Wordsworth departed hence, his 80th year having been just completed. His body was interred in Grasmere churchyard, a great concourse of persons from the surrounding country being present at his funeral. A plain monument marks the spot of his burial; its only inscription being his name with the date of his decease. This great simplicity is in curious contrast with the tombs of many unknown persons who are buried near him; whose virtues are recorded at considerable length, and often in exquisite lines from the pen of Wordsworth himself.

Having thus hastily sketched the outward history of the bard of Rydal, it remains, to say something of the peculiarities of his genius; to show, if possible, why the world has been so slow to admit the greatness of his powers; and, finally, according to our poor ability, to recommend an increased ardor in the study of his writings.

There can be little doubt that Wordsworth must be ranked, for the general vigor of his intellect, amongst the most re-

* Raisley Calvert, one of the earliest admirers of Wordsworth's writings, who, dying young, left most of his property to the Poet.

† The Poet's only daughter, Dora, the wife of Edward Quillinan, Esq., died in 1847. Mrs. Wordsworth is still living; and two sons, the Rev. John Wordsworth and William Wordsworth, Esq.

markable men of the Nineteenth Century. In saying this, however, it is not meant that all his powers were alike strong by nature, or made equally serviceable by judicious training. His idiosyncrasies were remarkably prominent through life. A firm constancy of purpose, almost running into obstinacy, was a conspicuous trait which his secluded habits were well calculated to foster. Self-reliance was the great secret of his strength, as well as of his apparent weakness. He was little disposed to lean on other minds. His library was never large, and his literary taste could hardly be called a catholic one. A few great poets and prose writers were appreciated and loved by him as they have been but by few; whilst others, of decided merit, hardly got from him their just deserts. The truth is, as we may see clearly from *The Prelude*, that Books were but of secondary importance to him.* Independent observation, and intense meditation on Man and Nature, were his favorite employments. The sight of uncut leaves, and the smell of fresh, new paper, which so enchant your true book-worm, had slight attractions for our Poet. A mountain ramble, alone or with his sister, was to him far more gratifying. Therefore, his thoughts were seldom borrowed; and therefore too it was that many sentiments, the common property of others, did not always find in him a quick response.

Another peculiarity, arising from a metaphysical intellect and small intercourse with equals, was a habit of introspection carried sometimes to an inordinate degree. In the first place, his poetry is all, with a few exceptions, intensely subjective. Yet, as the Germans would say, he was besides continually 'making himself objective to himself;' standing off, as it were, like an independent party; scanning his own subjectivity, and carefully noting the various faculties brought into play in the production of his pieces. We see this disposition in the very arrangement of his poems, according to the predominant qualities therein exhibited, whether Fancy, Imagination, the Affections, and the like. We do not allude to this purely in the way of censure, although we know that the effect has been injurious to the author with many persons. The spontaneity of Inspiration seems to them quite incompatible with such nice analysis. But for ourselves, whilst as a general rule we freely own the danger of such compound

* In opposition to this, might be cited the last of those three fine Sonnets entitled *Personal Talk*, in which Books are spoken of with great affection. But, the very fact that Shakspeare's *Othello* and the *Fairy Queen* of Spenser are at once singled out as "preeminently dear," rather sustains our assertion than otherwise. Could the omnivorous Southey have thus specified his favorites?

subjectiveness, we have no heart to quarrel with that rare combination of seemingly opposite powers, which has for once made possible an autobiographical narrative depicting with fidelity the Growth of a Poet's Mind.

To sustain our assertion respecting Wordsworth's general powers of intellect, his Prose Writings may be best cited in the way of proof, since many persons have an erroneous notion that very respectable poetry may be produced by simply a happy knack of versification. These are not indeed either numerous or bulky; but their quality is such as to make them worthy of great respect. A paper which has been attributed to him, in Coleridge's *Friend*, displays considerable powers of observation and reflection; and the several Prefaces and Supplements to his volumes of poetry show a most philosophical insight into the principles of his noble art. The *Essay upon Epitaphs* is an elegant production; and the *Description of the Lake Country in the North of England* is almost unequalled for its graphic pictures of external nature. It has that great charm which is peculiar to a few English Prose Writers; a quiet, gentle beauty, which we can characterize only by saying that it is the same quality which pervades Walton's *Angler*, White's *History of Selborne*, and Gilpin's *Forest Scenery*.* His only political production, a 'Tract on the Convention of Cintra,' which we have never seen entire, as it is now extremely scarce, has become justly celebrated for the wisdom of its thoughts and for the sustained spirit and dignity of its language. It has been often compared with the best productions of Burke himself; and, since the author's death, a wish has been expressed for the separate publication of this and his other prose writings, as a valuable contribution to our permanent literature. In this desire we heartily concur. It is our sincere belief that the sterling good sense and manly ability of these compositions would command the attention and respect of some thinking persons who are now repelled from the poetry, either by a general indifference to that kind of writing, or by a special prejudice against the particular style assumed by Wordsworth.

There can be no doubt that all the mental powers must co-exist, in a certain strength and proportion, in order to make a poet of the highest order; and it is equally certain that if any one faculty must be singled out, as preëminently the poet-

* It gives us great pleasure to add, as a work of a similar tone, yet thoroughly American, the name of that delightful volume, 'Rural Hours,' by Miss Cooper, a daughter of the novelist.

ical one, all good judges would select the Imagination; in which Wordsworth has had no equal in the present age.* The full and free exercise of this wonderful function requires, we believe, the presence of a sound philosophy in the writer, whether consciously or unconsciously held; and its appreciation by the public demands also of them, that the general intellect shall not be perverted by the prevalence of erroneous theories. We would suggest, therefore, that the main reason why Wordsworth's writings were not welcomed at first as they should have been, was owing to the prevalence of that Sensational Philosophy which of late years has been giving way before a better system. From the time of Locke's supposed victory in his controversy with Bishop Stillingfleet, about the end of the Seventeenth Century, a writer was sure to lose almost his reputation for sanity if he did not take care always to speak of the older doctrine of ideas, as 'exploded,' and the like. The almost undisputed supremacy of Locke's philosophy in England, during the Eighteenth Century, worked its necessary consequences upon Theology, Ethics, and indeed every subject submitted to its freezing touch. Minute Philosophers abounded. All was cold, low, and skeptical. Evidences of Christianity, which are well enough in their place, became almost the sole nutriment for hungry souls. The human understanding was set up as the measure of all things; and men went on demonstrating the most undoubted verities, until at last the very Being of a God was rendered doubtful. Paley's *Morals*, and Bentham's views in legislation, still below them, were but the needful consequence of the rejection of immutable ideas, residing in the Nature of God and traced by His Creating finger on the tablet of the human soul. Now, whatever may have been the faults and shortcomings of Coleridge, we must at least give him credit for being the first of Englishmen distinctly to warn his countrymen of the danger of the prevailing system. He assured them, earnestly and eloquently, that Locke's philosophy was in direct opposition to truth, to the standards of the Church, and to the uniform teaching of her great divines, from our noble Hooker down to the time of the Revolution. Words-

* In his very full and candid remarks on his friend's poetry in the *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge challenges for Wordsworth, preeminently, the gift of Imagination, in the highest and strictest sense of the word. In the play of Fancy, he does not think him always so happy. Those who desire to investigate particularly the office of Imagination, are referred to the second volume of Mr. Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, as perhaps the ablest treatise on the subject to be found in English.

worth too was of the same opinion; and if he did not so plainly state it, in a didactic way, yet every reader of his poetry must see and feel in every line, that Plato, rather than Locke, was his master in philosophy. It was a primary article in Wordsworth's creed, that all things existing, sin only and its consequences excepted, having once been approved as 'very good,' have a value and a meaning, though men may fail to see it. The mere Prudential Understanding, which judges empirically by the senses, can never attain to a pure idea. That Imagination penetrative, which belongs to the poetic mind, is absolutely needed here, to get to the heart of things, and catch a meaning deeper than can be gathered from the outward form. The Poet must try, by intense meditation, to see objects as their Maker sees them, and then impart his discoveries to men, who may be able to receive his teachings, although they could never have sought out such wisdom for themselves. This perhaps is what Keble means, when he speaks of Poets, as

"Heirs of more than royal race,
Framed, by Heaven's peculiar grace,
God's own work to do on earth."

Such language could certainly be applied to no one better than to Wordsworth. It is his peculiar merit, that he loves to find a beautiful meaning in things and persons quite unconscious of their own importance. The Old Cumberland Beggar, who would be regarded by most as only a burden on the public, becomes, under the Poet's transfiguration, a most valuable element to soften and improve society. Peter Bell, the depraved potter, whose outer and inner man are to the last degree unpromising, is yet seen to be at heart not incapable of good. The aged Leech Gatherer teaches Resolution and Independence far better than a didactic essay. Little children unconsciously express the highest truths. Despised members of the mute creation have also their use as teachers of us men. And, even in the fantastic scenery of Cloud-Land, that grand pageantry of sunset, which to most persons is so utterly unmeaning, Wordsworth sees

"Meek Nature's evening comment on the shows
That for oblivion take their daily birth
From all the fuming vanities of earth."

We do not remember ever to have seen this reason, (the prevalence of the sensational philosophy,) anywhere distinctly stated as the true and primary cause of the original opposition

to Wordsworth. We have tried to show why, and how, the antagonism must have existed. We now and then meet with elderly gentlemen educated in our Colleges some thirty or forty years ago, who still retain their veneration for Locke and Paley, the idols of their youth. To test our theory, then, let some fine passage of our author be read to one of them; and we venture to say that if the old gentleman has any intelligent love for his juvenile text-books, he will be almost sure to shake his head at Wordsworth. But, it is an omen of better things, that the above named writers are now little used in this country as educational guides. Some may indeed now run to danger in an opposite extreme. But our soundest men, avoiding German hyper-spiritualism, can see truth in Plato* and in the philosophy that Hooker held. So that we think a great reaction has taken place, and is still in progress, highly favorable to the popularity of Wordsworth.

So much, for matters connected with the thought. Let us now glance at the history of poetic diction.

The great writers of the Elizabethan era having passed away, the Civil Wars of England made literary pursuits, for a time, almost a sheer impossibility. And, though we have a valuable legacy in the poetry of Milton, and in the rich prose of Jeremy Taylor, the era of the Restoration was not remarkably favorable to the greatest works of genius. The reaction against the narrow mindedness of their predecessors, the Roundheads, urged on the Cavaliers very much too far towards the vice of extreme licentiousness. Those slang phrases and coarse allusions which so much abound in the witty poetry of Butler, infected not only the stage also, but even the grave productions of the pulpit,—some traces of it being visible even in such writers as Barrow and South. To this succeeded a stiff and spuriously classical style of writing, derived from the French; which was tame, correct, and elaborately polished. The so-called Augustan age of Queen Anne was not by any means an age of true genius. It could admire Addison's *Cato*, but could not rise to appreciate Shakspeare. The poetry of Pope was the highest and proudest effort of this artificial school. Under its influence, poetic diction became an inflated and unmeaning mass of verbiage.

* In France, Locke has received some hard blows from Cousin and from Count De Maistre. The revival of a better philosophy in our own country owes much to the late Dr. Marsh, the able editor of Coleridge; and Prof. Taylor Lewis, in his *Believing Spirit*, and in his *Dissertations on the Platonic Theology*, has done the cause of truth important service.

Epithets of the most hackneyed kind were the common property of all versifiers. Each vice and virtue was personified; and, in fine, a conventional language of verse came into use, which was certainly not plain English. The poets had ceased to write naturally, and as a consequence they had little influence on the popular mind. With all proper gratitude for the revival of the old national ballads by Bishop Percy, we must say that to Cowper belongs the credit of first breaking through these poor conventionalisms. Burns, too, did very much in the same direction. But Wordsworth it was who completely brought back English poetry to the style of truth and nature, and thoroughly exposed, in his Prefaces, the faults of his immediate predecessors. A complete revolution has been effected within the memory of living men. The manner of the artificial French school has ceased to please. Our old authors are reinstated in their rightful thrones; and Shakspeare, Spenser, and Chaucer have at this time fifty readers for every one they could number in the eighteenth century.

The man who deliberately sets out to oppose a prevailing taste or sentiment, however he may at last succeed, is sure at first to be unpopular. Wordsworth's poetry, whose great aim was to make men return to truth and nature, from every sort of sham conventionalism, both in sentiment and diction, seemed at the beginning bald, homely, and prosaic. The language of little children, and of poor and simple people, naturally uttered, must of course appear flat and tame to any one taught to admire the wordy grandiloquence of Pope's Homer. So the critics sneered; whilst the people believed them right, and refused to read Wordsworth. Only a select few saw from the first that a great spirit had arisen in England. This little circle gradually extended itself. By degrees, one and another was persuaded to look into the despised author. In the case of others, some little poem or extract would perhaps casually meet their eye. It would somehow strangely please them, as no other poetry had ever done; and the words would cling to their memory by a sort of curious fascination. At length they would muster courage to read *The Excursion*; and when it was finished, the only regret would be, that they had remained ignorant so long of a thing so exquisitely beautiful. In this way, Wordsworth's influence grew, slowly but surely. The laugh of scorn that greeted him in the first generation, subsided into a kind of passive tolerance in the next: until, by and by, Wordsworth's name began to be spoken with respect by thoughtful men of every variety of intellect. His words were quoted as high authority, by artists, divines, philos-

ophers, and statesmen. Large and beautiful editions became saleable, of books that at first were the ruin of their publishers; and that man was, in his old age, regarded with affectionate reverence, who had once been considered as only a very amiable fool. Lord Jeffrey and his supposed literary victim died in the same year. But at the time of their deaths, how changed was the relative influence, as compared with what it was when the lordly reviewer wrote that "crushing article," which was meant to annihilate *The Excursion*! The haughty dictator of the Edinburgh had quite passed out of mind, as one having any present influence on the world of letters; for he had long since subsided into a quiet judge in one of the Courts of Scotland. Wordsworth, in the mean time, had grown to be one of the celebrities of the age; and was familiarly classed with Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton.

There are several reasons why Wordsworth's poetry should be more known and studied than it has yet been in America. There is no English writer who pays less regard than he to the merely accidental advantages of rank and fortune, and estimates men so purely on the ground of merit. It was this feeling that led him in early manhood to sympathize so deeply with the movement of the French Revolution. That sympathy we know was entirely repressed when subsequent events showed the madness of the whole proceeding. Yet still, Wordsworth remained to the last a stern upholder of genuine worth, as the only basis of a real aristocracy. A very large proportion of all his poetry is occupied in describing the virtues and the feelings of the humblest poor. Even the hero of his great poem, the old Pedlar, that solitary wanderer, whose conception has been so much derided, was designed to show, that a good head and a warm heart may be the possession of one who has little other wealth to boast of. True, genuine liberty, strict and equal justice to all, is the theme of much of our author's inspiration. Wordsworth, however, was too pure and too wise a man to be deluded by that specious liberty which mere politicians offer. Neither was he ever led astray by those social reformers, who, under the banner of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," would seek in Socialism and Fourierism what they call the emancipation of the race. The family and the home, which these fanatics tell us must be sacrificed for the good of society, were to the spirit of Wordsworth, the dearest things this side of heaven; and all his poetry aims to purify and strengthen their influence. The religion of the Gospel, and such arrangements as best harmonize with it, he rightly regards as the only perfect free-



dom. Hence his poetry is always pure and healthful, and not, like that of too many of his contemporaries, the minister of sin.

The Poet's mission is a high and noble one ; and the gift of Poetry something divine. It was designed by the Creator as a solace for weary souls ; an incentive to all that is good, elevating, and holy. Indeed, we may say that there is a sort of incongruity in the very idea of immoral or satanic poetry : which is a sad perversion of a holy thing, to ignoble and unhallowed uses.

The young especially, will devour poetry of some kind or other. The best practical proof that verse of all sorts is much read in America, is seen in the fact, that few books have a more rapid and extensive sale than editions of the popular poets. Enter even a country bookstore, and see what a considerable portion of the stock is made up of cheap as well as costly editions of Moore, Byron, Scott, Hemans, Milton, and so on. Great numbers of these must be sold, or certainly such great numbers would not be printed where the demand is the only principle that governs the supply. We fear too, it would be found on inquiry of any bookseller, that copies of Moore and Byron, especially the latter, are bought by young persons of both sexes and of every condition in life, more freely than any other poets. Many a young man and woman who would be ashamed to be seen purchasing novels of the modern French school, whose character is so notorious, will yet buy the entire works of Byron, read every part of them, and quote them publicly without a blush ! If the saying were true, and not a most dangerous sophism, that "Vice itself loses half its evil by losing all its grossness," then, such conduct might be pardonable. But, so long as it is true that villainess and impiety are only more dangerous in proportion as their deformity is hidden, so long will the general reading of such poetry be extremely injurious to social morals.

The student of English Literature has often to regret, in Chaucer and most of our older poets, an occasional coarseness of expression, that certainly does mar the beauty of the piece. But, those rough *words* of Chaucer and of Shakspeare, are as nothing to the *spirit* of the whole ; which is pure, virtuous, and manly.

In some of our modern poets, however, whilst there may not be found one low word or coarse expression, the general tendency may still be purely evil. And in this, lies all the danger. Filth hardly seems to be filth, when enclosed in so beautiful a casket.

The reader of Wordsworth will be wholly free from the danger of such contamination. The purest taste will never be offended in any portion of his writings. And this conscientiousness seems to extend even to grammatical and rhetorical purity. It has often been remarked, that no English poet has ever used our language with such unvarying correctness.

But, what we most wish to dwell upon, is his moral purity. The whole tenor of his works abundantly proves his anxiety on this point. In letters to friends he has expressed it strongly; and an American gentleman, who visited him not long before his death, was much struck at the turn of the Poet's mind, when their conversation passed to the subject of California. It was not the gold and material wealth that fixed Wordsworth's attention, when he spoke of our new possessions on the Pacific, and the wide realms there opened for the dwellings of Anglo-Saxon men. Fixing his fine, soft eye on vacancy, in a way that was peculiar to him, he descanted in a prophetic strain on the swift diffusion of our noble tongue to every corner of the globe; and then, in a sort of deeply felt soliloquy, he remarked, what a solemn duty it was now, more than ever, in the case of authors writing in English, that all their influence should be on the side of virtue!

It is common, we know, for flippant talkers, whilst they admit that Wordsworth is very good and moral, to add also that, for themselves, they find him very weak and dull. They assert too that Wordsworth does not possess half of that poetic power which makes Byron so dangerously attractive.* Now, if it be meant by this, to say merely that Wordsworth never raves and fumes, as Byron does, we readily admit the charge.

* To those who still permit themselves to speak contemptuously of Wordsworth's poetry, notwithstanding the united voice in its favor of all those who are best competent to judge of merit, we would respectfully commend the saying of a great English scholar, lately deceased, that "The works of great poets require to be approached at the outset with a full faith in their excellence: the reader must be convinced that if he does not fully admire them, it is his fault and not theirs." This comes from Dr. Arnold, who was not disposed to be over-credulous. So, too, Mr. Ruskin says, to the same effect, that a general popularity is impossible, "when there is in the work nothing to attract and something to disgust the vulgar mind. Neither their intrinsic excellence, nor the authority of those who can judge of it, will ever make the poems of Wordsworth or of George Herbert popular, in the sense in which Scott and Byron are popular, because it is to the vulgar a labor instead of a pleasure to read them; and there are parts in them which to such judges cannot but be vapid or ridiculous. Most works of the highest art,—those of Raffaele, Michael Angelo, or De Vinci,—stand as Shakespeare does: that which is common-place and feeble in their excellence being taken for its essence by the uneducated."—*Modern Painters*, Vol. I, p. 3.

But, if it be designed to intimate that Wordsworth's poetry does not flow from so deep and strong a fountain of poetic feeling as that of Byron, then we can by no means assent to the proposition. Transient impulse is the moving power of one class of poets. Habitual, deep-seated feeling, that which inspires another and a higher one.* If Byron had any settled and abiding feelings at all, they were a morbid misanthropy and a refined licentiousness; the better and purer portion of his verse being the offspring of occasional and transient impulses. But in Wordsworth, we see a love of nature, surpassing in depth and tenderness any sentiment that Byron ever experienced. Combined with this, is an intense affection for his fellow men, that stops nowhere within the limits of the species. Even the brute creation, and the race of trees and flowers, come in for a share of this overflowing, kindly love. The consequence is, that the attraction of this universal sympathy wins the soul of every reader who will study Wordsworth's writings sufficiently to come fairly under their influence. We grow wiser and better by companionship with his all-embracing spirit; and a kind of affectionate reverential gratitude springs up towards the Poet, such as is felt towards no other author with whom we are acquainted. Wordsworth so extends our pleasant acquaintance, by introducing us to kind-hearted old men in humble life; to interesting children, full of unconscious poetry; and to lowly flowers, which, seen in the light of the imagination, are eloquent with wisdom, that we cannot but thank him who has so enlarged the range of virtuous enjoyment, by enclosing a field which others had passed by as too barren for cultivation. Many excellent and intelligent persons undervalue Wordsworth, simply because they do not know him. But, that man or woman who, after a fair trial, still owns that his poetry has no attraction, must either be somewhat above the common level of the race, or else sadly deficient in one or more of the better elements of humanity.

There have been two objections made to Wordsworth's poetry, which perhaps deserve here a passing notice. One is, that the author seems almost entirely destitute of a sense of the humorous, which is a very prominent quality in many great poets, and is everywhere conspicuous, especially in Chaucer and in Shakspeare. We readily admit, that a keen

* The distinction between *ἦθος* and *πάθος*, as the sources of poetic inspiration, is finely treated by Mr. Keble, in his Sixth Lecture on Poetry.—See "*Prælectiones Academicae*," Vol. I, p. 75.

sense of the ludicrous is often met with in men of genius : and further, what may seem unaccountable, that the greatest masters of tender and pathetic writing are usually found to excel in humor. In proof of which, it will be enough to refer to Sterne, Goldsmith, Irving, and Dickens. In this particular, Wordsworth does seem to be an exception. Rarely, if at all, do we find anything in his writings designed to make us laugh, though many of his pieces abound in the tenderest pathos :—as the story of the Brothers, Michael, and the tale of Poor Margaret, in *The Excursion*. It may be, that some portion of this almost missing faculty might have been an advantage to the Poet, by causing him to suppress some of his earlier juvenile pieces, in which his peculiar theory of diction is carried to such excess, that, as might have been expected, they subjected the bard to ridicule. Still, we must remember, that a strong sense of the ludicrous, though often found in great poets, is not absolutely an essential characteristic : since seldom, if ever, do we see it in Milton or in Dante. A man may be so habitually bent on high and holy thoughts or duties, and so profoundly impressed by the sins and the sorrows of his fellows, as to lose completely all disposition to merriment. And, it might be shown conclusively, if it were reverent here to introduce so holy an example, that humanity, in its highest type and model, bears no trace of that mirthful disposition, whose absence some would set down as proving an undoubted mental deficiency.

But, a much graver charge than this has been repeatedly urged against our author's writings ;—namely, this :—That his ardent admiration of Nature has led him sometimes to apostrophize her as a sort of Deity, quite independent of the God of Nature. Hence, we are told that his works are now especially dangerous, when a flood of Pantheism has poured in from Germany, such as was not to be apprehended when the objectionable passages were written. It would, we grant, be hardly proper to commend Wordsworth unreservedly to young and ardent minds, without a word of caution as to the tendency in question. There are several passages in his poems which, in these times, one would like to see modified, and which, perhaps, the author himself would hardly have written now. That they were really designed to mean just what they might be interpreted to say ; or, that there ever was a time when Wordsworth failed clearly to recognize the great Personal Jehovah of the Old and New Testaments, we cannot for a moment believe. His whole life, and his express statements, as well as the spirit of other portions of his poetry,

quite forbid the thought. Still, it is unfortunately true, that some transcendental dreamers admire his poems, because they say they find there their favorite belief, in spite of certain other portions, which could, by no possibility, be wrested in that way.* This is much to be regretted; though it does seem the height of unfairness, to persist in affixing to any compositions an undesigned and an unreal signification.

Notwithstanding, however, all objections that can possibly be raised, we still repeat, that there is no English poet whose influence on the mind is more beneficial or more lasting. There is always hope of that youth who takes kindly to Wordsworth. He cannot be wholly sensualized. There are affinities in that soul for much that is good and lovely; and, as years increase, the better element will be likely to outgrow and overtop the evil.

The passion for Byron, and that class of poets, is very apt to seize every wholly or half-educated person, at the age of from fifteen to twenty. Indeed, some would go so far as to make this a kind of necessary evil; the consolation being, that the victims will outgrow it, by the age of twenty-five or thirty. This, however, is quite too light a view of the matter; for incalculable evil may be done to the whole moral nature of the subject in the time that the fit is on him. One thing is true, however; the fact, namely, that the influence of a highly passionate poet does die away at length; sometimes indeed after creating a taste for worse and more degrading pleasures. But the quiet and pure attractiveness of one like Wordsworth increases with our years. He who sees some of our author's excellence at twenty, will find his admiration deepened at thirty and at forty; and this Poet's volumes will be the choice companions of declining age.

It must be looked upon as an excellent thing for Wordsworth's American reputation, that, whilst the productions of most other English writers, in the absence of an international copyright law, are left to the tender mercy of publishers, who issue mutilated and hastily prepared editions, quite unworthy of the authors, he has had the good fortune to appear under the careful editorship of one who so thoroughly appreciates his poetry as Prof. Henry Reed, of Philadelphia. The previous poor and imperfect editions of Wordsworth here, were at once completely superseded by the full and elegant volume prepared by that gentleman, and first issued in 1837. A copy

* See, for instance, that distinct reference to "grace divine," which occurs in the second of the *Evening Voluntaries*, p. 426.

of the book having been sent to the Poet, he returned this cordial and grateful reply to his American editor :—" I shall now hasten to notice the edition which you have superintended of my Poems. This I can do with much pleasure, as the book, which has been shown to several persons of taste, Mr. Rogers in particular, is allowed to be far the handsomest specimen of print in double column which they have seen. Allow me to thank you for the pains you have bestowed upon the work. Do not apprehend that any difference in our several arrangements of the poems can be of much importance ; you appear to understand me far too well for that to be possible."

The skill and judgment displayed in the superintendence of that edition, have now again, in their fuller maturity, been called out in editing the volume whose title stands at the head of this article. The Prelude, and all other poems which have appeared since 1837, are now added to the contents of the former volume. A new Preface, and a short biography of the Poet, are embraced also in this edition, which is embellished with an engraving of the author, from Chantrey's bust, and a view of his home at Rydal Mount. Altogether, it is the best edition now to be procured ; and we rejoice to think that an American Churchman has been permitted to offer so beautiful a tribute to the memory of Wordsworth.

The intercourse between the Poet and his American editor did not end with the warm acknowledgment above quoted. A firm and real friendship grew up, which was honorable alike to both, and it continued unbroken till death severed the connection. The late Mr. Inman, the American artist, being on a visit to England, in 1844, Mr. Reed took that opportunity to secure an original portrait of his venerable friend, which is now at Philadelphia, in possession of the owner. This picture was thought, by Wordsworth and his friends, to be perhaps the best likeness out of a great number that were taken by various artists. A copy of this, presented to Mrs. Wordsworth, hung for several years in the Poet's study, at Rydal Mount, and was greatly valued by all the family. Although Prof. Reed was never able to accept Wordsworth's repeated invitations to visit him in England, a letter of introduction from him always secured for an American a cordial welcome. A biography of the Poet is now in preparation, by his nephew, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Canon of Westminster, who has requested Mr. Reed to superintend the American edition. Such literary intercourse as this tends greatly to draw together America and England. Wordsworth always valued his reputation here, and was pleased to know that on this side of

the Atlantic there were not a few who could enter feelingly into those high aims to which his life was consecrated.

Yet, even now, the disciples of Wordsworth in America are rather a school and a class, than the great majority of our educated men. But, as time rolls on, the number of his admirers must increase here as it has done in England, and it will be a good omen when we see more copies of his writings disposed of in our bookstores.

If the suggestions here made shall have the effect of calling the attention of even one thoughtful individual to the careful study of Wordsworth's poetry, we shall not regret our pains in the writing of this article. And, if most of our readers do not yet feel prepared for such a literary undertaking, we would beg them at least to remember the great truth which all our remarks have been designed to illustrate :—namely, the vast influence of popular poetry, for good or for evil, on the character of all, but chiefly of the young ; and the importance of selecting, as a guide, one whose aim is pure and elevating, and who is without exception, not only in his language, but in the general tone and spirit of his works.

ART. II.—THE REV. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D. D., LL. D.

IN separating the name of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis from our ordinary Obituary list, and in devoting a few pages in this place to his reminiscences, we do not propose to attempt an adequate tribute to his memory. Such a work should be entrusted to one better qualified than we can be, to give a faithful sketch of his character. And such a pen we would have enlisted, did we not know that materials for his full and complete biography, are in the hands of one who is every way qualified for such a service; who was admitted to that unrestrained intimacy with his thoughts, feelings, and opinions, which renders it scarcely possible that he should be mistaken; who received his entire and unbroken confidence; and who will, we doubt not, speak plainly and faithfully of those things which the Church will wish to know of him whom she has long honored in life, and whom she now mourns in death.

All that we now propose is, to group together a few of the leading facts of his life, and to sketch and preserve some of the more prominent features of his character. Such a tribute, the readers of the Church Review will, we trust, be not unwilling to receive, even though our labor of love be but imperfectly performed.

Samuel Farmar Jarvis was born at Middletown, Connecticut, Jan. 20, 1787. He was the youngest child and only son of the Rev. Abraham Jarvis, D. D., then Rector of the Parish of Christ Church, Middletown, and who in the year 1797 was consecrated the second Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut. He derived his name Samuel, from his grandfather, Samuel Jarvis, who was of Puritan origin, but who conformed to the Church about the year 1737. Dr. Jarvis, therefore, like Seabury, and Johnson, and Mansfield, and Leaming, and Chandler, and Beach, and others of the earlier Clergy who have adorned the Church in Connecticut, was of Puritan blood. His studies were pursued at first under the immediate direction of his father; but in 1798, when his son was at the age of eleven years, Bishop Jarvis removed to Cheshire for the purpose of placing him under the instruction of that accurate scholar, the Rev. Dr. John Bowden. Dr. Bowden having resigned the charge of the Academy, Bishop Jarvis removed to New Haven, and entered his son at Yale College, in 1802, as a member of the Sophomore Class. The following conversation then passed between Bishop Jarvis and Dr.

Dwight, at that time President of the College. "I shall expect my son to attend Church." "Certainly! It is his right. Only he will be obliged constantly to ask leave." "If it is his *right*, he ought not to *ask leave*." "Oh that is a measure of precaution. Young gentlemen might make their exemption, a pretext to attend no public worship." "Whenever you detect my son in a lie, it will be time enough to distrust him. If he enters the College, I must insist upon his asking no leave to go to Church." The point was yielded on the part of Dr. Dwight. Though among the youngest members of his class, he sustained a high character as a scholar, and won the respect of his instructors by his correct and gentlemanly deportment. He graduated with honor in the year 1805. The College, at that time, numbered among its students several who have since filled an important place in the history of the Church and of their country. John C. Calhoun, recently deceased; Christopher E. Gadsden, now Bishop of South Carolina; Samuel Church, Chief Justice of Connecticut; Thomas S. Grimke, names well known to most of our readers, were among his contemporaries at College. At the age of twenty-three, he was ordained Deacon at New Haven, by his Rt. Rev. Father, March 18, 1810; and on the 5th of April, in the following year, he was, at the same place and by the same Prelate, advanced to the order of the Priesthood.

On the 22d of March in that year, 1811, he took charge of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale, in the Diocese of New York; and in 1813 became Rector of St. James' Church, New York City, the Rectorship of which associate Parishes he held until May, 1819, a period in all of more than eight years. At this period, the General Theological Seminary had recently been established in New York City, and Dr. Jarvis became Professor of Biblical Learning in that new Institution. This post he occupied but a short time. But those who sat under his instructions at that day, still bear lively witness to his ripe scholarship, his entire devotion to the duties of his profession, his warm sympathies with his pupils, the dignity and gracefulness of manners which marked his intercourse with all; and which, we may add, he never laid aside, but carried with him to the close of his life.

In 1820 he was elected the first Rector of St. Paul's Church, Boston, Massachusetts, to which city he immediately removed, and continued the Rector of that Parish until 1826, a space of six years. That was the *transition* period of Congregationalism in Massachusetts; the period when nominal orthodoxy openly declared for Socinianism; when the contro-

versies of Woods, and Ware, and Channing, disclosed the astounding fact that a large proportion of the richest and most respectable Congregational Parishes in Boston and vicinity, had already passed over the bounds of orthodoxy, into an open and bitter denial of the Divinity of Christ, the native depravity of man, and the doctrine of the Atonement. It need not be said, that Dr. Jarvis was not a listless spectator of what was passing around him. We do not find him mingling in the strife of the controversy. Much less did he, by his silence, make compromises with what St. Paul denominates "damnable heresies." But believing that the Church is, in every age, "the Pillar and Ground of the Truth," he presented her with all her rich provisions and safeguards, as that for which good men were earnestly and unconsciously seeking; and the want of which he saw to be the secret of those melancholy ruins upon which men were gazing with consternation. And we may add, that that same line of conduct is, beyond question, the bounden duty and the true policy of the Church at the present day. And so it is proving itself, in the history of Parishes and of Dioceses. Truth, when its issues are so momentous as in the questions now agitated, is, and must be, exclusive, bold, aggressive. Treachery may pass for prudence, and shallow bigotry claim the blessing promised only "for righteousness' sake;" but the path of duty demands high moral courage, a martyr's firmness united with consummate wisdom. The SAVIOUR of the world is being crucified afresh, while a spurious and careless liberalism is feeding on the heart of the Church.

Nor did Dr. Jarvis, in his sphere, labor in vain. As one illustration of this, among several which have fallen under our notice, we may mention, that at the last interview which we were permitted to have with him in this world, he related, with great satisfaction, having recently met in a distant part of the country, a stranger now occupying an important position in society, who came forward and with much emotion volunteered a return of gratitude to Dr. Jarvis, for having, at the period of which we are speaking, guided the wandering steps of a bewildered and anxious inquirer into the old and peaceful paths of the Church.

In the year 1826 he resigned the charge of St. Paul's and embarked for Europe, with a view of qualifying himself more perfectly for works which he had projected for the benefit of the Church. During the nine years of his absence, he visited all the important libraries of Europe, and became acquainted with the most celebrated scholars of the day; with several of

whom he kept up a correspondence to the close of his life. His long and close familiarity with the state of things in Europe at that period, the intentness with which he kept his eye fastened upon every important movement in the religious world, his facility in the use of the written and spoken languages of the Continent, and his free and almost unreserved intercourse with various classes of Romanists, clergy and laity, rendered him, we believe, better informed as to the condition of Modern Christianity in Europe, than any other American living. Six of the nine years of his absence were passed in Italy; and should his journal of that period ever be published, it will, we presume, disclose some features of Popery of startling interest. His tenacious memory was richly stored with facts which came under his own observation, the relation of which, with his careful regard for places, persons, and dates, has often been a rich entertainment to his friends.

He returned from Europe in 1835, and established himself at Hartford, Connecticut, as Professor of Oriental Literature in Washington (now Trinity) College; to which office he had been already appointed, and of which Institution the Bishop of the Diocese was then President. This position he occupied but two years, when, in 1837, he was elected Rector of Christ Parish, in his native city.

The engrossing nature of the duties, already imposed upon him by the Church, as her Historiographer, led him to ask for an Assistant, and in the early part of 1840, the choice of the Rev. John Williams, now President of Trinity College, was unanimously confirmed by the Vestry of the Parish. The Journal of the Convention of the Diocese for 1842, reports his resignation of the Rectorship of his Parish at Easter of that year. His own report to the Bishop says: "The Parish being in this prosperous condition and in perfect harmony, the Rector, oppressed by domestic calamities, and fearful that some untoward event might renew the agitation existing in 1838 and 1839, determined to resign his Pastoral charge." The number of persons admitted, anew, to Communion from 1837 to 1842, was eighty.

The "domestic calamity" to which he himself thus publicly alludes, is one, the nature and character of which, is known throughout the Church; and we have no occasion here to repeat its painful details. It was enough to have broken the energies and crushed the spirit of any ordinary man, or Christian. And yet, the present writer feels it due to the memory of the deceased, to say, that he (the writer) at that time sustained an intimate relation to the Chairman of the

Committee, before whom the whole case was thoroughly investigated—a gentleman characterized by a high sense of honor and unimpeachable integrity—and he recollects distinctly hearing that gentleman subsequently declare, that he had never known a public man pass through such an ordeal so completely unscathed. The Christian fortitude, the gentlemanly delicacy, the high moral bearing, with which Dr. Jarvis demeaned himself through those painful scenes, stung, as his sensitive nature was, to the heart, by irreparable injuries, and subject as he must have felt himself to be to imputations, cast not upon himself only, but upon that which he regarded still more, the Church of Christ, called forth from numerous sources renewed assurances of increased respect, and of undiminished confidence. We know that he went down to his grave, with no feelings but those of forgiveness, the brightest, perhaps, of those Christian graces which shone so resplendently in the last hours of his life.

Dr. Jarvis, soon after his return from Europe, began to mature and carry into execution a project for which he had long been qualifying himself, and one worthy of his noblest energies and profound scholarship. It was to prepare a thorough and complete History of the Church, from its first institution to the present day. The General Convention of 1838 expressed its appreciation of the importance of the undertaking, and honored him with the appointment of Historiographer of the Church. This measure, which originated in the House of Bishops, and was brought forward by the Right Rev. Bishop Hopkins, of Vermont, was expressed in the following language—"Resolved, (the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies concurring,) That the Rev. Samuel F. Jarvis, D. D., LL. D., be appointed Historiographer of the Church, with a view to his preparing, from the most original sources now extant, a faithful Ecclesiastical History, reaching from the Apostles' times, to the formation of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States."

The work, thus formally committed to Dr. Jarvis, was one, the extent, magnitude, and difficulties of which, it is well nigh impossible to appreciate. Dr. Jarvis felt, that in writing the History of the Church, two points demanded his first attention; one, to trace the development of the Plan of Redemption, previous to the Nativity of Christ; and then to ascertain the exact dates of His Birth, and of His Death. In the largeness of view, with which he approached the subject, the first point, he saw to be indispensable; the second, vastly important. This second point first engaged his attention; and at the Gen-

eral Convention of 1841, he reported, that his Chronological Introduction was nearly ready for the press. The disastrous monetary condition of the country at that time, delayed its publication ; and he finally determined to stereotype it in England, and it appeared simultaneously there, and in this country, in 1844. At the General Convention of 1847, he reported his second volume of the *Series*, and the first of the *History*, to be almost completed ; and that Convention, as the preceding had done, earnestly commended the work to the attention and patronage of the Church. The expense attending the publication of so large a work, and his own unwillingness, after so many years of unrequited hard labor, to incur further responsibility, retarded its appearance ; and it was not until the General Convention of 1850, that he was able to report the work as stereotyped and nearly ready for the public. That Convention, through a Committee of its Lower House, repeated the expression of previous Conventions, and urged again upon the Church the importance of sustaining her Historiographer in the task to which she had called him.

We are quite certain that had Dr. Jarvis lived to go on with his labors, he would eventually have received that patronage and encouragement which his work so richly deserved. He had just reached a point where his efforts would have been appreciated, and the resources which he had at command, would, beyond question, have supplied a want which is deeply felt. Nor, severe as is the disappointment of the Church, that the hand of her historian is now palsied in death, do we regret that he devoted the ten years of his arduous toil, to the peculiar field which he had chosen. It is a grand and comprehensive plan, which some one, in the Providence of God, will come forward to complete. Nor can we conceive of a nobler work for the Church at the present day ; one more worthy of the energies of the Christian scholar ; or more practical in its bearings, in shaping the education and in giving tone to the teaching of those who shall rise up hereafter to minister at her altars. Meanwhile a tribute of gratitude is due for what Dr. Jarvis has already accomplished. Imperfectly as his Chronological Computations may be grasped by the mass of readers ; and even if, in a single particular, there is room for questioning the absolute certainty of one of his conclusions ; still, in the judgment of all true scholars, that volume is the proof and fruit of vast erudition, and of amazing industry ; and it will, beyond doubt, centuries hence, aid the student in threading the mazes of one of the most intricate and difficult of all sciences, Chronology. We have heard it stated, that when the Chronologi-

cal Introduction first appeared in England, at a public dinner at Oxford, this new American publication became the subject of conversation; and the question was asked, "who shall examine it in one of the periodicals of the day?" The answer was given by one who had already been studying its page "there are but two men in England who are capable of reviewing it." His second volume has already been examined in our previous number; and the general testimony, as far as we know, is, that it is worthy to be handed down to the Church of the future, as the crowning labor of him whom the Church of the present day chose as her Historiographer.

In the Diocese of Connecticut, with which Dr. Jarvis has since the year 1835, been connected, he has occupied those posts of honor and of influence which were due to his learning and character. Besides his positions, as Trustee of Trinity College and of the General Theological Seminary, and Secretary and Treasurer of the Christian Knowledge Society, he was also at once elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese, to which he has annually been reelected and of which he was Secretary to the close of his life. He was also elected a delegate to the General Conventions of 1844, 1847, and 1850; in the two last of which he was placed in the honorable and important position of Chairman of the Standing Committee on Canons; a station universally conceded to him by the general sentiment of the Church. In his own Diocese his loss will be seriously felt. In Diocesan legislation his influence has always been an element of permanence and stability, a guarantee against hasty and needless change, a kind of living memorial, a speaking representative of the Church which is not the creature of a day, but which, founded by Christ, has a life, a power, an authority, a law of her own which has a past, as well as a present, and a future history. And in a day like the present, when the foundations of old Institutions are tottering, when loyalty has become another name for superstition, and change passes for reform, we mourn the death of such a man as Dr. Jarvis, as of one, whom the Church, and the world, can, to the eye of sense, but ill afford to spare.

There was another important department of labor, in which the services of the deceased have not been very generally known. During the last thirteen years of his life, or even since his final removal to Middletown, he has been almost constantly engaged in instructing Candidates for the Christian Ministry. For this work he had a particular fondness, as he also had rare qualifications. No inconsiderable number of

men are now serving at our altars, whose theological education was conducted under his personal direction; and his sudden death will, as we know, throw a cloud over the anticipations of others in this respect. Those who have been his pupils, will, we are sure, without an exception, carry with them through life, not only a deep reverence for his character, but a grateful recollection of his gentle benignity of manners; his sympathy in all their doubts and difficulties as learners; his vast and varied attainments in every thing which belongs to the Christian scholar; and his earnest consecration of every gift to Christ, the Great Head of the Church.

It will appear, from what has already been said, that Dr. Jarvis was a man of untiring industry. Besides his larger works, in 1821 he published his *Massachusetts Convention Sermon on Regeneration*, with Notes, a pamphlet of 70 pages. In 1837, he published a *Sermon on Christian Unity*, preached before the Board of Missions at New York, which, with the copious notes, forms a pamphlet of fifty pages. In 1843, he published his *Sermons on Prophecy*, forming a volume of nearly 200 pages, evincing great research, and scattering to the winds those perversions of prophecy, with which ignorant and visionary men at that day were misguiding the public. In 1843 he also edited the Rev. Dr. Horne's admirable and unanswerable work on *Mariolatry*, enriching it with valuable original matter.

In the same year, he published his address to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church, "*No Union with Rome*," a pamphlet of 44 pages, which, for several reasons, we should like to see scattered far and wide at the present day.

In 1846 he prepared and preached his *Sermon* before the Connecticut Convention, on the "*Colonies of Heaven*," appending to it some learned and pertinent Notes.

In 1847, he wrote his "*Reply to Doctor Milner's End of Religious Controversy*," a volume of over 250 pages, and one which deserves to be most carefully read and studied.

Besides these and other publications, he has been a frequent contributor to the pages of the *Church Review*. The leading articles in the second, third, and fourth Numbers of the first Volume, in review of "*Kenrick on the Primacy*," were from his pen, and have been since appealed to as of high authority in the Romish Controversy. The elaborate paper on *Egyptian Antiquities*, in the first Number of the third Volume, was also his contribution. Indeed, with the whole subject of *Egyptian Antiquities* he was probably more familiar than any other man in the country; and he has left in Manuscript a large amount of matter, which, if ever published, will enhance

his reputation as a profound Oriental Scholar. In this connection we may add, that Dr. Jarvis was among the very first persons consulted, in the establishment of the *Church Review*. He gave to the comprehensive character of the plan, his warm approbation, and promised to the enterprise his own personal coöperation. Nor from that day until his death, did he ever hesitate to turn aside from his special labors to enrich its pages with his own contributions.

It will appear from the above list of publications, that Dr. Jarvis was a man of *varied* learning. But the extent of his resources has never been known to the Church at large. Soon after his first return from Europe, he delivered a public Lecture on Botany; and a fine scholar who was present remarked, that one would infer from his Lecture, that Dr. Jarvis had made the science of Botany the study of his life. He was also a *connoisseur* in the fine arts; and had enriched his spacious library with paintings—beautiful specimens of the works of the old masters.

Dr. Jarvis was a man of *method*. He lived by method. He studied by method. He thought by method. He talked by method. He wrote by method. He eat, drank, and slept by method. He prayed by method. We might almost say he felt by method. No one can have spent much time in his society, have studied his writings, or heard him in public debate, without noticing with what systematic order his mind habitually moved. Life, with him, was no hap-hazard thing, to be passed in a hap-hazard way; but was full of earnest realities; and whatever was worth doing at all, was worth doing well. Hence, he might have seemed to some an impracticable man; whereas he had only learned more thoroughly than most men to reduce the whole business of life to a well-defined system. Nor did this trait of character, prominent as it was, ever bear a stiff, angular, or ungracious aspect. Accustomed to the weary plodding of the hard student, trained to the precision and accuracy of the thorough scholar, he was yet at all times, and under all circumstances, the courteous, accomplished gentleman. The trait of character, to which we have alluded, while it was the secret of his vast intellectual attainments, at the same time, enabled him to have his resources always at command. Every thing within his reach was arranged and laid aside ready for immediate use.

We have already glanced at some prominent facts in the life of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis. There were also some marked features in his character, which deserve a passing notice in these pages.

Dr. Jarvis was a Churchman. We do not mean by this

that he put the Church in the place of Christ. It was rather the Method, the Means, of approaching Him, Whom faith immediately embraces. We do not know that he called himself a High Churchman, or a Low Churchman. We doubt if he recognized any true ground for such a distinction. He was an honest Churchman. He believed that Christ, and not man, instituted the Church; appointed within it certain positive ordinances; and enjoined certain positive duties; that He gave commission and authority to His Inspired Apostles, to plant that Church in all the world, and promised to be with it till the end of time. He did not hesitate to speak of, and to love, an Institution of which the Holy Scriptures are full, and the foundations of which Christ laid in His own Blood. We doubt if he at all comprehended that loose, undefined, and yet popular notion, that Christ established *a* Church, but no particular Church; that He appointed *a* Ministry, but no particular Ministry; that he commanded *a* Covenant, but no particular Covenant. For he saw that such a notion must necessarily tend, as it has always done, and is now doing, to blot out, not only the Ministry, and the Sacraments, but the Written Word; and to undermine the foundation of every thing like distinctive Christianity, and to have its end, where it has its true source, in naked Deism. Christ's pattern, as committed to His Inspired Apostles, was, with him, the only true pattern. Hence he did not look upon the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country as a mere sect among sects, in some things better, and in some things worse than other sects; making it evident by his conduct that his sympathies were far more with those without, than those within her pale. On the contrary, he firmly believed that that Branch of the Church, of which he was a member and a Minister, possesses all the essential marks of a true Church; and constitutes an integral part of the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church of Christ. Her Creeds, her Ministry, her Sacraments, her Doctrines, her Worship, all set clearly forth, in his view, that Institution of which Christ, and Christ alone, was the Author. Conformity to that Church, in heart and life, in feeling, sympathy and affection, at all times, and under all circumstances, was with him a bounden duty, from which he never allowed himself to swerve.

And here we may add, that it is this same firm, whole-hearted consistency of profession, which has ever marked the character of the Church in Connecticut, which is now bearing its legitimate fruits. She has known no extremes; she has sought no sympathies with Rome, or with Geneva. And yet amid a

population comparatively stationary in numbers, exposed for a half century in the very heart of a vigorous and unrelenting opposition, she stands forth to-day, one of the fairest, most fruitful, and promising portions of our American Zion. Nay, the very men who in times past signalized themselves in heaping obloquy upon the Church, taunting her for her exclusiveness, are now heard acknowledging that she opposes, like a wall of fire, heresies before which they are shrinking back in consternation and dismay ; and are thanking God that " He has raised up an Episcopal Church in old Connecticut." Verily " their rock is not as our rock, our enemies themselves being judges."

Dr. Jarvis entertained a profound conviction of the gross corruptions existing in the Romish Church ; of the grievous departures in that Church from the Faith and Discipline of Primitive times. He was never heard uttering the low badinage, in which superficial haters of popery so often indulge themselves ; but we never yet met the man whose whole soul was more thoroughly and deeply impressed with the fact of the awful defection of that whole system from the Faith and Order of the Gospel. Nor shall we ever forget the expressions of surprise and astonishment, at the apostacy from the Church of some who had once shared his confidence. There are chapters in the history of the past few years, which perhaps will never be written ; but we venture the assertion—and we do it upon our own responsibility—that if the full correspondence of Dr. Jarvis—which is in trustworthy hands—shall ever be published, it will hold up before the Church and the world, one, at least, of those apostates, in an attitude not altogether enviable ; one, now imprecating the curses of Heaven upon the Church of his Baptism, upon her members, her ministers, and her holy functions ; yea upon that sacred priesthood with which he himself was once solemnly invested. We use this language deliberately ; and there are those living who will not need an interpreter.

Dr. Jarvis had thoroughly studied the Romish Controversy. He was familiar with the writings of the Fathers, and with the decisions of the early Councils ; he had traced, step by step, the gradual progress of Rome in her work of corrupting the Faith and changing the Discipline of the Church, and in her bold usurpation of all power, temporal and spiritual ; he had marked her downward course as she went on, perverting and hiding from her people the Written Word ; forging Decrees and Canons of Councils, in order to enforce her corruptions and impositions on the conscience of her members, and that

too, on pain of damnation ; propounding new Articles of Faith ; and then tying a mill-stone about her own neck by her fatal doctrine of infallibility ; and at last, attempting to escape from what she began to feel were the barefaced inconsistencies of her position by the newly discovered infidel doctrine of development. Nor were his views of the Romish system drawn altogether from the study of her acknowledged standards, and the writings of her approved doctors. For many years he was a close observer of the practical workings of popery in its own chosen field, and where it has been left to bear its own legitimate fruits. And he has published to the world what he witnessed of its gross idolatries, its silly and disgusting puerilities, and its shocking impieties. The writings of no one Christian scholar of the age, present a more irrefragable argument against every phase and feature of popery ; and as such they ought to be commended to public attention.

Dr. Jarvis was strongly and earnestly Protestant. While he was in the habit of taking bearings, and measuring distances, from the Meridian designated in the great Chart of our Salvation, yet he received, most cordially and religiously, the definitions of the Faith, and the protestations against Romish errors, which were authoritatively set forth by the English Church at the Reformation. In this respect, the views of Dr. Jarvis deserve more than the passing notice which we are able to give them. The English Reformation, with him, had no need to be spoken of in terms of apology. He saw in it, a Providential interposition for restoring the Church, by competent authority, to her primitive order, simplicity, and purity. The Thirty-Nine Articles, he admitted in no *non-natural* sense ; but saw in them, one and all, the testimony of a Catholic Church against anti-Catholic errors and corruptions. The following is a specimen of his language ; and it ought to shame into silence those superficial verdants, who, having become wiser than their fathers, are laying waste the heritage of God, and shocking the moral sense of the Church by their mediæval superstitions. " The Articles have, by some, been called only Articles of peace ; but they are much more. Drawn up with wonderful precision, exhibiting a consummate knowledge of Catholic antiquity, and a most acute and practical skill in the subtleties of scholastic theology, we know not whether most to admire their learning, acumen, or moderation. *They neutralize and render harmless every extravagance of opinion.* (The italics are his.) In the United Church of England and Ireland, and in the Scottish Episcopal Communion, no man can be admitted to Orders who does not, with all the

solemnities of an oath, profess to receive them heartily and sincerely. In the United States the adoption of them was delayed till the year 1801 ; not on account of any repugnance to the doctrine they contained, for almost all of the then existing Bishops and Clergy had expressly subscribed them ; but on account of the extreme caution to be used in their revision, and the fear of innovation. But after they were established, and constituted a component part of the doctrine of the Church, by Article VIII of the Constitution, they became also by Article VII, a component part of those doctrines to which every candidate for Holy Orders solemnly engages to conform. In Great Britain and Ireland, the candidate for Orders is required to subscribe *two* distinct declarations ; one of conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, the other of assent to the Articles. In the United States he is required to subscribe *one* declaration, embracing the whole. Whether he subscribe one or two declarations, makes no difference before the tribunal of conscience.”—(“ No Union with Rome,” p. 12.)

Such a testimony to the Protestant character of the Church, full and explicit as it is, we have thought it due to the memory of Dr. Jarvis at the present day to repeat. Not for his own sake ; but to show how far he was from those two opposite classes of dreamers, in our own and the English Church, who, alike, sow the seeds of disloyalty, by pretending that the Church was reformed too much, or was not reformed enough.

In paying this heartfelt tribute to the memory of the deceased, due, we trust, from one who was honored with a place in his friendship, and prompted also by the recollection of affectionate kindnesses, never to be forgotten, we would not be understood as endorsing every opinion which the venerated subject of our notice may have publicly expressed. On some important points, we have been constrained to doubt, or to differ. But they are points not essential in the faith of Christ ; and on which, differences of opinion, he himself would have been the last to disallow. His own chosen motto was, “ In necessariis, unitas ; in dubiis, libertas ; in omnibus, caritas.” But we can truly say, that we have never known him to entertain an opinion, which was the creature of mere fancy, or caprice ; or one, which was not the result of careful deliberation, and the legitimate consequence of certain definite positions.

The deceased was so well known in the Church, that we shall be pardoned in not attempting a very minute personal description. A stranger’s eye would have rested on him in almost any assembly. Of commanding appearance ; courtly

and graceful in his manners; ever attentive to the courtesies of life; sensitive to what is due in society to time, and place, and circumstance; accessible to all who might with any propriety approach him, or to whom he might be of service; of strong and generous sympathies; and endowed with conversational talents of no common order; he was a man whose friends warmly loved, and truly revered him.

It remains only to speak of Dr. Jarvis in his religious character. And here we shall be brief, as the portrait which will be drawn by another hand, will leave nothing under this head to be desired; and will present an illustration of some features of Christian character, which will command attention. He was emphatically a *sincere* Christian. *Sincerity* and *honesty* were prominent traits in his religious character. There was in him nothing of mere pretense, or artifice, or show. Things divine, became in his mind awful realities. The Christian system, with all its institutions, and promises, and prospects, and influences, was not an ideality; it had to him a positive and real existence; and he yielded up his whole heart and mind to the reception of that system, with no ordinary devotion, but with entire confidence, with the deepest veneration, and the most willing obedience. Here, he derived his motives to action in the various duties to which, in the providence of God, he was called. And here, too, he found support to cheer and sustain him, in the severe afflictions with which he was visited. As a minister of Christ, and in the quiet and humble duties of the parish priest, he was ever earnest and conscientious. And when the call of the Church had laid upon him a work which demanded all his energies, still he never lost sight of his commission as Christ's Ambassador, which he felt he had no right to lay aside; and year after year, in storm and sunshine, often on foot, and at great personal inconvenience, did he, as long as his health permitted, seek out, in destitute places, Christ's scattered sheep, and gather them together in some humble fold, that he might feed them with the bread and water of life.

The bitter cup which he had been called to drink so deeply, was not lost upon him; and it will be seen at last, we doubt not, to have been one of those mysterious, yet merciful instrumentalities, by which God sometimes disciplines human hearts on earth, for a higher and more exalted sphere of honor and dignity in the future world. We see now but in part. And as Dr. Jarvis approached the close of life's journey, the mystery of his trials began to be solved. Faith became to him the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things

not seen. Rarely has the chamber of the dying Christian witnessed such reality and power in our most holy religion, to bear above the world, and to impart fresh foretastes of future joys. But that record we leave to be given, so far as it may be, by another pen. We may add, that of the religious works, besides the Bible and Prayer Book, which were chosen as the guide and solace of his heart, he selected "*SCOTT'S CHRISTIAN LIFE*:" a work which, in our judgment, for its comprehensive and manly grasp of truth; its rare and happy union of the doctrinal and the practical, the objective and the subjective in religion; its clear appreciation of the Church, and of the infinite fullness of *CHRIST*, and *CHRIST ALONE*, in the Church; its warm and chastened fervor; its massive learning, and its child-like simplicity; has no superior, and few equals in the English language. We know of no work which more correctly presents the whole system of Revelation, as held and taught by our branch of the Church. And it is a rare tribute to its worth, that the well-stored mind of Dr. Jarvis should at last have turned to this, as best meeting his wants in his closing hours.

From what has already been said, it is evident that "a great man is fallen in Israel;" one who is worthy to occupy, in the history of our own American Church, a prominent place on the list of her great and good men, who have done her faithful service in their laborious and well spent lives, and have honored her by their triumphant deaths. The names of Ravenscroft, and Hobart, and Johnson, and Bowden, and Moore, and White, and Griswold, and Milnor, and Jarvis, names representing different shades of opinion, and types of character, may yet all be associated together, as both the legitimate fruit and the ornament of our own fair American Zion. Nor will we stop to ask, which star shines brightest in a constellation resplendent with separate and distinct beauties; but would rather be incited to a more fervent charity, a more perfect obedience, and a stronger faith in that system of grace which is thus moulding, in the Church below, the noblest intellects of earth for the worship and services of the Church above.

ART. III.—THE PURITAN CHURCH.

HAVING given some account of the political institutions reared by Puritanism in the home of its adoption, we now propose to consider as briefly as we may, the true character of its great coördinate work, the Puritan Church. Religion is the aromatic which preserves science from corruption, the science of politics, as well as all other sciences ; and perhaps the real condition of any national religion may be guessed by the moral aspect of the State which shelters it. Judging the Puritan Church of Massachusetts-Bay by this standard, we are unable, in general, to assign it a high character. Either it was too weak to exert a wholesome influence in the Commonwealth, or the influence it exerted was not such as to form a true Christian state. Those of our readers who have followed us in our previous discussions of Puritanism, may have been enabled to form a tolerably correct opinion upon this subject. However this may be, whether the Church was the menial servant of the Commonwealth, or the Commonwealth was the supple tool of the Church, are questions which we do not find proposed, much less answered, by Puritan historians, but which every intelligent Churchman of New England should know for himself. He need not turn over the brilliant pages of Bancroft, or lose himself amidst the chaotic common-place of Grahame, in the absurd expectation of arriving at the truth. He will be entertained, or wearied, according as he reads the happy fiction of the one, or yawns over the stupid inventions of the other ; but more he will not be. To solve such problems as these, he must turn his back alike upon the oracles of school-committees and meeting-houses, and with an unbiased mind resolutely search out the truth.

Melius est petere fontes, quam sectare rivulos.

It is to aid such inquiries as these, that these articles are written. Our aim is not ambitious. We aspire to guide, but not to govern ; to direct without presumption, and to enlighten without offense.

The fundamental principle of Independency is, that any number of persons, not less than seven, professing Christianity, and voluntarily associating together, are a complete Church, having no superior but Christ, and equal to any ec-

clesiastical act.* This magic number of seven, is drawn by some mysterious process of divination from the Acts of the Apostles, and serves, by a miraculous efficacy, to dispel the mists of ignorance and of prejudice, and to confer, instead thereof, the graces of piety, and the powers of Apostleship. Thus seven can do as much as a million, but six are as powerless as one. In seven persons may lie the power of ordaining ministers, of expounding the Scriptures, of framing covenants, and, in short, of representing, in all its fulness and completeness, a true Christian church. And as this family, either great or small, whether composed of the wise or the foolish, whether enlightened by knowledge, or debased by fanaticism, has no superior but Christ, so it may frame its own creeds, promulgate its own articles of faith, and smile or frown according to its humor, upon the grave decrees of ecclesiastical synods.

Pure Independency was despised by the colonists of Massachusetts-Bay, as being a system of disorganization. Had they adopted, without any qualifications, the principles of Brownism, they would have stultified themselves whenever they resorted to persecution as a cure for religious differences. Pure Independency could have found no fault with the ravings of the Familists, or the blasphemies of the Quakers. Even Roman Catholics might have erected their altars in Boston, and bowed down before the Host, without the slightest fear of molestation, had our fathers maintained the perfect independence of every religious family. But this was far from being the case. They adopted the doctrines of the Independents, and established them *by law* in the Puritan Commonwealth. Thus the law became to the Puritan Church what the Episcopate is to the Church Catholic, and uniformity was enforced by the strong arm of the civil power. Episcopacy, "that grand choke-weed of Christianity," it was said, was not of the Lord's planting, and, therefore, should be rooted up; and though the mitre was not tortured into the liberty-cap, as among the Independents, yet the pastoral crook was converted into the fasces of the magistrate and sometimes into the bayonet of the soldier. In fact, though the stern religionists of Massachusetts hated a prelatical, they, at the same time, despised a popular church government; and they encumbered the sacred magistracy of their Commonwealth with a variety of officers, whose powers and duties were often conflicting and ill defined. Thus, "they had Pastors for teaching, Elders for

* Walker's History of Independency, Part III, p. 23.

ruling, and Deacons for distributing." The ruling-Elder might not publicly teach, but he could privately admonish. The Deacon might not give out the hymn, but he could hold a basin for the alms. Even the higher office of the ministry was divided between a Pastor and a Teacher; but where the duties of the one ended and of the other began, was never satisfactorily understood.

Moreover, it is to be considered that the Elders, deriving their offices from their respective congregations, occupied a position which exposed them to the popular caprice. They descended from the dignified station of ambassadors of God, and became instead, the hired servants of the people. Their admission to the high offices they claimed, was by the same door as that of constables and selectmen. Thus, in one sense, every church member assumed the powers of a Bishop,* and while he patiently listened to discourses prolonged to an interminable degree, judged for himself whether they came fully up to the proper orthodox standard. The ground was, that "the Lord has so dispensed his gifts, that when the one want, the other shall abound both in temporal and spiritual."† The reverence paid to the Elders was not to the office, but to the man. He could not approach his flock with words of command, unless his talents had first led captive the strong wills of his sturdy hearers. Resulting from all this, was the curious relation between pastor and flock, which has grown up in, and is almost the exclusive property of, New England, and which, in these latter days, has swelled our books of law reports. As one congregation had no power over another, nay, acknowledged the power of no synods except those of the General Court and of public opinion, so the minister whom each congregation ordained, had no rights, duties, or office, beyond his own people.‡ He was an Elder in his own pulpit, but out of it was as functionless as any private citizen. It is true that this system was afterwards so far modified as to allow occasional ministerial acts to be performed by the Elders for neighboring destitute parishes; but the reluctant change was owing partly to the extreme inconvenience of the first established principle, and partly because Owen, and Goodwin, and other influential preachers and writers of the Independent School in England, avowed that their belief and practice were otherwise.§ In all its essentials, however, the relation between pastor and people was a legal contract, and not a divine ordi-

* See 1 Hutchinson, p. 398, n.

‡ New England Platform.

† Johnson.

§ Neal.

nance ; and as there were only two parties to this contract, the Elder and the Parish, so it could not enure to the benefit of other Parishes, who were in no wise concerned therein.

Retaining, therefore, their positions by force of talents, and by this alone, the Elders of the Puritan Church were necessarily the ablest men in the Commonwealth. In this respect they differed from the Magistrates, who were indebted for their influence partly to their property and family rank. But the Elders were dependent upon their own abilities, and we consequently find that they were haughty and overbearing, and possessed of as much influence in the Commonwealth as they had in the Church. The pride begot by this continual self-dependence, was exhibited sometimes in a remarkable manner. For instance, to preach a sermon not composed by the preacher himself, was considered disreputable, if not criminal.* Even the Bible was read in public worship, not so much to instruct the congregation as to while away the time until every one had arrived, so that the sermon might not be interrupted.† The pulpit, that tremendous engine of modern rationalism and individualism, stood out in the Puritan sanctuary like some prodigious idol of fantastic shape, surmounted by its wooden canopy, and elevated far up above the highest altar the Catholic Church had ever reared. Its wide-open, insatiable jaws, swallowed up altar, priest, and sacrifice ; and those who came up to its Temples two centuries ago, paid it an homage which may have been equalled in these latter days, but which has never been excelled. We may readily conceive that the "itching ears" which had been pampered by the proudest intellects of Puritanism, were proportionably arrogant in their demands, and that no ordinary capacity, clothed however it might have been in the shining armor of Christian virtues, could have sufficed to marshal the ranks of the Puritan Church. The office of the Elder was local and not intrinsic ; it was the creation of man, and not the gift of God.‡

Yet the Elders were sufferers in an important particular, by reason of their novel relation to their parishes. They were scholars and gentlemen ; and at home, whether as Fellows of some College or as Priests discharging parochial duties, had

* 1 Hutchinson, p. 377, n. † *Ib.*

‡ A curious fact is mentioned by D'Israeli, in his *Curiosities of Literature*, concerning the Independents in England. One Field, who printed the Pearl Bibles, received £1500 to corrupt a text in Acts vi, 3, to sanction the right of the people to elect their own ministers. The verse reads, "wherefore, brethren, look ye out, &c. whom *we* may appoint over you." In the Pearl Bibles, *ye* was substituted for *we*.

received an honorable support beyond the snarls of the disaffected, or the greed of the avaricious. In their new position, however, as the hired servants of exacting masters, they were subjected to all the inconveniences of such a relation. Their annual stipends depended upon the generosity or the illiberality of their employers. Cotton Mather, in his day, made bitter complaints against the effects of the contract system between the clergy and the laity, saying that the former, *worse off even than mechanics, were sometimes obliged to plow for a subsistence*. Even the support contracted to be given, was not infrequently poorly paid, and in 1654 it was found necessary, by the General Court, to pass a law compelling the due payment of the salaries of the ministers. Indeed, so great did the evil become, that the Elders revived the primitive custom of the offertory, choosing rather to rely upon the weekly contribution of their hearers, made under the influence of religious emotions, than the performance of their legal contracts. But the offertory in their hands was not an act of solemn worship; it was an appeal to the purse only, and as such it seems to have gathered in but faint and shadowy supplies. In Boston, alone, was the evil at all remedied by this most venerable rite of the ancient Church,* for here resided, for the most part, those gentlemen of the colony whose education and means, both inspired them with the inclination, and gave them the ability, to keep up the dignity of the pastoral office. As a general rule, however, the offertory proved insufficient to cure the disease,† and the ludicrous disgust of Cotton Mather has perpetuated both the arrogance of the Elders and the stubbornness of their people.

The foreign relations of the Puritan Church of Massachusetts were somewhat peculiar. Independency in all its forms was extremely odious to the Presbyterians. The disciples of Calvin and Beza protested against it as preposterous, and established in England, on the fall of the monarchy, the domination of the Presbytery. Their parishes had a similar organization to those of the Independents, but here all analogy ceased. The parochial eldership was subject to a classis, and the classis was subject to a provincial synod; and the provincial synod to a national synod, and the national synod to Parliament, except in Scotland, where the national synod would allow no superior in what they thought fit to call spirituals. This graduated scale of Church government was better suited to the tone of an aristocratic faction, than the sim-

* See 1 Hutchinson, p. 376.

† Mather. Neal.

pler and more austere system of the Independents; and the Presbyterians, forgetting that the founders of their religion had no other ordination than what was given to the ministers of the Independents, and that the clergy of every dissenting body must adopt, in some form, the notion of Luther, that every baptized person is a priest, continued to treat the Independents as schismatics, not only during the rebellion, but until a year after the revolution, when, "after many mighty and fervent prayers unto God," articles of agreement between them were drawn up and signed, (1692.) The sympathies of the Puritan Church of Massachusetts were chiefly with the Independents, who returned the derision of the Presbyterians with interest, accusing especially the Scottish Kirk of "robbing the particular congregations of Christ of their just and lawful privileges."* But the differences between the Puritan Pilgrims and the Presbyterians were chiefly on the subjects of government and discipline; and though the Elders of Massachusetts declined to take any part in the doings of the Westminister Assembly, and crushed the attempt made by certain ministers who came over in 1643 under the authority of that body to set up in Massachusetts a Presbyterian Church government,† yet they adopted without hesitation or scruple their celebrated Confession of Faith. The union in England between the Presbyterians and Independents, existed but three years on account of disputes between the parties on "high points of divinity." But the New England ministers received the articles of agreement with approbation, and continued to act upon them. A half-century of exile cooled the zeal which had converted a mission scheme of the Church of England into a bigoted and partisan religionism.

To correct the evils of the contract-system in the Puritan Church, various plans were devised, chief among which was the famous *Covenant*. In this ordinance, the Elders promised in the presence of Christ to rule faithfully and courageously, and the people covenanted to obey them and to submit to them according to the word of God. This Covenant, by means of which the Elder was able to overcome the timid, and to reassure the doubting,‡ received a higher consideration in the Puritan Church than the sacrament of Baptism. It

* Johnson. † † Hutchinson, p. 112.

‡ In the preface to Grey's *Hudibras*, a story is told illustrating the use to which the Independent ministers put this covenant. One *Daniel Williams*, who died in England worth £50,000, writing to a rich widow who had left his society, said, "Did you not, before God and his angels, renew your baptismal covenant, and accept me as your pastor? Does not Christ command you to obey me as having the rule over you?"

was the only door which gave admission into the Church, and through that into the commonwealth. To neglect entering into the Covenant, says the New England Platform, might produce the result, that Christ would have no visible, political Church. By it the Covenantor surrendered his spiritual liberty to his pastor, and excommunication followed its non-observance. He left his conscience behind him on his passage through the ecclesiastical, to reach the civil, franchise. The Covenant was the foundation on which rested his freedom as a man, and his rights as a citizen. Since, however, externally, all power in the commonwealth was lodged in the hands of the civil Magistrates, to them the Elders confided the custody of the Covenant. The Court of Assistants, sitting as an Ecclesiastical Court, could whip, fine, imprison, and banish all those who presumed to doubt its reality, or to deny its truth. A Mr. Lenthall, who settled in the town of Weymouth in 1637, at first taught the Catholic doctrine that Baptism is the true entrance into the visible Church, and opposed "the custom of mutual re-stipulation." For this high offense he was summoned as "the chief of a Faction," to appear before the General Court, and doubtless would have met with severe punishment had he not recanted.* In ways such as this, the Elders enforced an equivocal unity in their Church, and indirectly exercised all the powers of an Inquisition; for the Magistrates seldom had any separate will or understanding from them. The Magistrates punished heresy, but to the Elders they looked for the meaning of heresy; they deposed illiterate and heterodox preachers, but not without the approving nod of a Cotton or a Hooker; they enforced the observance of the two tables, but were encouraged by the anathemas of the pulpit. In principle, the exercise of these powers was perfectly analogous to the authority exerted by the High Commission Court of England; the only differences were, that in the one case the Church acted directly, and in the other indirectly: that the one was illegal, and inconsistent with the avowed principles of its supporters, the other was both legal and consistent; in the one Court was worn the plain garments of the Puritan Magistrates, in the other the lawn and the mitre.

This curious scheme of the Elders to preserve uniformity, at the same time that they allowed independence in the Puritan Church, received the name of Congregationalism.† "*No injunction*," declared the law, "*shall be put upon any Church*

* Hubbard.

† Hutchinson.

in point of doctrine, discipline, or worship." Far otherwise was the practice. The Court "*entreated of the brethren and Elders to consult and advise of one uniform order of discipline in the Churches, and then to consider how far the Magistrates were bound to interpose for the preservation of that uniformity and peace in the Churches.*"* Accordingly the annals of that day are replete with the various interpositions of the Magistrates in this behalf, which we may be sure were never made without good advice. The Church in Salem was a separate organization from the Church in Boston, yet the former was severely reprimanded by the civil authority, because it settled a teacher whom the great body of the Elders considered to be heterodox.† Likewise, Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, was forced to resign his office, because he presumed to doubt the validity of infant baptism.‡ Cases of this kind were not infrequent in the Puritan Church, nor were they confined to matters strictly of a doctrinal nature. A jealous watch was maintained over all teachings from the pulpit, and we read that the beloved Eliot was "dealt with" by several of his brethren, because he "laid some blame upon the ministry" in one of his sermons, for the part they took in an Indian treaty.§

Behold then this Church, "like a silly poor maid, sitting in the wilderness, compassed about with hungry lions, wolves, boars, and bears, and all manner of cruel and hurtful beasts, and in the midst of many furious men assaulting her every moment."|| Propped up by the Covenant on the one side, and by the civil authority on the other, the questions to be determined were, whether the unity of the Churches was consistent with their independence, and their independence with a sound state of religion and faith. Not ten years passed away before this unity was violently broken, and the faith borne by the Puritan Church from the old world to the new, was tampered with and defaced. The established Creeds of the Church Catholic having been discarded, and Her well settled precedents cast aside, there were at first no standards of belief, but the private opinions of the Elders, of which there was every shade. And when at last a Confession of Faith was adopted in general assembly, it did not enure to uniformity of belief. "In almost every new lustre of years, the Church sustained a new assault of extraordinary temptation."¶

* Hazard. Col. Laws.

† Hubbard. Mather. Neal.

‡ Mather quoting Luther.

† Savage. Winthrop.

§ Savage. Winthrop.

¶ Mather.

Experience demonstrated that "every man would favor his own way of Profession."* It was found that "*after men of the most unspotted piety had spent whole prenticeship of years in the faithful, watchful, painful service of the Churches, and had served them day and night with prayers, with tears, with fastings, with their most studied sermons and writings, yet if any wolf in sheep's clothing came with a few good words among them, the simple souls of many would not only follow the wolf, but on his account bark at the shepherd.*"† The State was always ready to give its assistance in such emergencies, but was often at a loss. The question at such times was not what to do, but what to believe. Several laws against heresy stand out in blood-red letters on the statute book of the Commonwealth, while not less than five synods were held, from the arrival of the Charter down to the time of its abrogation, in which to settle disputed points of doctrine and discipline. To follow the progress of the Puritan Church from its assumption of extraordinary purity, to its acknowledgment of extraordinary weakness and inefficiency, is both curious and instructive. Ere it had left the embrace of its "dear mother," it declared that it was going forth into the wilderness to enlarge Her authority and to promote Her glory, (1630).‡ Hardly established in its new home, the Puritan Church avowed that its principles agreed with the faith of the Church of England, and that it separated only from Her ceremonies and discipline, (1630-1633.)§ Soon the Antinomian controversies called for a synod of all the Churches to pronounce authoritatively upon the conflicting opinions which distracted Church and State, and threatened the dissolution of both, (1637).|| Yet a few years, and the famous synod of Cambridge, "taking into consideration the many heresies that were daily broached,"¶ solemnly adopted the Confession of Faith promulgated by the Westminster Assembly, and crushing the serpent that had crept into the Churches of Christ,** declared it to be "holy, orthodox, and judicious," (1648.)†† Fourteen years passed away, and the Puritan Church was shaken to its centre by a doctrinal strife concerning Baptism and Communion. Another synod was assembled at Boston, by order of the General Court, and the answers it returned to the questions, 'who are the subjects of Baptism?' and 'what

* Johnson.

† Mather.

‡ Such was the voice spoken from the cabin of the Arabella.

§ Hubbard. Mather. Neal.

|| Ibid.

¶ Gorges' Description of New England. ** Winthrop's Journal.

†† Hubbard, &c.

is the relation of the several churches to each other?" "were clogged by the dissent of several reverend and judicious persons," among whom were Chauncey, President of Harvard College, and Davenport, (1662.)* Again, the general laxity of morals, and "visible decay of the power of godliness," were the cause of the famous reforming synod, which besides declaring that "a thorough and hearty reformation was necessary in order to obtain peace with God," recommended a revision of the New England Platform, and the renewing of the Covenant by the churches, (1679.)† Finally, the same synod, at a second session, promulgated a new Confession of Faith varying to some extent from that of Westminster, and corresponding to the one set forth by the Elders and Messengers of the Congregational Churches assembled at the Savoy, more than twenty years before, (1680.)‡ This last effort of the Puritan Church was soon followed by a general lament over the apostacy and unbelief of the times.

These frequent meetings of the Elders, or synods, although by a fundamental principle of the Puritan Church they could publish no authoritative decrees, show from that very fact a failure of the ostentatious experiment that Puritanism was trying in the new world,—not that the articles of belief so much changed, as that there was perpetual necessity for resuscitating and increasing them. The Puritan Church was always ready to crumble into a dozen sects, and it therefore became necessary that the various factions should confer together and arrive at some common results, in order that they might be enforced and established by the civil authority. Most of these synods were called by order of the Magistrates, who thereby professed themselves to be in distressing doubt concerning the vital truths of religion. Few of the opinions of these synods were unanimous, and none were universally regarded, for the people followed the Elders in diversity of belief. "We do not clearly perceive what your Covenants are," said Maverick and Child, in their manly petition to the General Court for religious freedom. "Every Church has its Covenant differing from the others; some add and some detract; one Church calls it a Covenant of grace, a second, a branch of it a third, a profession of the free Covenant—whence abound an ocean of inconveniencies, little profit by the ministry, and increase of anabaptism, heresies, and schisms."§ These bold rebukes were the more ill-naturedly received, as they were

* Mather.

† Ibid.

‡ Hubbard, &c.

§ New England's Jonas.

well founded in point of fact. It was not prejudice which thus ascribed uncertainty to the Covenant, and an heretical tendency to the Puritan religion. The flood-gates of private opinion were open, and a plausible speaker of heresies was often supported by a strong party, in defiance of every effort to preserve orthodoxy. Indeed it was no uncommon thing for learned brethren on their admission to the religious franchise, "to entertain the Churches with notable confessions of their own composing." And such was the arrogance generated by the chaotic dogmas of Puritanism, that "young men of low degree" would not scruple in religious discussions, to assault the positions assumed by the Elders and Magistrates.* Thus, unlimited private judgment in the reading of Holy Scripture, and in the formation of notions, (not principles,) prevented uniformity in the Puritan Church, notwithstanding the rebukes of synods, and the terrors of the law.

The greatest trial sustained by the Puritan Church was during "the storm of Antinomian heresies," which prevailed in "its second lustre" of years. The mist which involved John Cotton and Henry Vane, the leading Magistrates in Church and State, rapidly spread through the Commonwealth, and threatened it with a moral pestilence. Cotton held by far the most influential position in the Puritan Church; and Vane, "a young, inexperienced gentleman," by "the industry of some who thought to make a tool of him," had been elected Governor, had entirely supplanted Winthrop in the affections of the people, and was now their idol.† Under the countenance of these dignitaries, and assisted by the active agency of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, monstrous heresies crept into the community, compared with which the superstitions of Rome are mild and harmless. The strife thus produced, was between the majority of the Elders on the one hand, and a large number of "Church members" on the other; and for a long time it was uncertain which party would gain the ascendant. The Magistrates were at first unable to act because the Governor was against them; and they were the more embarrassed when relieved of this difficulty, inasmuch as the position of Cotton was one of distressing ambiguity. Like all other schisms of a religious character, this was owing to private judgment. Cotton and Vane did not understand religious truth as did Wilson and Winthrop. Where resided the legitimate authority to expound, and at the same time enforce, what the truth was? Why had not Cotton as good right to form and to proclaim his opinions, as all the other Elders?

* Mather.

† Neal. Hubbard.

It was an early custom in Boston among the people to meet together once a week and discuss the sermons they had heard on the Lord's day. Although by this practice they were often "entangled in doctrines too high for them," their example was soon followed by the women; and Anne Hutchinson, a great admirer of Cotton, soon gathered weekly audiences at her house, where, acting upon the rule of the Apostle that "the elder women are to teach the younger," she expounded the disquisitions of her pastor, (1636.) So long as these meetings were confined to exposition, little notice was taken of them. "All the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses."* But they soon began to occupy the broader field of censure and criticism. Towards the close of the year, Mrs. Hutchinson, whose disciples had increased to one hundred persons, began to edify on her own account; and accusing the Elders, with the exception of Cotton, of preaching a covenant of works, instead of a covenant of grace, announced to her admirers that no degree of sanctification was any evidence of justification, and that all genuine justification in a true believer consisted in a personal union with the Holy Ghost.† This assertion clothed the opinions of her party with peculiar force and dignity, since it ascribed to their vagaries, however absurd and inconsistent, a divine origin and purpose, paramount to the written word. In the strength of this assumption it was declared that "the spirit was not to be tried by the Scripture, but the Scripture by the spirit."

The "good women insinuated these fancies into their husbands, screening them under the venerable name of Mr. Cotton;" and they were soon noised throughout the Puritan Church. The Elders, while "sounding their silver trumpets, heard the rattling sound of drums."‡ They "crept not only into families, but into the Legislature itself," and the Elders, alarmed at the rapid progress they were making, assembled in Boston to consult with the Magistrates. Their anxiety increased when they learned to whom the community was indebted for the new theological dogmas. They discussed the questions with Cotton, and his answers were full of "subtilty:" they addressed themselves to Vane, and he not only defended Mrs. Hutchinson, but avowed it as his belief that a personal union existed between the Holy Ghost and a believer, similar to that between the divine and human natures of Christ. Nor was Vane alone even amongst the Magistrates. Coddington,

* Cotton. See 1 Hutchinson, p. 57. † Emerson's History of the First Church.
‡ Johnson.

the wealthiest of his compeers, and Dummer, and Hoffe, were not ashamed to own Mrs. Hutchinson as their teacher. Anxious to compose the troubled state of their Church, the Elders racked their brains to meet subtilty with subtilty. They demonstrated that no such union in a believer was possible, since it would make him god-man ; and finding that this logic was ineffectual, they deliberately cast a shadow over the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, by sacrificing the personality of the Third Member in the blessed God-head. For it was agreed that the word Person is a term of "human invention," and that the Personality of the Holy Spirit could not be found in the Primitive Churches, for three hundred years after Christ.* But this pliability of the Elders did not arrest the growing divisions. Other "crafty" questions grew out of the controversy, and it began to be maintained that no man could entertain a reasonable hope of salvation, unless he had a divine revelation, assuring him of acceptance. "It was incredible what a very calenture the devil raised on this odd occasion." The weakness of sectarianism was never more strikingly exhibited. All but three or four of the congregation of Boston drew off from the orthodox party, and ranged themselves in the ranks of the heretics. "People who had followed their ministers three thousand miles, through ten thousand deaths, now took up such prejudices, not only against their doctrines, but against their persons, that they did never care to hear them, or to see them any more." Nor were these Antinomian troubles confined to Massachusetts. To such a degree was the Colony of Plymouth affected, says Neal, that, "*they starved away all their old ministers, and set up mechanics in their room.*" A curious spectacle, truly, to see the Puritan Pilgrims, scarcely seven years after their farewell letter to the chief shepherds of the Church of England, divided among themselves in relation to the very object for which they had sacrificed so much !

Here then was a crisis, when "the cracks and flaws of the new building portended a fall."† Although "*the ancient and received truth was darkened, God's name blasphemed, the Church's glory diminished, many godly grieved, and many wretches hardened,*" the sectaries declared that the doctrines they maintained were regularly deducible from the sermons of Cotton.‡ Nor was Cotton able to clear his reputation. The supposed points of difference between him and the Elders of the

* It was said that the Greek word used in the New Testament was *Hypostasis*, or subsistence, and not *προσωπον*. Winthrop's Journal. Mather. Neal.

† Shepherd's Lamentation.

‡ Shepherd's Memoirs. Neal.

orthodox party, were reduced to sixteen heads, and his opinion upon them was requested—and though “some doubts be cleared,” in others “he gave not satisfaction.”* The warmth of the contending parties increased, as the points of difference multiplied. “You are legal preachers,” said the advocates of reform, sneeringly, to the Elders; whereas we are for free grace, and the teachings of the Spirit.” We “have not heard, was the taunt, “a pure gospel sermon from any of you.”† N. condition was too mean, no ignorance too glaring, to disqualify “Church members” from taking an active part in the contest—“all men’s mouths were full” of polemical divinity from the butcher at his shambles to the magistrate in council. The whole Church resolved itself into two parties, the maxim of the one being the covenant of works, and the other the covenant of grace.‡ Even the army designed for the destruction of the Pequods, partook of the prevailing frenzy, and refused to slaughter the Indians, because they were under covenant of works.§

The beginning of the year 1637 was ushered in by a general fast, in which, notwithstanding the slough that was apparently swallowing them up, the Elders, with amusing arrogance, did not forget the “popish ceremonies and doctrines” with which “the Bishops were making sad havoc in their native country.”|| I fell to the lot of Wheelwright to preach upon this occasion, who to the amazement and wrath of his brother Elders, harangue against all persons who “walked in a covenant of works.” He vehemently denounced them as Anti-Christ. He compared them to Jews, Herods, and Philistines, and exhorted his hearers to regard them as their greatest enemies.¶ But while each party appealed to Heaven to enlighten the darkness of the other, neither neglected any human means to secure ultimate victory. Vane, who, doubtless, embarked in the contention more to secure the leadership of a party, than for any real interest he felt in the struggle, had on the preceding December resigned his office, on pretext of important letters of recall from England. Whether this movement on the Puritan chess-board was owing to a certain political sagacity which enabled him to foresee the final issue of the game, and so to save himself the mortification of defeat; or whether it was an artful step to increase the general estimation of his worth, by pretending that he was

* Winthrop’s Journal. † Johnson.

‡ Winthrop’s Journal. Hubbard. Neal.

§ Mather. Neal. Chalmers. ¶ Winthrop’s Journal.

|| Weld’s Rise, &c. of Antinomianism.

wanted for more important duties at home, it is not easy to determine. The latter was the effect produced. With that dissimulation which characterized him, Vane seized the opportunity, when one of his colleagues, friendly to his cause, "*lamented the loss of such a governor in the time of such danger both from French and Indians,*" to enact a little scene in the General Court, which, however sincere it may have seemed to the public, must have caused great annoyance to the leaders in the opposition, who saw its transparency. Bursting into tears, he declared that though his "outward estate" should be ruined by his remaining, he would have "hazarded it all rather than have gone from them at such a time," were it not that *he feared the inevitable danger of God's judgments upon the Commonwealth, for the differences and dissensions he saw among them, and the scandalous imputations brought upon himself.* The General Court was inclined to accept his resignation; but "the Church" in Boston would not consent to lose him, and in a meeting held for that purpose "agreed that it was not necessary for the measures alleged that he should depart." Vane pretended to be overpowered, and expressed himself to be an "obedient son of the Church;" and the General Court thought it advisable to allow him to recall his resignation. Such manoeuvres would be most ludicrous, were not their hypocrisy too profane.*

Meantime it began to be evident that power would finally lodge with those who had the control of the government, and to triumph at the approaching elections, both parties began to bend their energies. In February, a ship being about to sail for England, Cotton seized the opportunity to gather from the voyage some future advantage. "Tell our friends," said he to the passengers at a public meeting, "that all our strife is about magnifying *the grace of God. Some seek to advance the grace of God towards us, and some the grace of God within us. The lovers therefore of the doctrines of grace will be here sure of a cordial reception.*" This artful solicitation for aid was not allowed by the "covenant of works" party, to pass unnoticed. Wilson, their champion, spoke after Cotton, and so obscured the subject in the intricacies of sanctification and justification, that "no man could tell where any difference was except some few who knew the bottom of the matter."† This speech gave great offence to Cotton, and widened the breach between the two parties. At the General Court in

* See the whole account of this, in 1 Hutchinson, pp. 55, 56.

† Winthrop's Journal.

March it was ascertained that "the greater number of the country members were sound;" and the opportunity was seized by the "sober party" to show their resentment towards the disturbers of their peace. They heavily fined "one of the inferior sort" for proclaiming that the Elders preached a covenant of works; and though they durst not meddle with Cotton, they cited Wheelwright, who was of lesser note, to appear before the Court to answer for his sermon delivered at "the last fast," and "after much debate," adjudged him guilty of sedition. It was in vain that the governor protested against this decree; it was in vain that "the Church" in Boston called upon the Legislature to beware what they were doing, and to remember that the Apostle, St. Paul, was called a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition. The only indulgence yielded to this clamor, was the postponement of Wheelwright's sentence.*

But the Court of Election was soon to take place; and such were the bitter feelings engendered among the "Church members" in Boston, that "for fear of a riot," the conservatives moved an order that it should be held at Cambridge. This measure only served to exasperate "the faction" yet more; and Vane, beside himself with vexation, refused to put the motion, which duty was performed by the Deputy-Governor, Endecott. The motion was carried, however, and nothing was left the other party but to canvass and electioneer during the short recess of the Court. They made the best use of their opportunity, proclaiming loudly the unfair course pursued by their opponents, and insinuating with great address their wishes for "*gospel magistrates*."† Nor were they wholly unsuccessful. The Court of Election held in May, was a scene of disorder and tumult. "Fierce speeches" were made, and some of the religious partisans even proceeded to blows. The Governor attempted to introduce a petition from the Freemen of Boston in behalf of Wheelwright, which the Court declined to hear until the elections were over. The Court endeavored to act upon the elections, which the Governor refused to countenance, unless the petition was first heard.‡ While in this state of confusion, Wilson, Elder of the "First Church" in Boston, harangued the Freemen, beseeching them to remember that they had assembled to use an honorable franchise, and not to riot like a mob.§ This reasonable sarcasm, though shouted from the top of a tree, was received by his party with ap-

* Winthrop. Neal. Mather.

† Neal.

‡ Savage. Winthrop. Johnson.

§ Hutchinson.

plause ; and drowning the angry remonstrances of " the faction " in loud cries for election, they proceeded with the Deputy-Governor at their head to choose the officers of government. The result was decisive in their favor, and Vane, Coddington, and Hoffs, " the heretical magistrates," were left out of office. The Freemen of Boston revenged themselves by returning them as their representatives to the General Court.

Though provoked by repeated marks of indignity, the new government at first made use of no vigorous measures to suppress the prevailing anarchy. Their power was sufficient ;—the question was how to use it. Cotton stood in the way, an insurmountable obstacle. Like Boston in England, Boston in Massachusetts loved and revered its able teacher. Something, however, was to be done. Another day of fasting and humiliation was appointed ; and to counteract the effect of Cotton's invitation to " the lovers of grace," *laws were passed inflicting penalties upon all citizens who entertained strangers from England, or allowed them the use of houses and lands without license !** The slaughter of the Pequots, which seems to have been regarded as a favorable sign from Heaven, by " the orthodox party,"† inspired the government with fresh ardor. Vane sailed for England soon after his defeat, accompanied by a prophecy from an " eminent minister " that he would sooner or later be hanged ; an event worthy to be noted, says the historian, and which had its accomplishment not long after, on Tower Hill, in London.‡ His absence was sensibly felt by " the faction," which however lost none of its acrimony. Cotton was obscure ; Wheelwright was incorrigible ; and Mrs. Hutchinson, from an expounder of sermons, had become a prophetess. Her disciples now denied, among other truths, the obligation of the moral law, the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the dead, and a divine revelation had assured her of the utter destruction of the Puritan Commonwealth.

At this crisis it was resolved to resort to rigorous measures. The Puritan Church was in a state of chaos, and the truth had no legitimate channel by which to reach the ear of the State. All had quarreled with her gentle precepts, and Elders and Magistrates were alike uncertain in position, and consequently, powerless in action. As a first step towards order, a synod of all the Elders was assembled to determine what the

* Hutchinson. Emerson's First Church. Under this intolerant law, emigrants were actually prevented from acquiring the rights of citizenship. See 1 Savage, Winthrop, p. 232.

† Shepherd's Memoirs.

‡ Hubbard.

orthodox Faith really is, and to distinguish it from the prevailing errors that had crept into the community. In the Primitive Church, when Faith was bright and strong, Christianity shrunk from the presence of a doubt. A single heresy, whenever it exhibited itself, was sufficient to summon from the four corners of Christendom a cloud of witnesses, who, mighty in truth, would cast it forth as an unclean thing! Behold these zealous Puritans, hardly yet weaned from the Mother that bore them, and with the experience of scarcely "a lustre of years," sitting in judgment on "eighty-two blasphemous, heretical, and erroneous" principles, which, under their own system of culture, had sprung up on the virgin soil of Massachusetts! Three weeks of heated discussion were consumed by this synod. The angriness of disputation was relieved only by the obscurity of expression. The controversialists lost themselves in the most cloudy regions of abstruse theology, and dealt in terms as vague as they were incomprehensible. The delegation from the Boston Church contested the ground inch by inch. They denied the existence of so many errors, and called for witnesses and parties, which were refused, because the assembly "had nothing to do with persons, but with doctrines only." The former were reserved for the civil authorities. The prevailing errors were finally condemned; but the Boston delegates *protested against the proceeding, as "a reproach upon the country," and, for the most part, departed from the assembly.**

The hardest task yet remained, which was to effect a compromise with Cotton. He had declined to join in the decree against the Antinomian opinions, although he pronounced many of them "absurd, heretical, and blasphemous." But with Wheelwright, he maintained that "union to Christ preceded faith in Him." This opinion was diligently combatted by the assembly, and much time was spent in written arguments to show its fallacy on the one side, and to prove its truth on the other. But the pen was in the end superseded by the tongue, and elaborate logic, by "open dispute." During one dark day "questions, answers, replies, returns, and rejoinders," with all the subtlety of special pleading, flew thick and fast between the contending parties. They separated at night, with mutual anxiety. If Cotton continues obdurate, was perhaps the reflection of his opponents, our Church will lapse into heresy; for "he has such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he usually carries his very

* Hubbard. Mather. Neal. Winthrop's Journal. Johnson. Hutchinson.

adversary captive, after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric."* On the other hand, this able man might well have feared that he was endangering his influence, by fruitless opposition to overwhelming numbers. He had no wish to carry his cause to the extent of a theological Marathon. Such considerations as these, induced both parties to peace. Cotton made overtures in mysterious terms, which were "greedily and joyfully" accepted by the synod; and in language "unintelligible and ambiguous," was welcomed back to the bosom of the Puritan Church.

The flight of Vane and the surrender of Cotton restored the Puritan Church to a safe position. The bold outlines of truth began again to appear through the breaking mists. The Elders having now denounced the weekly assemblies of Mrs. Hutchinson, they were forbidden by the Magistrates; and time was allowed, in order that the action of the *synod might purify the moral atmosphere of the community*. But when it was found that the faction "persisted in their opinions," and that neither Hutchinson nor Wheelwright would submit to the judgments of the synod, it was considered that the longer existence of their party was hazardous to the general safety. Wheelwright, already under judgment for sedition, was disfranchised and banished; and in December, Mrs. Hutchinson underwent the same sentence, with several of the inhabitants of Boston, who had signed a seditious libel in Wheelwright's favor. Nor was this all. An appeal had been threatened to the King, by the principal sufferers; and from fear that some violent movement might be made in their behalf, should it be presented, for such a thing was "accounted perjury" after the Freeman's Oath, about sixty of the chief citizens of Boston were disarmed, together with many inhabitants of the adjoining towns.† Outlawed, but not disheartened, the leaders in this famous schism, with a long train of admirers, fled to the hospitable shelter of Roger Williams, whose soul was too large for persecution. There, under his protection, they colonized an Island in the Narragansett-Bay, and aided in founding the gallant little republic, which glories in having led the van of religious liberty in New England. But she, the "wretched Jezabel," who was regarded as the author of the Antinomian delusions; whom Cotton blessed in prosperity, and anathematized in adversity; whom Vane first revered, and then forsook; whom "the Church" in Boston once honored, and

* Hubbard.

† By an early colony law, it was required of all the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, that they should be provided with arms.

afterwards excommunicated ; she whose stern and masculine mind carried Wheelwright an unwilling captive in her delusions,* and triumphed over the tender affections of a wife and mother ; left behind her a name, which was long regarded in Massachusetts with fear and trembling. For the vengeance of Heaven seemed to pursue her after she left the Puritan Commonwealth. Wonderful stories were whispered among the housewives, of the "monstrous births" of which she was delivered in the place of her exile ; and her tragical end, furnished many a godly father with a useful moral, on which to expatiate by his fireside during the howling of a New England winter.

It had been a pleasing incident to relate, if Cotton, who saved himself by insincerity, had soothed the exile of his old parishioners, by extending to them his sympathy. He had been partially instrumental in leading them astray ; and in carrying out his doctrines to their legitimate results, "blasphemy and error," they but exercised the same right which he claimed when he forsook England, and renounced the Church which had nourished him in infancy, and entrusted him in manhood with the care of an important benefice. Alas for the weakness of human nature ! A year had scarcely elapsed from the banishment of the Antinomians, and the Puritan Church felt that it had received a serious blow. The "decay of religion," and the lassitude of "professors," were the reaction of strife, and the consequence of victory. In December, 1638, a general fast was appointed ; and as if to do penance for his former errors, Cotton ascended the sacred tribune, and publicly bewailed his sloth and credulity. He took not upon himself the burden of his errors, but declared that like the rest of the community he had been deluded, and that "the faction" had been guilty of deceit in making him their stalking-horse. To banish such seducers, said he, was just, but beware how you send forth with them those who have been misled, or who have sinned from a misguided conscience. Such persons should be referred to the Church for treatment ; and if their cases prove to be past remedy, *let them be imprisoned ; for if you cast them out, who will receive them ?*†

Antinomianism was quelled, but Church and State had nearly been rent in pieces. "The faction" revenged themselves by reproaching Cotton for his desertion, many of them main-

* A year after Mrs. Hutchinson's death, Wheelwright voluntarily recanted ; and in a letter to the Governor, apologized for having "adhered to persons of a corrupt judgment."

† Winthrop's Journal. Mather. Neal. Hubbard, &c.

taining to the last, that they held nothing but what he taught. They called him a timorous man, and a deceiver, and one, that had lost his insight into the Gospel. One, "more witty than the rest," sent him a pound of candles, bidding his servant tell him that it was because he wanted light.* This sorry joke shows that Cotton's insincerity had lost him the public confidence, which he never afterwards fully recovered. In truth, there seemed to be a want of that general trust, which alone marks a healthy state of the public mind. Vigilant sentinels were now posted in the Puritan camp, and a secret police spared no pains to prevent future disorders. Though the Elders had no actual bond of spiritual unity, they were sufficiently united in a common enterprise, to set their faces against dangerous innovations. And with stringent laws that were constantly increasing, they succeeded in preserving their Church from another division like the Antinomian. And that wound healed rapidly up; but the rapidity of its cure, was the sign of internal unsoundness. A schism in religious bodies has seldom been cured by a synodical decree, or an act of the Legislature. The Puritan Church now presented a firm front against innovation; but had any one been gifted with penetrating vision, he would have perceived that beneath a fair outside, a general indifference to religion was gradually spreading, which sooner or later would break out into open immorality. And from the Antinomian to the Reforming Synod, from the fierce discussion of dogmas to the general laxity of morals, was not quite half a century. The statute book of the Commonwealth during this period, groaned under the severity of laws against error, heresy, and schism. Deaths, banishments, whippings, imprisonments, and fines, are scattered through its leaves, and meet the eye at every turn. And this was LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE! This was the Gospel Church! This was that new dispensation of truth, which went forth in its pride to the wilderness, uncorrupted by traditions and superstitions, and which after years of anxious toil could produce only the apples of Sodom, as the fruit of its labors!

* Neal.

ART. IV.—THE CANADIAN CLERGY RESERVES.*

AMERICAN Churchmen take a warm and deep interest in the struggles and trials of their Mother, the Church of England, and of her children, whether at home or in the Colonies. We are persuaded, therefore, that the readers of the *Church Review* are either at this present moment looking with anxiety, or at least with sympathy, upon the difficulties of their brethren in Canada, or would desire to be informed of those difficulties, that they may sympathize with them. The two great questions of a comparatively external and temporal nature, which at present agitate the Church in Canada, are the *Clergy Reserve* question and the *University* question; and upon the former of these we propose to give trustworthy information in the present number. Our information is gained from authentic sources, both printed and MSS., including Journals of the British House of Commons and the Canadian House of Assembly, Acts of the Legislatures, Imperial and Colonial, the Records of the Clergy Corporation, and of the Church Society, and pamphlets printed in Canada, particularly a Report of a Committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, and the Statement on the *secular state of the Church*, provided by the Bishop of Toronto. We have likewise taken pains to check the information we thus obtained by conversation with persons of eminence in Canada; and we therefore think our facts may be relied on. And as for the opinions we may offer, we trust that they will obviously arise from the matter in hand.

Before Canada was conquered by England, there existed a complete ecclesiastical establishment and religious communities, in communion with the Church of Rome—supported in part by tithes, and in part by real property derived from the French crown. When the conquest was completed, by the surrender of Montreal, the French commander showed a very earnest and praiseworthy desire to preserve for the countrymen he was compelled to abandon, the permanent enjoyment of those religious privileges, as he esteemed them, which they then enjoyed. He, therefore, not only stipulated by the Articles of capitulation for the free exercise by the Canadians of the Roman Catholic religion, but also endeavored (although

* The author of this important historical paper is the Rev. Dr. Beaven, of Toronto, Canada. It will be read at the present time with interest.

unsuccessfully) to obtain a pledge that the people should be obliged by the English Government to pay to the clergy the tithes they had been accustomed to pay under the government of the King of France.

The same spirit actuated the French negotiators, in arranging the terms of the Definitive Treaty of 1763, by which Canada was finally ceded to the British crown; and although they did not succeed to the full extent of their desires, the result was, that the King of Great Britain agreed "to grant the liberty of the Roman Catholic Religion to the inhabitants of Canada," and to "give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion, according to the rites of the Romish Church, *so far as the laws of Great Britain permit.*"

It is, we believe, in accordance with the law of nations, that the general relations of property, existing before a conquest, shall continue after the conquest, unless some special reason exists to the contrary; and, accordingly the Romish clergy, whether parochial or conventual, were not at first disturbed in the possession of their revenues; but it was evidently the plan of the British Government to avoid the idea of any thing beyond the full toleration of the Romish religion, and to prepare for the gradual introduction of the Protestant Church.

Thus, in August, 1763, a few months after the cession, the Home Government informs General Murray, the Governor, that the laws of Great Britain "prohibit all Popish hierarchy in any of the dominions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, and can only admit of a toleration of the exercise of that religion;" and that "this matter was clearly understood in the negotiation of the Definitive Treaty." Thus again, in the Royal Instructions issued to him before the end of the year, he is to send home an accurate account of the constitution of the religious communities, and of their rights, claims, privileges, and property, and an account of the number and emolument of the parochial clergy; and he is enjoined "not to admit of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Rome."

Four years after we find Gov. Carlton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, cautioned not to allow the Jesuits to embezzle any of the property "of which they enjoy only the life rent:" and in the next year we read that the whole state of the Colony, and particularly its religious condition, was under the consideration of the Privy Council.

The results of this consideration were, no doubt, delayed by the difficulties which had arisen with the more Southern col-

onies, but at length appeared in the Act of 1774, "For the more effectual government of the Province of Quebec." By this Act it was provided, "that the clergy of the Romish Church may hold, receive, and enjoy their accustomed dues and rights with respect to such persons *only* as shall profess the said religion;" and that "it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to make such provision *out of the rest* of the said accustomed dues and rights, for the encouragement of the Protestant religion, and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy within the said Province, as he or they shall, from time to time, think necessary and expedient."

It might justly be expected that a government which procured such enactments as these would have been anxious, not merely to provide Chaplains for the Military, (which, no doubt, was done,) but also to endeavor to win over their erring subjects to a purer faith. Nothing in the Treaty could have hindered them from the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures in the French language, from establishing schools for the instruction of the young, from establishing a Mission for the conversion of the Roman population, from endeavoring to bring both clergy and people to a better knowledge of Divine truth, and thus gradually uniting them to the English Church. But nothing of this kind seems to have been done. No doubt the troubles which arose, soon after the conquest of Canada, between the present United States and the Mother Country, which broke out into open war immediately after the settlement of the Province of Quebec, by the Act of 1774, prevented any such attention from being paid to the religious condition of the French Canadians.

It is, however, very clear from the instructions which were sent out to Gov. Carlton in the next year that the above mentioned provisions of the Quebec Act were not intended to remain inoperative. These instructions ordered that all appeals to Rome, or correspondence with it, should be prohibited under severe penalties; that no Episcopal or vicarial powers should be exercised by any Roman ecclesiastic, but such as are indispensably necessary to the free exercise of that religion, and never without a license from the Governor; that no person should be ordained or appointed to the cure of souls without a similar license; that no Romish ecclesiastic be appointed incumbent of any parish, in which the majority of the inhabitants shall solicit the appointment of a Protestant minister; that in such cases the Protestant incumbent shall be entitled to *all* the tithes payable in the parish; that no Romish incumbent shall receive tithes from a Protestant, but that such tithes shall be received by a person appointed by the Governor, and

being paid into the hands of the Receiver-General, be received for the support of a Protestant clergy ; that all tithes, &c. accruing during the vacancy of a benefice shall be appropriated to the same purpose ; that incumbents shall hold their benefices during good behavior ; that ecclesiastics should be released from all former penalties, if they thought proper to marry, and that the public cemeteries should be open to all ; that the Roman Missionaries to the Indians should be withdrawn, and Protestants sent in their places ; that Romish clergy should not be permitted to preach against the Church of England, nor to marry, &c. Protestants, except for want of a Protestant minister. With regard to the religious communities, the Governor was instructed that the seminaries of Quebec and Montreal should continue to possess their houses and lands, and to keep up or augment the number of their members, &c., subject to the visitation and regulation of the Governor ; that the Society of Jesuits was to be suppressed and its property vested in the Crown, excepting stipends to the present members for their lives ; and that all other religious communities might continue for the present, but without the power of adding to their number. This last restriction was not to apply to the communities of women.

The animus of these instructions toward the Romish religion admits of no mistake ; and they show very clearly that the Government treated the religious communities and their property as entirely under royal control. Indeed, it would have been well if as much anxiety had been shown to instruct the Roman Catholics, as to discourage their religion. There are two provisions in these instructions which merit our further attention in relation to the subject which we have more immediately in hand ; 1st, that if in any parish throughout the whole extent of Upper and Lower Canada, the majority had at that time, and for many years after, desired a Protestant minister, the whole of the tithes would have been payable to him ; 2d, that in all parishes in which the majority adhered to the Roman Church, the tithes payable by any Protestant were not to be paid to the Romish minister, but set apart for the support of Protestant ministers in those parishes which were chiefly Romish.

These instructions, therefore, established the system of tithes throughout the whole of Upper and Lower Canada ; with this condition, that they were payable to a Protestant *minister* only, if the majority of the inhabitants desired one ; but they were clearly payable by the whole agricultural population, Protestant and Romish. They likewise clearly tended to the

establishment of the Protestant faith as the *dominant* faith of the country ; for whilst they exempted all Protestants from paying tithes to a Romish Incumbent, they required all Romanists residing in a parish of which the majority were Protestants, to pay the tithes to the Protestant Incumbent ; thus leaving the Romish minority everywhere to support their own ministers as they chose, and requiring them to support the Protestant clergy ; whilst, at the same time, the tithes of Protestants were in all cases to go to the support of a Protestant clergy.

There is reason, however, to think that these provisions were wholly inoperative for any other purpose than the establishment of the Romish Church. Its members were, for a long period, the sole agricultural population, and consequently the sole payers of tithes ; the British emigrants being engaged almost wholly in trade, consequently paying no tithes ; and when they, in course of time, became agriculturists, the system had entirely changed.

Another regulation for the payment of tithes of a Protestant minority into the hands of the Receiver-General, was, no doubt, intended to form a fund, out of which Protestant clergymen might be aided in particular localities, where the majority were Roman. But we have not been able to ascertain that any such sums were ever paid into the Colonial Treasury. That there were clergymen of the Church of England in Lower Canada a very few years after these instructions were issued, there can be no doubt ; for in 1777 we find the Rev. John Doty, and in 1781 the Rev. John Stuart, driven over from the States by the war of Independence. But they were employed as regimental chaplains ; for there were then no parochial clergy of the Church of England ; and it is quite certain that there were no ministers of any other Protestant communion.

Meanwhile, the war which had been going on with the Colonies, south of the St. Lawrence, terminated in 1783 in their independence. This event introduced, first into Lower Canada and afterwards into Upper Canada, those settlers of British and Dutch descent, who have been ever since known as U. E. (United Empire) Loyalists. One of these was a Presbyterian minister, Mr. Bethune, who, for many years, received a small stipend, paid (we believe) from the military chest, although he was not employed in the service of the government ; and from 1784 we begin to find Missionaries employed in Canada by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. During all this time no change seems to have been made in the Colony itself having any bearing on the provision for the clergy. The Protestant settlers appear to have

been extremely scattered, so that the tithes, if ever so regularly set out, could not have been received ; and, therefore, the proposed provision from this source was entirely unavailing. The few clergy in the province seem to have been sustained in part by direct payments from the government, and in part by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel ; and it was not until many years after that any minister but the clergy of the Church of England was sustained either directly or indirectly from the public funds, excepting the gentlemen above mentioned.

In 1791 the Act was passed, called the Constitutional Act, by which Legislative bodies were established both for Upper and for Lower Canada. By this Act most of the instructions formerly given by the King to Lord Dorchester and other governors, and particularly those with regard to the support of the clergy, were again expressly established by Act of Parliament, with this proviso : " except in so far as the said declaration or provisions respectively, or any part thereof, shall be expressly varied or repealed by any other act, or acts, which may be passed by the Legislative Council and Assembly of the said Provinces respectively, and assented to by his Majesty, his heirs or successors."

The " declaration " here referred to is that which relates to the payment of the accustomed dues and tithes to the Romish clergy by the members of their own communion only ; the " provisions " are those regulations which refer to the tithes paid by Protestants for the support of the Protestant clergy : and it appears from this, that the Constitutional Act expressly reserved to the Legislature the power of dealing with the provision made for the support both of the Protestant and of the Roman clergy. And this is in accordance both with the answers given by General Amherst to the Articles of capitulation proposed by the French Commander, in which he says that " the obligation to pay tithes to the priests will depend on the King's pleasure ; " and with the Definitive Treaty, which allows the religion and worship of Rome to be professed only " as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."

This then was the first step towards destroying the right to tithes, which was previously attached to the Protestant clergy, and the obligation to pay them on the part of the whole people.

The next step was taken by the same Act, in that measure which was dictated by a provident and pious policy, the first establishment and appropriation of the Clergy Reserves. This measure originated, so far as we can understand, with the great Statesman Pitt ; but was probably suggested by Lord Dorchester, the governor of the Colony. The inequality of the

pressure of the tithes of the produce of the soil upon the agricultural classes of the community, and the difficulties as to levying and collecting them, which have produced so much discontent and variance in England,—together with their unproductiveness in a scattered population, no doubt led to the reflection that it would be most desirable to deliver both clergy and people from these mutual annoyances, by providing for the former from a source wholly independent of the people. The far greater difficulties and bickerings which arose out of this attempt were not then foreseen, and, to all appearance, a more prudent or satisfactory measure could not have been proposed. In settling the proportion of land to be set apart, it is said to have been ascertained that one seventh of the rental of land is nearly equivalent to one tenth of the produce; and as the clergy could not be the occupiers of their own lands, except to a small extent, to allot them one seventh of the lands would be in effect to give them one seventh of the rental. The provisions, therefore, of the Act for this purpose were twofold: 1st, an appropriation of one seventh in proportion to all lands already granted by the Crown, and of the same proportion in respect of all lands to be granted in all future time; and, 2d, a provision for endowing, at the discretion of the Governor in Council, one or more Parsonages or Rectories in every parish or township within the two Provinces, out of the lands so appropriated.

When these reserved lands were first set apart for the support of "a Protestant Clergy," there was no doubt that the parties for whom they were intended were the clergy of the Church of England.

1. The very term "Rectories or Parsonages," is a term which does not belong to any other Protestant body.

2. The Act expressly provided that the persons presented to these Rectories or Parsonages should be clergymen of the Church of England.

3. Mr. Pitt, who introduced the bill, "declared that the meaning of the Act was to enable the Governor to endow and present the Protestant clergy of *the* established Church to such Parsonage or Rectory as might be constituted or erected within every township or parish which now was or might be formed, and to give to such Protestant clergyman of the Established Church a part, *or the whole*, as the Governor might think proper, of the lands appropriated by the Act." Now this authority to give the whole to the clergy of one Church, evidently supposes that there were no other claimants.

4. When the Bill passed the House of Commons, it had this clause at the end of Sec. 38 : "and that such lands, with which such Parsonage or Rectory shall be so endowed, shall be held and taken to be in lieu of all claims or demands for tithes for and in respect of the lands so granted, or any part thereof." These words were struck out in the House of Lords, at the instance of the then Bishop of Carlisle, who doubted how far these reserved lands would prove a real source of income in a new country, and wished therefore to preserve to the clergy their right to tithes still unimpaired. Now no Protestant clergy but those of the Church of England did then pretend to receive tithes ; and therefore this provision clearly contemplated them alone ; for it was to be in lieu of *tithes* due or payable from the lands granted by the Crown to the people, that the seventh part of the lands was set apart.

5. Moreover there are many provisions in Acts succeeding this, and passed in the Provincial Legislature, which evidently contemplate one established Church, and that the Church of England. Thus one Act directs with regard to the people of Upper Canada, that the inhabitants shall assemble "in the parish church or chapel," where there was one, for the election of parish officers. Another directs that "as soon as there shall be a church built for divine service, according to the use of the Church of England, with a parson or minister duly appointed thereto, then the inhabitants shall choose one person and the parson another to serve as church wardens ; and that such church wardens shall represent the whole inhabitants of the parish, and as such may have a property in goods belonging to the parish." Any well informed person will know that these church wardens, one chosen by the people and another by the parson, are a peculiarity of the Church of England, and quite unknown to any other religious community in the British dominion. And it is observable that these peculiar officers, to be elected for the care of an edifice for the use of the Church of England, are declared by this Act to represent *the whole inhabitants of the parish*. What can be clearer than that this Act most explicitly recognized the Church of England as *the* Established Church and the *only* Established Church ? And this Act was passed for *Upper* Canada in 1793, within two years of the passing of the Constitutional Act, and as an evident sequel and corollary to it.

All these considerations point evidently to the natural interpretation of the Act by which the Clergy Reserves were granted, viz, that they were intended for the sustentation of the clergy of the Established Church of England. Indeed, at

that time the title of *clergy* was not given to the ministers of any other Protestant body; most of them objecting to it, as savoring of Popery, and preferring to be called *ministers*, whilst the Wesleyans were called *preachers*. And if the Governor in Council was left at liberty to endow Rectories with only a portion of the lands in each township or parish, it was, probably in part because the previous right to tithes had not been taken away, and in part in order to leave an opening for the endowment of Bishoprics and other dignitaries of the Church out of the remaining portion.

Two years after the passing of the Constitutional Act followed the establishment of the Bishopric of Quebec in communion with the Church of England, and the appointment of the Rev. J. J. Mountain as the first Bishop, with a stipend of £2000 per annum, paid (we believe) out of the Civil List, from which fund the other clergy of the Church of England, now in the Province, were in part sustained.

But although a foundation was laid by the Act of 1791, for the permanent support of the Canadian clergy, various circumstances rendered it for a long period inoperative. "Except in a few towns or rather villages," (we are quoting from a MS. document, drawn up by a person of high station in Canada, whose means of information and accuracy are unquestionable,) "the settlements were thin; a small population was dispersed over an immense territory. The Clergy Reserves yielded little or no revenue; for they could not legally be alienated; and to raise any large fund by leasing them was obviously impossible, whilst the government was every day granting lands to settlers for nothing, or on payment of a trifling fee." Moreover, one of the clauses of the Act became itself an impediment to the establishment of Rectories, by the wide and indefinite privileges which it granted to the Rectors. That clause provided that they should "hold and enjoy the same and all rights, profits, and emoluments belonging or granted to the Rectories, as fully and amply . . . as the incumbent of a Parsonage or Rectory in England." Now from the earliest period of British dominion there had been Scotch Presbyterians in the Province, although only a few; and the independence of the United States had occasioned the influx of more, together with Dutch Calvinists and German Lutherans. To these persons of course the idea of paying tithes at all would be extremely distasteful; and to them, together with the Romanists scattered over the country in Parishes where the majority were Protestant, it would be especially disagreeable to pay tithes to a clergyman of the

Church of England. "The friends of the Church therefore," (we quote from the same MS.) "seem at an early period to have imagined that if parishes were erected, it might give rise to an apprehension that tithes would follow." That idea is known to have restrained the clergy of the Church of England from pressing for the foundation of Rectories; and it probably also induced the government to defer it.

This state of things continued until the year 1813. At that period the clergy found their incomes, from various causes, subject to a deduction of about 60 per cent. Through the Bishop they made their case known to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and these two parties made such representations to the government, that an arrangement was made by means of which Parliament placed at the disposal of the Society an annual grant of £16,000 for the whole of the colonies. This grant not only enabled the Society to relieve her old missionaries from their difficulties, but also to offer to them and to all whom she might employ an income of £200 per annum. The result was, that in the two years which elapsed between this and the close of the American war in 1815, the number of clergy had increased from five to fifteen.

When hostilities ceased an active emigration commenced, and this circumstance naturally drew attention to the working of the different institutions of the colony. One result was that in 1817 the Provincial Legislature assumed the payment of the Civil List out of the revenues placed under their control, and on their declining to grant the allowances of three clergymen who had hitherto received stipends from that fund, they became dependent on the Crown Revenue, and since that period none of the Parochial clergy or missionaries have been paid from the revenues of the colony at the disposal of the Legislature. Another result was that the Bishop of Quebec procured the establishment of several parishes or Rectories in Lower Canada, those of Quebec and Montreal being constituted, we believe, in 1818 or 1819, during the administration of the Duke of Richmond. There are seven other Rectories in Lower Canada; but whether established at that period we have not ascertained.

Another very important step was taken by the establishment of the Clergy Corporation for the management of the leasing of the Reserves, which was done by Royal patent, issued April 30th, 1819. This corporation consisted for Upper Canada, of the Bishop, the Inspector General and the Sur-

veyor General, exofficio, and of the whole clergy having cure of souls.

These circumstances drew attention again to the rights and emoluments of the Rectors, and particularly to the question of tithes. Not that the members of the Church, or even the clergy, entertained the idea of collecting tithes. They saw too clearly that in the existing state of the colony, that was not to be attempted. Amongst other considerations, there was this very important one, that as things stood, they were constantly gathering in the members of other communions, who would be likely to be repelled by the demand for tithes. So far therefore from contemplating it, they were the first to point out that provision of the Act as to the rights and emoluments of the rectors, as presenting a difficulty in the organization of parishes. This led to the introduction of a Bill in this same year, by which it was proposed to be enacted, that "no tithes should be claimed, demanded, or received by any parson, rector, or vicar of the Protestant Church within this Province, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

This Bill was passed through the Colonial Legislature; but through the omission of some formality it did not at that time become law.

But whilst this Bill was before the Legislature, some members of the Church of Scotland in Canada (which at that period, so far as we can ascertain, had not above three ministers in all Upper Canada) for the first time advanced the opinion that the words "a Protestant clergy," used in the 31st George III, were applicable to the Church of Scotland, and that *that* Church being established in a portion of the United Kingdom, they had an apparent claim under the statute; which claim they contended was also capable of being supported under the Articles of the union of the two kingdoms.

In a short time after this claim was put forward, other parties began to assert that the term "a Protestant clergy" might in law, and ought in equity, to receive such a construction as would comprehend the ministers of every denomination of Protestants. But at this period the leading members of the Roman communion entirely refrained from countenancing this agitation, and even expressed in private their conviction of its injustice.

The claim of the Church of Scotland was expressed in an Address to the King, in which "it was put forward in moderate terms, and the hope was expressed, that, if his Majesty should not consider that their claims to the Clergy Reserves

could be maintained on legal grounds, it would still be thought just and proper to afford assistance to the Church of Scotland, as a Protestant Church, established in a portion of the United Kingdom." This novel claim was wholly unsupported by any thing but the fact that the Reserves were set apart for the maintenance of "a Protestant clergy," and in spite of the fact that the whole history of the colony up to the present time showed in the strongest manner that no other body had ever been contemplated under that name, but the clergy of "the Protestant Church." Even so late as the issuing of the Patent for the formation of the clergy corporation, that instrument, after reciting that very passage of 31st George III, in which the phrase "a Protestant clergy" is contained, goes on to say that it is expedient to make provision "for the due and sufficient support of our Protestant clergy;" and then, for that end, establishes a corporation, including the *whole* clergy of the Church of England in the colony, and *none others*. for the management of the *whole* of the Clergy Reserves. And it is observable that these very claimants did not at all expect that the King would be advised to regard their claim as legal, and therefore prayed to be provided for in some other way.

This state of things led the Home Government to consult its law-officers on these new difficulties; and the result was an opinion to the following effect:

1. That the clergy of the Church of Scotland settled in Canada might be taken to be included in the term "Protestant clergy."

- 2 That this phrase did not include dissenting ministers, but only "Protestant clergy, recognized and established by law."

3. That the Governor might, if he saw fit, apply the whole lands in any one township to the endowment of the Rectory there.

4. That whilst he might apply the *rents and profits* of the Reserves to the support of the clergy of the Church of Scotland, it was not competent to him to retain any of the lands themselves absolutely for them.

It is obvious, that in thus deciding, the law-officers were guided by the *letter* of this Act, and by *it alone*; since had they consulted either its evident spirit, or the Acts which we ourselves have quoted, they must have seen that the term "Protestant clergy" did not and could not apply to any others than those of the English Church. Indeed, their own decision that the reserved *lands* themselves could not be given as *endowments* for the clergy of the Church of Scotland, whilst

the *whole* of the lands in any one township (and consequently in every township) might be appropriated for the *endowment* of the clergy of the Church of England, sufficiently shows what was the real meaning of the Act. Accordingly little change seems to have been produced in the action of the colonial government; and the clergy corporation continued to manage the lands without question or control. Two years after this the Church was strengthened by the establishment of the Archdeaconries of Quebec and York. In the same year, it being observed that the previous Bill for the extinction of tithes had not received the Royal assent, a new Bill was proposed, which, after reciting that, "notwithstanding his gracious Majesty has been pleased to reserve for the support of a Protestant clergy in this Province, one seventh of all lands granted therein, doubts have been suggested that the tithe of the produce of the land might still be legally demanded by the incumbent duly instituted or rector of any parish," it provided an enactment precisely the same as that of the previous Bill. This Bill became law in 1823, by the promulgation of the Royal assent to it; but the delay shows that there were still doubts as to the desirableness of making such an enactment.

Thus was extinguished not only the right of the clergy of the Church of England to *demand* tithes, but their power to *receive* them; for the law provides that "no tithes shall be . . . received by any parson, rector, or vicar of the Protestant Church within this province." Not only were aliens from their communion exonerated from their payment, but the members of it were forbidden to pay them: at least it was made illegal to receive them, and the clergy of the Church of England are of all men least likely to encourage a breach of the laws. At that time no evil was foreseen as likely to arise from this enactment; but now that the provision which it was supposed would answer all the purpose of tithes has been so curtailed, and when there is a disposition rising up amongst the members of the Church to contribute statedly from their profits to the support of the clergy, and when in country parts it is felt to be so much easier to contribute in produce than in money, it is much to be regretted that the clergy should be absolutely forbidden by law to receive that provision which many of the laity would be willing to give.

But this extinguishment of tithes still more strengthened the claim of the Church of England to the whole of the Reserves: for this Act expressly shows that these lands were contemplated as a provision in lieu of tithes; and of tithes

paid to a "parson, rector, or vicar of *the* Protestant Church." Now there is nobody in Canada which can call itself "*the* Protestant Church," but the Church of England: there is no other Church which has still its "parsons, rectors, and vicars," by these definite names: and therefore the Reserves were explicitly recognized by this Act as pertaining by right to the Protestant clergy of the Church of England, notwithstanding the before recited opinion of the law-officers of the Crown.

Although however the right to tithes was thus given upon the part of the clergy the agitation of the claims of the Church of Scotland retarded the endowment of the Rectories; but to show how small a proportion that body then bore in Canada to the Church of England, we find from the records of the clergy corporation, that in 1823, whilst the latter body had twenty-two ministers in Upper Canada, the former had only four, and the Independent Presbytery of the Canadas no more than six.

In the period from 1821 to 1836, the Secretary of State had repeatedly conveyed whatever authority it was necessary should proceed from the Crown for the establishment of Rectories; and the executive government of the province had applied themselves to the consideration of the details of a general measure for dividing the Province into parishes, as had been recently done in New South Wales. This was impeded for a time by a plan which was started in 1825 (in which year we will just mention in passing, Bishop Mountain died, and was succeeded by Bishop Stewart) for selling a large portion of the Reserves to the Canada Land Company; which was set aside, when near its consummation, by the vigorous remonstrances of the Clergy Corporation, led on by the present Bishop of Toronto, then Rector of York, (now Toronto,) and a member of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada.

Up to 1827, the Reserves could be disposed of only by lease; but in that year, shortly before the termination of the administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, the government, observing that they remained unproductive from the want of capital to be employed in their cultivation, and from the circumstance that lands continued to be extremely easy of purchase, and from the difficulty and expense of collecting the rents, and consequently were not available for the support of the clergy, procured an Act to be passed by the Imperial Legislature, authorizing the Governor in Council to sell a portion of them; but binding him not to alienate more than one fourth of the Reserves in each Province, and not more than 100,000 acres in any one year. The proceeds of these sales were to be in-

vested in the public funds of the United Kingdom, and the income arising therefrom was to be applied either to the improvement of the remaining lands, or to the general objects of the Reserves. The Governor in Council was likewise authorized to exchange any of the Reserves for lands of equal value, belonging either to the Crown or to private persons.

In 1828, the petitions and complaints proceeding from the adjoining Province of Lower Canada, and the difficulties which occurred there, occasioned the affairs and interests of that Province to be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons; and in the course of an inquiry conducted by a committee of that House, the subject of the Clergy Reserves was examined and considered with respect to both Provinces. On this occasion the opinion of the Crown officers given in 1819 was called up, and Mr. Stephen, the counsel for the Colonial Department, was also examined before the Committee. He agreed for the most part with the Crown officers: but whereas they were of opinion that the Crown could not retain any portion of the lands for any other clergy than those of the Church of England, he thought that "the Crown might authorize a part of them to be appropriated in perpetuity to the *sustentation* of Clergymen of the Church of Scotland;" although none but the clergy of the Church of England could be endowed as *parochial ministers*. Thus did the spirit of encroachment creep on.

It is remarkable that on this occasion a Wesleyan minister, named Alder, who was examined before the Committee, gave it as the general opinion of the body of ministers in Lower Canada, to which he belonged, "that if the Reserves were appropriated to the sole use of the Church of England, they would offer no objection to it;" although "if the Presbyterians were to have any part, they conceived they had an equally good claim." From this it is perfectly clear that the Wesleyan ministers thought none but the Church of England had any valid claim to the Reserves.

The Committee, however, reported that the Reserves had not answered the purpose for which they were appropriated; for that whereas "a Corporation had been formed within the Province, consisting of the clergy of the Church of England, who had been empowered to grant leases of those lands for a term not exceeding twenty-one years," the actual net receipts from the whole now remaining was only £250. They accounted for this partly from the circumstance of the difficulty of collecting rents, and from the tenants absconding; and they concluded, (although without any sufficient evidence,)

that the reserved lands had done much more to diminish the value of the six parts granted to other settlers in fee, than the improvement of those allotments had done to increase the value of the Reserves. They, therefore, strongly recommended that every proper exertion should be made to place them in the hands of persons who would bring them into cultivation, and suggested whether they could not be permanently alienated, subject to some fixed moderate reserved payment. They likewise strongly recommended the propriety of securing for the future any provision which might be deemed necessary for the religious wants of the community by some other means than the reservation of one seventh of the land.

With regard to the proper appropriation of the Clergy Reserves, they agreed with the Crown officers and Mr. Stephen, that "the intention of those who brought forward the measure in Parliament," (viz., the Act of the 31st Geo. III., c. 31,) "was to endow with Parsonage Houses and glebe lands the clergy of the Church of England;" but with regard to the distribution of the proceeds of the reserved lands generally, they were of opinion "that they sought to reserve to the government the right to apply the money, if they thought fit, to any Protestant clergy;" what, however, they meant by the term "Protestant clergy," they did not explain.

The House of Commons do not appear to have satisfied themselves, by the labors of their Committee, that their recommendations were such as ought to be adopted; for no action whatever was taken by them on this subject, in consequence of this Report. But although no action was then taken in the Imperial Parliament, we learn from Lord Durham's Report, that the Secretary for the Colonies proposed to the Provincial Legislature to leave to it the determination of the matter, pledging the Imperial Government to do its utmost to obtain a parliamentary sanction to whatever course they might adopt.

In consequence of this, in 1830, the first action was taken by any branch of the Colonial Legislature for bringing these disputes to a settlement. A Bill was introduced into the House of Assembly by which the whole of the Clergy Reserves was to be sold, and the whole of the proceeds diverted from their original purpose and devoted to secular education. The object of this proposition was, no doubt, in part to get rid, by a summary process, of the bickerings between contending parties respecting the right to the Reserves; but it was no less to remove the Church of England from her station in the community. It was foreseen, no doubt, that she would have a larger

share of these lands than any other body, even if she did not retain them entire, and that her learning, cultivation, and character would secure her a preëminence, so long as she had any means of supporting an educated clergy; and thence it was desired to remove from her entirely the power of supporting such a clergy. But this iniquitous and sacrilegious measure, although passed almost unanimously by the House of Assembly, met with no favor from the Legislative Council, and was rejected by that body.

Its very introduction, however, had, in a great degree, done its work; for the Legislative Council seem not to have been content with the simple act of rejection, but to have considered themselves bound to propose some alternative. This they accordingly did in the next year in an Address to King William the 4th, the whole tone of which is eminently conservative. It stated that much of the real objection to the reserved lands was very exaggerated at all times, and was now less and less felt in consequence of the leasing and sale of those lands; but hoped that, for the sake of religion itself, it might speedily be set at rest by a final decision. It then went to propose a definite measure for removing the apprehension of those persons who conceived the provision made for the Church of England to be improvident and lavish. The proposition was as follows: that it should be decided at once, "whether the support of two clergymen of the Church of England, or any given number beyond that, would form a reasonable provision for the religious wants of a Township, having in view what must be the future condition of the Colony;" that it should be settled "what stipend would assure a barely adequate maintenance to such clergymen;" and finally that Parliament should "place at the disposal of his Majesty the surplus of the endowment in any Township, that may remain after this adequate maintenance shall have been secured." No doubt the promoters of this Address believed that inquiry would show that no surplus would remain if the most moderate provisions were made for the necessary maintenance of the Clergy; and if their plan had been carried out, there would at this time have been 600 clergymen of our communion in Upper Canada; but still the very admission of the principle, that if any surplus remained it might be diverted to any other purpose whatever, showed that the best men were at a loss to know upon what principles the question was to be settled. This document is evidently drawn up in the sense of the members of the Church of England; and yet it proposes to resign back into the hands of the Sovereign, *to be disposed of at his pleasure*, a portion of that which his

predecessor had in their opinion beyond a doubt consecrated and given to God in His Church ; and we therefore cannot but regret very deeply that such a proposition should ever have come from so respectable a body ; for we certainly think that it is another step taken in a wrong direction by Canadian Churchmen on this important subject. That both this proposition and the extinguishment of tithes were dictated by the desire to show that the Church desired nothing unreasonable, and that they were considered to be for the advantage of the Church at the time, there can be no doubt ; but it can never be too much regretted that these estimable persons should have given their support to the principles of the actual resumption by the Crown of that which had been given to God.

After this suggestion on the part of the friends of the Church, it can be no matter of surprise that a proposition should afterwards be made for the resumption of the whole of the Reserves by the Crown. But we are anticipating.

[Concluded in next Number.]

ART. V.—COLLEGES AND THE MINISTRY.

Catalogus Collegii Harvardiani seu Universitatis Cantabrigiænsis, MDCCCXLVIII.

Catalogus Collegii Yalensis, MDCCCL.

Catalogus Collegii Neo-Cæsariensis, MDCCCXLVIII.

Catalogus Collegii Gulielmi, MDCCCXLVII.

Catalogus Collegii Medioburiensis, MDCCCXXXVIII.

Catalogus Universitatis Brownensis, MDCCCXXX.

Catalogus Collegii Concordiæ, MDCCCXLIII.

Catalogus Collegii Dartmuthensis, MDCCCXIX.

Catalogus Collegii Washingtoniensis, MDCCCXLII.

Catalogue of Columbia College, 1844.

Catalogue of Rutger's College, 1840.

Register of Geneva College, 1847.

Kenyon College Catalogue and Register, 1843.

Calendar of Trinity College, 1817.

WE shall assume the point as conceded, that a learned and regular ministry, thoroughly trained in literary and religious knowledge, is indispensable to meet the demands of the present age. The course of education must be neither narrow nor superficial, but at once comprehensive and critical, and must embrace the moral, as well as the intellectual element of our nature. Men may be what the world calls learned, may (perhaps) become great statesmen and orators, men of copious and accurate learning in science, the arts, and other branches of human knowledge, and yet have no thorough acquaintance with the doctrines and precepts of revelation. But though this is possible (?) in the mere man of the world, it is clearly impossible in the Christian, and above all, in the Christian minister. Whenever, therefore, a parent, and, above all, a Christian parent, is selecting a College to which to send a son, all these points should be borne in mind; the religious condition and influence of the institution should be as carefully scrutinized as the literary and scientific advantages it may offer.

In connection with this point, there are many considerations

touching subjects and modes of instruction which it would be proper for us to urge directly upon Churchmen, which it might not be deemed courteous to present in a comparison between institutions in and out of the Church. But there is one point of consideration to which no one can object, and that is a comparison of results already obtained, as detailed by the Catalogues and Registers of the several Colleges and Universities. Inasmuch, also, as the character of the future must be inferred from the nature of the past, this mode of comparison is as sound as it is just. To this end we have placed at the head of this article such Triennial Catalogues and Registers as are at hand, from which we shall draw materials for our present purpose. We begin with *Harvard College*, founded in 1640, deservedly ranking among the first Institutions in the country, for the fullness and thoroughness of its classical and scientific training. From 1642 to 1849, this College graduated 6,131 Alumni, of whom 1,628 have been ministers. Among these we recognize the names of about seventy-five Episcopal clergymen, including Presidents Cutler of Yale, and Harris of Columbia, Bishops Bass and Parker of Massachusetts, Dehon of South Carolina, and Lee of Delaware. *Yale College*, founded in 1700, also justly celebrated for the extent, variety, and thoroughness of its course of studies, down to 1851 had graduated 5,932 Alumni, of whom 1,562 have been ministers. Among these we recognize the names of one hundred and seventy-nine Episcopal clergymen, including Bishops Seabury and Jarvis of Connecticut, De Lancey of Western New York, Gadsden of South Carolina, and Presidents Johnson of Columbia, Wheaton of Trinity, Humphrey of St. John's, and Coit of Transylvania.

An interesting inquiry arises at this point, as to the causes of the difference in the number of Episcopal clergymen educated at these two Universities. Is it because the number of Episcopalians educated at Yale is so much larger than the number educated at Harvard? Some have supposed so, yet we think without sufficient reason. In 1824, the Convention of Massachusetts appointed a Committee to procure subscriptions to restore and reëstablish the worship of the Episcopal Church in Cambridge. According to the report of that Committee, *one-seventh* of the students at Harvard then were, and for many years had been, Churchmen, and the Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, reported to the Convention of Massachusetts, in 1840, that the proportional number then continued about the same. The number of graduates of Harvard for half a century, ending with A. D. 1848, has been

2,710 in the Academical department, 508 in the Medical department, and from 1820 to 1848, 331 in the Law department, giving a total of 3,549. If, then, the proportional number of Episcopal students was the same through the half century, as from 1820 to 1840, something more than *five hundred Churchmen* have been educated at Cambridge in the half century. Among these we recognize the names of about *forty Clergymen* of the Church. Yale College, in the half century ending with A. D. 1848, graduated 3,522 in the Academical department, from 1820 to 1848, 472 in the Medical department, and from 1843 to 1848, 28 in the department of Law, giving a total of 4,022. A short time since, nearly one-fifth of the students at Yale, being about *eighty*, out of a little more than four hundred, were Episcopalians. Supposing what is not probable, that the same ratio has continued through the half century, and Yale would have educated *eight hundred Churchmen* within that period. Among them we can count up almost *a hundred* clergymen of the Church. The clergymen educated at Harvard have been about *one-thirteenth* of the Churchmen educated there,—those educated at Yale, about *one-eighth*.

There has no doubt been a cause why so many more Churchmen have been educated at Yale than at Harvard, and why the proportion of clergymen graduated at Yale has been so much greater than at Harvard. That cause is not to be sought, as some have supposed, in any special liberality characterizing the College arrangements at Yale. On the contrary, Harvard has at times manifested the greater share of liberal feeling. Episcopal students were permitted to attend the service of the Episcopal Church at Cambridge from an early period, and when in 1824, efforts were made to restore the worship of the Episcopal Church at Cambridge, the Faculty of Harvard not only approved the plan, but aided in its restoration—a circumstance which probably never happened at Yale.

There was a time, however, when Churchmen received far less kindness and attention at Harvard than at Yale, at a time, too, when we should have expected the most consideration and courtesy there. When Johnson and his associates renounced their ministry and went to England for Orders, they cut themselves off from the common sympathies of their brethren, and could expect little but contumely and contempt from those they had left. And this they received in full tale from the people generally. But the faculty of Yale were too discriminating and far-reaching to be willing to lose the countenance and support of these men, Churchmen though they

might be, and Churchmen were prompt to reciprocate any kindness that might be shown them. Bishop Berkley, it is supposed, gave his Rhode Island farm and his library to Yale College, at the suggestion of Dr. Johnson, who was himself in the habit of attending the Berkleian Examinations. The first Catalogue of the College, published in 1731, contained a Preliminary Essay, exhibiting a general view of all the Arts and Sciences, with a catalogue of the most valuable authors in the several departments, which tradition ascribes to Dr. Johnson, and which bears strong internal evidence of being his.* So the first printed Statutes of Yale, published in Latin, in 1748,—being the first book printed in New Haven,—though probably the work of President Clap,† is said to have been revised by Dr. Johnson, in order to secure a correct Latinity, a tradition which many circumstances go to confirm. And in many other ways, no doubt silently, where it would not have been safe to do it publicly, they coöperated for the benefit of the College, and thus benefitted both the College and the Church.

At Harvard, however, a different course seems to have been pursued. Though some Churchmen have held Professorships in the various departments of the University, during the present century, it was not so formerly; Episcopalians not being allowed even that right of visiting which they supposed lawfully belonged to them. Soon after Dr. Cutler went to Boston, deeming himself entitled to a seat among the Overseers of his Alma Mater, he and Rev. Mr. Miles, of King's Chapel, petitioned for the same. But though backed by the great body of Episcopalians in Massachusetts, the petition was unceremoniously rejected, at two different times—though the same right had been previously conceded to others—an act of injustice which Dr. Cutler never forgot. The facts we have mentioned are given merely as examples of the different policy pursued at Yale and Harvard, and whoever will take the trouble to examine the history of the graduates of the two Universities, will see that it has not been without its effect. From 1750 to 1790, (Dr. Cutler died in 1756,) a period of forty years, Harvard graduated 1,471 Alumni, among whom we recognize the names of *only ten* who entered the ministry of the Church. During the same period, Yale graduated 1,433 Alumni, among whom we are able to count up *over forty* who were Church clergy-

* This Essay was published in the *Republic of Letters*, London, May, 1731, Article XXXVII.

† It is worthy of mention, in this connection, that President Clap received his early training from Rev. Dr. McSparran, Episcopal minister at Narragansett.

men. These and other circumstances created a prejudice in favor of Yale, and filial affection for an Alma Mater, continues the feeling to the present day. One of these circumstances is so obvious that it deserves to be mentioned, as indicating the former disposition of the University towards such of its own graduates as held or embraced another faith. William Harris, graduated in 1786, was elected President of Columbia College in 1811. He received the honorary degree of S. T. D. from Columbia and Harvard, the same year. No other graduate at Harvard, who has entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church, has received this degree from his Alma Mater, except J. M. Wainwright, graduated in 1812, and he had received the same degree from another College several years before. The other Doctors of the American Church, graduated at Harvard, have been Mather Byles, graduated in 1725, and William Walter, 1756, who received the degree from Aberdeen; Samuel Achmuty, 1742, and Mather Byles, 1757, from Oxford; Bishop Bass, 1744, and Bishop Parker, 1764, from the University of Pennsylvania; Bishop Dehon, 1795, and James Morss, 1800, from Nassau Hall; Isaac Boyle, 1813, and Bishop Lee, 1827, from Trinity; N. B. Crocker, 1802, and Theodore Edson, 1822, from Geneva; S. H. Tyng, 1817, from Jefferson College; Asa Eaton, 1803, and Charles Burroughs, 1806, from Columbia. Of the graduates of Yale during the same period, Richard Mansfield, 1741, Bela Hubbard, 1758, Bishop Jarvis, 1761, received the honorary degree of S. T. D. from their Alma Mater; Samuel Johnson, 1714, Henry Caner, 1724, Henry Barclay, 1734, T. B. Chandler, 1745, Bishop Seabury, 1748, from Oxford; Ebenezer Dibble, 1734, Jeremiah Leaming, 1745, and Abraham Beach, 1757, from Columbia; Bethel Judd, 1797, and N. S. Wheaton, 1814, from Trinity; Tillotson Brunson, 1786, from Brown's; John Ogilvie, 1748, from Aberdeen; Bishop Gadsden, 1804, from the University of South Carolina, and S. F. Jarvis, 1805, from the University of Pennsylvania. Whatever may have been the cause of the different policy formerly pursued by the different Universities, the consequences have been apparent in subsequent results.

Another circumstance shows with equal certainty how the acts of the two Universities were looked upon by others. When in 1746, the Wardens and Vestry of the Parish of Newport, Rhode Island, petitioned the Venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts for a clergyman to be the Head of a Grammar School, and also Assistant to Rev. Mr. Honyman, they were directed "to consult Dr. Johnson, of

Stratford, and to choose out of the young gentlemen educated at New Haven, and recommended by him," etc., one suitable for their purpose. And Samuel Seabury, though himself a graduate of Harvard, 1724, educated his son—the Bishop—at Yale, 1748, and Dr. Johnson also educated his sons at the same place, 1744, 1748, as he had his step-sons, William and Benjamin Nicoll, 1734. These facts, though small in themselves, all raise a presumption looking in the same direction, and all go to show that though Churchmen were by no means satisfied with all the proceedings at Yale, yet they gave that the preference over all other New England Colleges. That our forefathers preferred that College, for the education of their sons, where their own rights were best respected, and their own faith could be best preserved, is no cause of wonder. It would have been strange, they would have been recreant to duty, had it been otherwise. And what was right and proper for them—what it was their duty to do—that must be right, proper, and duty for us, in similar circumstances.

From 1827 to 1847, inclusive, Trinity graduated 296 Alumni, of whom *one hundred and eight* (students of the partial course not included)* have taken Orders in the Church; being a larger number of Episcopal Clergymen than have been educated at Yale since the commencement of the century. The number of Episcopal clergymen educated at Yale during the same twenty years, was *forty-eight*. It may possibly be true, if we take into consideration the Academical, Legal, and Medical Departments of Yale, that it is "educating more Episcopal Students than any other College in the country." But the statement of Dr. Bacon's famous speech, that "Yale College is doing more for the education of the ministry of the Episcopal Church than any other College in the country," cannot be true in any sense. Trinity, with its limited number of students, is doing for the ministry of the Church, more than twice as much as Yale, with its throng of pupils. The benefit which Yale is bestowing on the Church, though not inconsiderable, has been greatly overrated. Even Geneva, since its first Commencement in 1826, with all its difficulties and drawbacks, and with its handful of scholars, has done half as much for the ministry of the Church as Yale, for out of its 150 Alumni, *twenty-four* have entered the ministry of the Church, and fifteen others are Candidates for Holy Orders. Should the present ratios continue, Trinity, at the end of half a century, will have

* Quite a number of these have taken Orders in the Church, but our plan does not permit us to include these in our computation.

educated more clergymen for the Church, than will have been graduated in the same period, at all the other Colleges and Universities in New England taken together. This fact alone is sufficient to give Trinity a claim on the Church, which Churchmen have not yet fully realized. And the same may be said of Geneva.

If we compare the results obtained at Geneva, with those of the principal University in the State of New York—Columbia College—we shall find the claims of Geneva upon Christian Churchmen much greater than most suppose. Owing to the *unhistorical* character of the Registers of these Universities, we are unable to institute as careful a comparison between them, as the most excellent Triennials of Yale and Harvard* afford facilities for doing. According to our count, Columbia College, from 1748 to 1845, graduated 1,321 Alumni, among whom we are able to recognize the names of *sixty-five* clergymen of the Church. Geneva, from 1826 to 1844, graduated seventy-five Alumni, of whom *twenty-four* have been ordained to the ministry of the Church. In other words, while Columbia College has graduated, in ninety-seven years, seventeen times as many Alumni as Geneva in twenty-two years, the number of Church clergymen educated at Geneva, has been one-third of the number educated at Columbia in five times the number of years. This fact is not mentioned as in any wise disparaging to Columbia, for its position and circumstances necessarily exercise a controlling influence over these matters. Yet the fact is to the credit of Geneva, and should be known and pondered, especially by Churchmen. It should also be remembered, that Geneva College owes its existence and character to the active exertions of Bishop Hobart, at the time when he was a Trustee of Columbia College, and knew well the condition and character of the College, and the wants of his Diocese. And it may be interesting to those not already aware of the fact, to mention, that the idea of Trinity College originated with Bishop Seabury, and has been realized by Bishop Brownell. Among the graduates at Columbia have been Bishops Provoost, 1758, Moore of New York, 1768, H. U. Onderdonk, 1805, B. T. Onderdonk and Kemper, 1809.

Union College, from 1797 to 1842, inclusive, graduated 2,366 Alumni, of whom 570 have been ministers, among whom

* The Triennial Catalogues of Harvard and Yale are more valuable to the historian, than can be well conceived by others. We would recommend to other Institutions to imitate their example, in this respect. Facts which may be collected without trouble at the time, and recorded in the Catalogue with small expense, could not otherwise be obtained without great labor.

we recognize the names of about *fifty-five* Church Clergymen, including Bishops Brownell, 1804, Upfold, 1814, Doane and Potter, 1818. Dartmouth, from 1771 to 1820, had 1,285 Alumni, of whom 408 had been ministers. We recognize in the list the names of only *half a dozen* clergymen of the Church, one of whom was Bishop Chase, graduated 1796. Brown's University, from 1769 to 1829, inclusive, graduated 1,574 Alumni, of whom 442 have been ministers; among whom we observe the names of about *twenty* who are or have been clergymen of the Church; Bishop Burgess, 1826, being of the number. Williams College, from 1795 to 1848, graduated 1,182 Alumni, of whom 373 had been ministers. Among them we do not discover *half a dozen* names that we have ever seen in the Clergy lists of the Church. Middlebury College, from 1802 to 1839, graduated 722 Alumni, of whom 272 were ministers. We recognize the names of some *ten* Church Clergymen, including Bishops Henshaw, 1808, Smith of Kentucky, 1825. Nassau Hall, from 1748 to 1849, graduated 2,949 Alumni, 557 of whom have been ministers. Twenty of these have taken Orders in the Church, five of whom have become Bishops—Claggett, 1764; Hobart, 1793; Meade, 1808; Johns, 1815; and M'Ilvaine, 1816.

The opinion is sometimes expressed, that Church Colleges do not flourish as well as Sectarian institutions, and an inference is thence drawn to their disadvantage. If the facts were so, the circumstances already detailed would serve to explain the reason. But it may be doubted whether the facts are so. That Church Colleges must look mainly to Churchmen for support, is a conceded point. There can be no compromise of important truth by them, for the sake of popularity; and hence their institutions cannot be popular when or where great pretensions to liberality are necessary to procure it. It is fair, therefore, considering the relative number of Episcopalians in the country, compared with the number of other denominations during the first years of various Colleges, to compare a number of years at the beginning of the several Colleges, in order to see what has been accomplished by them in the same period. The following is the number graduated at the institutions mentioned below, during the *first twenty years of their existence*, with the number that entered the ministry, so far as we can ascertain:

Harvard, (Cong.)	180	66	Dartmouth (Cong.)	262	112
Yale, (Cong.)	108	70	Brown's, (Bap.)	101	36
Nassau Hall, (Pres.)	291	137	Middlebury, (Cong.)	316	145
Columbia, (Mixed.)	110	cir. 20	Union, (Mixed.)	415	109
Rutgers, (D. R. !)	86	uncer.	Trinity, (Epis.)	296	120
Williams, (Cong.)	434	146	Geneva, (Epis.)	91	29

It is evident from this table, that Trinity and Geneva have been quite on an average with other Colleges in the first years of their existence, notwithstanding the large number of Episcopal students at other institutions. If the twenty-five Episcopalians that have been graduated yearly at Harvard and Yale for the twenty years in question, to say nothing of other New England Colleges, had been added to Trinity, its Alumni would have numbered eight hundred, instead of three hundred. The same principle also holds true in reference to Geneva. It is evident from this view, that Trinity has done well, better than the average of new Colleges. But it is also evident, that if it had received the united support of New England Churchmen, it had done much better.

Why then have not these and other Colleges of the Church received that countenance and support to which they are fairly and properly entitled? Various reasons, no doubt, have contributed to prevent this. Proximity to other Colleges, affection for an Alma Mater, the popularity of age and numbers which other institutions can boast, combined with want of knowledge as to what these Colleges have actually accomplished, have all, no doubt, coöperated to prevent their receiving the patronage which they so richly deserve. There is also another reason which seems to us to have tended to the same result. These Colleges must look to Churchmen for their principal support. And this support must come partly through the influence of the parochial clergy. It is generally in the power of an active clergyman, to secure a student from his congregation, for a College in which he feels a deep and lively interest himself. Here then we think we find another cause for that meagre support, which not only Trinity, but Geneva, Kenyon, Jubilee, and other Colleges have thus far received. The clergy themselves are at fault. Whether these Colleges have taken every suitable method to enlist the sympathy, confidence, and support of the clergy, we cannot say. But sure we are, that there is not existing that strong bond of union between Church Colleges and Church clergy, which we witness between the Colleges of the various denominations around us and the ministers of those denominations. And the want of that interest subjects the clergy to an imputation, of which they ought to rid themselves.

There is another aspect under which the subject of *Colleges and the Ministry* deserves to be considered,—the influence of a Church College upon the growth of a Church in a new Diocese. The clear foresight of Berkley comprehended this at a glance, and hence his unwearied efforts to establish a Church

College in America, a scheme which his son said "was sacrificed by the worst minister that Britain ever saw." But we prefer to deal with facts, rather than opinions. Bishop Chase was consecrated Bishop of Ohio in 1819, the Diocese then having *six* clergymen; and Kentucky by its side having *four*. In 1825 he founded Kenyon College, Ohio, then having *six* clergymen, and Kentucky *four*. From 1829 to 1844 this College graduated 109 Alumni in the Academical Department, *forty* of whom have taken Orders in the Church. In 1850, Ohio had *seventy* clergy and Kentucky *twenty-eight*. Again, in 1843, when Bishop Chase began Jubilee College, Illinois had *fourteen* clergymen, and Indiana *thirteen*. In 1850, Illinois had *thirty* clergy, and Indiana *twenty-one*. Making all possible allowance for the influence of other circumstances, and the result remains certain, that a Church College is most intimately connected with the growth of a Diocese. It is not necessary to dwell on these facts. They carry their own inference with them, too strongly to be resisted by any but the willfully blind, and we can only add, that the Church owes a debt of gratitude to Bishop Chase, which future generations will discharge more faithfully and unhesitatingly than the present. A century hence, when Trinity, Geneva, Kenyon, Jubilee, and Nashotah shall have become the Oxford and Cambridge of the American Church, the names of Berkley, Seabury, Hobart, Brownell, Chase, Breck, Cole, and other pioneers in the cause of Church Colleges, will find their appropriate place in the history of the Church in this country. The full and immediate realization of the benefits which may and ought to be derived from institutions depends upon their discreet management, and the Church's active coöperation.

The Romanists understand the importance of this point much better than we do, and act in accordance therewith more consistently than Churchmen are wont, and hence the multiplication of their Colleges all over the country. The following is a list of the Romish Colleges in the United States in 1850:

St. Mary's College, Baltimore, Md., having ten clerical and four lay professors; all of the Order of St. Sulpitius. 120 students.

St. Charles' College, near Baltimore, three clerical professors: same Order. 20 students.

Georgetown College, Georgetown, D. C., twelve clerical professors; all Jesuits, with ten lay teachers.

Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., five clerical and five lay professors; no Jesuits. 130 students.

Villanova College, near Lancaster, Penn., six clerical pro-

fessors ; all Augustinian Monks, with one lay professor. 40 students.

St. Mary's College, Wilmington, Del., three clerical professors ; no Jesuits. 107 students.

College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass., nine clerical professors ; all Jesuits, with five lay teachers. 120 students.

Univ. St. Mary's of the Lake, Ill., (Notre-Dame-Du-Lac)—four clerical and five lay professors ; all of the Society of the Holy Cross. 38 students.

College of Sinsinawa, Wisconsin, two clerical professors. Dominicans.

College of St. Joseph's, Buffalo, N. Y., just commenced.

St. Charles' College, Opelosas, La., ten clerical professors ; all Jesuits, and six lay professors. 70 students.

Jesus College, New Orleans, four clerical professors ; all Jesuits.

St. Xavier College, Cincinnati, four clerical professors ; all Jesuits, with six lay Professors. 280 students.

Collegiate Institute, Charleston, S. C., three clerical teachers ; no Jesuits. 140 students.

St. Andrew's College, Arkansas, just commenced.

St. Joseph's College, Bardstone, Ky., three clerical professors ; all Jesuits, with thirteen lay professors and teachers.

St. Mary's College, New Lebanon, Ky., three clerical professors ; no Jesuits.

St. Aloysius College, Louisville, Ky., just commenced. 200 students, and under Jesuit control.

Univ. St. Louis, Mo., fifteen clerical professors and six lay tutors ; all Jesuits. 240 students.

St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Mo., ten clerical professors, of the congregation of Lazarists Monks. 100 students.

St. John's College, Fordham, N.Y., ten clerical professors ; all Jesuits, with eight lay professors. 145 students.

Spring Hill College, Ala., three clerical professors ; all Jesuits, with three lay professors.

Besides a very large number of other religious houses, as Convents, Asylums, and other similar Institutions, we have before us a list of over one hundred and eight *female* schools, conducted by Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Loretto, Sisters of St. Joseph, Sisters of Notre-Dame, &c., many of them very largely patronized, and teaching not only all the solid, but all the ornamental branches of the most accomplished education. We doubt if there is a single Protestant Female Academy in the country, which can compete with several

of these Institutions, in lists of accomplished professors, in the course of studies pursued, or in the elegance with which the internal regulation of these houses is conducted ; and all, too, at a moderate expense.

There is another reason to which we have not yet alluded, why the young men of the Church at the present day should be educated under Church influences. Those who know the points of difference which divide the community into different parties and sects in religion, and who understand the grounds upon which these points are made to rest, will need no argument to persuade them that the training requisite for such a conflict can be derived only from a course of instruction that proceeds upon Church principles. The true idea of man, *as man*, and as a member of society, with a separate, individual will, and personal independence, and yet subject to Law and Order, is recognized nowhere so distinctly as in the teaching of the Church. Rome annihilates the personal independence and will, and practically, also the State, in her theory of the Church ; while ultra Protestantism annihilates both Church and State by its theory of individualism. Since, then, it is only the proper combination and harmonious action of both, that can secure civil and ecclesiastical peace and prosperity, it is indispensable that the young men of the Church shall not imbibe those radical and revolutionary sentiments which are now pressed upon the country ; that they shall be trained to habits of loyalty and obedience ; that they shall be taught in what the true dignity and glory of man really consists.

Besides, in the inconsistency of Churchmen in this matter of education, there is not only involved, oftentimes, the loss of every thing like the conservative influence and feeling of the Church, but the loss of *principle* itself ; and the formation, on the other hand, of the most deep-seated and ineradicable prejudice against the Church. We have some facts before us, on this point, which it will not do yet to publish. As one illustration, however, of what we mean, (and we wish it were the only one,) the late Romish Archbishop of Baltimore, (Eccleston,) was the son of a Churchman, and we believe a Church Warden ; who, under just those motives which now operate on hundreds of Churchmen, placed his son in a Romish Institution. These Romish Professors, in many cases Jesuits, are not lacking in knowledge of the world. Nor are they unskilled in the art of detecting and of captivating dawning genius. They are, many of them, scholars and gentlemen. Under the moulding process of these men, young Eccleston

was not only lost to the Church, but became at length a ruling spirit in the ranks of her bitterest foes. So much for modern liberalism! so much for the *bigotry* of patronizing Church Colleges!

We have an instance on hand of a somewhat different character, but we do not care to be more particular. Let it suffice to say, that the bitterest sectarian animosity which the Church is called to meet, is often from those who have denied the Faith of their Baptism, and proved recreant to the most solemn vows which heaven and earth can witness.

Now it is said, in way of reply, that Church Colleges do not offer those advantages for high intellectual culture, which are found in other Institutions, and that Churchmen do not keep up with the progress of the age. We answer, even if it were so—which it is not, at least to the extent urged—then make them worthy of that confidence. Establish Professorships and fill them with the best talent in the land. Enrich their Libraries. Found Scholarships, where young men, whose aspirations for usefulness are now blighted by poverty, may be trained up for the service of the Church. So many and diversified are the paths to wealth and honor now opening before young men, that, for ourselves, we see no other means of securing commanding talents for the Church, than that the Church herself shall take the matter in hand. This is the policy successfully adopted by Romanists and other religious bodies around us. A little impulse to public sentiment, would, at once, endow Trinity, Geneva, Kenyon, and Jubilee, with a fund of half a million of dollars each, and more if it were needed. There is wealth enough in the Church for every thing else but CHRIST! Churchmen can invest their thousands, and hundreds of thousands, in ten per cent. stocks; they can erect princely private mansions: and magnificent churches in which *themselves* may worship God; and then leave it for Harvard, the very centre and nucleus of modern Deism, to take the lead in the cause of education; or for Rome, to send over her swarms of prowling Jesuits to take and to hold possession of these vast fountains of influence; while our own neglected and drooping Colleges are sneeringly pointed at as showing in what estimation Churchmen hold the cause of Christian learning. We talk in a tone of commiseration about “the Dark Ages.” Dark as they were, they founded the two great Nurseries of Protestant Christendom, with a munificence which this boasting, shallow, money-making, “nineteenth century” has not yet equalled.



We will not pursue this subject farther. We plead guilty to no narrow prejudices. We reverence profound learning becomingly. We honor the noble and large-hearted liberality, which pours out its treasures into the laps of Harvard and Yale, and which is quietly and industriously planting Romish Universities in every State in the Union, only to turn with humiliation of soul at the spectacle of Institutions consecrated to, and identified with, a purer faith, actually dying out, or dwindling on through a forced and mortifying existence—a by-word to their evil-wishers—merely for want of a pittance of that abundant wealth which God in his Providence has given to His Church. Churchmen! these things ought not so to be.

ART. VI.—LETTER ON MODERN PANTHEISM.

THE following correspondence on *Modern Pantheism*, has lately fallen in our way; and which (omitting names) we are permitted to publish. We may say, that the author of the letter is a thorough German scholar; and, we believe, understands the subject on which he writes. Our readers will, we are sure, be glad to see this miniature portrait of a system which is silently, but rapidly, diffusing itself in this country; and the influences of which are traceable in more directions than one.

ED. CHURCH REVIEW.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Mr. ———, of ———, informs me that you are ——— before ——— on a subject assigned you, namely, "Pantheism in its relations to Modern Theology;" and that you wish to be referred to some of the best works in English on the subject. He also requests me to give you the desired information.

Now, Sir, I know of no good work on the subject. Neither do I suppose there can be any better way to become master of the subject, than (1) To learn definitely what Pantheism (especially such as prevails at the present day) is; and (2) To examine the Modern Theological works which seem to be infected with Pantheistic principles. *On the first, the true nature of Pantheism*, the best English works within my knowledge, would be Morrell's *History of Modern Philosophy*, (New York, 1848, pp. 752, 8vo.) and Murdock's *Elements of Modern Philosophy*, especially among the Germans, (Hartford, 1842, pp. 201, 18mo.) *On the second*, I should look at the Theological works of any and all of the Transcendentalists, and I should examine the Theology of the Schaffian and Nevins School; the speculations of Dr. Bushnell of Hartford; and Morrell's *Philosophy of Religion*. The Reviews of these works, (particularly those from Princeton,) may be consulted with advantage. Archdeacon Wilberforce's *Work on the Incarnation*, in my view, is based partly on Pantheism; though, manifestly, the author is not aware of the fact. Indeed, few of the recent theological works of this country, which are tinctured more or less with Pantheism, were intended by the authors to diffuse Pantheism. The truth is, Pantheism of the Hegelian, or other forms, has spread widely in Germany for

almost half a century ; and it has produced a new theological language, well suited to the system, which has become so popular as to be used unconsciously by persons who are not really and intentionally Pantheists. Hence the theological works tainted with Pantheistic principles, must not, in every case, lead us to believe the authors to be secretly Pantheists. They are not aware of the force of the terms they use ; nor do they see that the philosophical views they intend to express, are actually Pantheistic, and, if carried out legitimately, would terminate in absolute Pantheism.

If your question (instead of being *historical*, or relating to the actual influence which Pantheism *has* had on Modern Theology,) were a *philosophical* one, relating to the *effects* which Modern Pantheism is *calculated to have* on theology, it would be more easily developed, and might lead to the most appalling views of this *species of Atheism*. For modern German Pantheism blots out the entire Universe, according to our conceptions. It denies that there is any *being*, or *thing*, created or uncreated, in this wide Universe, in our acceptance of the term. It maintains, that nothing exists, but *Power*: that this *divine, eternal, self-developing power*, is not inherent in any *Being*, or *Person* ; is not an *Attribute* of some other Existing Being or Thing, but exists alone, independent, uncontrolled, and uncontrollable. And it *develops* or unfolds itself, according to laws inherent necessarily in it. Of course, nothing is to be met with, or to be supposed in all the Universe, but the *one eternal, self-developing Power*. There is no Personal God ; no Creator ; no moral Governor of the Universe ; and no angelic Beings ; no infernal Spirits ; no fallen sinful men ; and of course no Redeemer, no Sanctifier, no Justifier of repenting sinners. Indeed, we are ourselves nothing but partial developments of the one existing *Power* ; and our acts are only the actings of that Power. And as that Power acts or develops itself, *necessarily*, by virtue of laws inherent in it, there can be no morality, no sin, or holiness, in any action whatever : much less can praise or blame attach to any rational *being*, or to any *person*, for no such being or person exists. The Universe is one great *Idea*, or *Abstract Power* ; expanding or displaying itself, in an endless variety of ways and forms, according to the inherent laws of power ; that is, (as we should express it in our philosophy,) according to *physical* laws or principles inherent in it. Hence, the constant use of that appropriate and indispensable term, *Development*, among Pantheists. Nothing exists but developments. Anterior to all developments, (if such a time ever existed,) the Universe was

a blank ; an absolute nothing ; for *power*, which has no action, is an absurd and self-contradictory idea. *Power* must *act*, in order to *exist* ; and it must cease to *exist* whenever it ceases from action. Hence, according to Hegel and others, the universe was originally *nothing* ; and it came into existence by beginning to flow forth, and it continues to flow on, i. e. *Power continues* to develop itself wonderfully ; and will probably do so without end. From such a system, the utter annihilation of all theology seems to follow as a legitimate consequence. Yet thousands are adopting the phraseology of this system, and admitting one or another of its essential principles, without being at all sensible whither consistency would carry them.

Thus, Sir, I have hastily thrown out my first thoughts on the subject you are about to discuss ; for I have not time for a more deliberate and methodical consideration of it. I trust you will not consider me as indecorously obtruding my thoughts and opinions upon you. Personally strangers, as we are to each other, at the request of our mutual friend, I write to you in all frankness and freedom ; supposing that to do so will be acceptable to you. If you can derive benefit from any of these suggestions, it will afford me much satisfaction.

I am, Rev. and Dear Sir,

Respectfully Yours,

— — —.

— — —, — — —, 1850.

Rev. J. S. Pusey

ART. VII.—THE SECESSIONS.

1. *Cardinal Wiseman's High-Church Claims considered.*
2. *Mr. Palmer, on the Affairs of the Bristol Union.*
3. *Mr. Dodsworth's Letters to Dr. Pusey.*
4. *Mr. Newman's Lectures, on the Difficulties of Anglicans, &c.*

It was an idea entertained by Sir Walter Scott, that the middles of centuries were always fraught with great changes and events in England; and he used very ingeniously to support his theory by an appeal to History. It would seem as if what he thus held to be true of the State, was peculiarly and eminently true of the Church. The middle of the sixteenth century saw the mighty conflict of the Reformation, with all its glorious issues. The middle of the seventeenth beheld the life-struggle of the Church with Puritanism, resulting, as its enemies fondly, though vainly, hoped, in its destruction. The middle of the eighteenth witnessed the failure of the attempts of the Methodists within the Church, and the definite shaping out of their policy, accompanied and followed by their Secession. The middle of the nineteenth has seen, and is still witnessing, separations and secessions, not indeed as numerous, nor so involving something like a crisis, as those of the two preceding centuries, but still sufficient to arrest the attention, to occasion the profoundest wonder, and to awaken the most careful inquiry.

Before however we enter upon any view of the Secessions, and their causes, it will be well to call to mind, that the thoughtful remembrance of the past ought to remove every feeling of dismay at the present, and even of undue anxiety for the future. The Church of England has a history, such as no other portion of the Church can boast. Mercifully enabled to free herself from deep-seated corruptions, without incurring the loss of one essential of organization or of doctrine; wonderfully preserved through the fiery trials of the Marian persecution; sinking down to a mere spark of apparent life amid Puritan fanaticism, so that only in one congregation, and that in a foreign land, was her worship publicly celebrated; re-lighted

by God's grace from that one spark, and spread over all the world : delivered most signally from the intrigues of Papists under James II ; kept alive in an age of lukewarmness and laxity ; saved from the incursions of that rampant infidelity which stalked over Papal Europe : extended with a rapidity and life which almost recall the triumphs of the early ages ; and at this moment claiming for the heritage of Christ the isles of the ocean, and the utmost portions of the earth ; who can believe that the Church of England, identified with all the highest interests of religion, learning, and liberty, is to die out and come to nought, because a puppet Pontiff sends within her borders a mock Episcopacy ; or an unbelieving minister secretly plots her ruin, or some scores of unworthy sons are led off from their sworn allegiance ? The assault of the Papacy is no new thing. It is no new thing for the first minister of the Crown and his associates to attack the Church, whether openly or secretly. Neither is this the first time, in the history of the English Church, when there have been Secessions to the Church of Rome. We here refer, of course, to the times of James II : and we pause upon the point simply to remark, that then, as now, the great body of the people, the bone and sinew of the nation, remained unmoved ; and that conversions occurred among the Clergy and Nobility. Whether in the course of a few coming years the Church of England will find it a real evil to have lost some, or even a majority—though this of course can hardly be the case—of the English nobility, is a question involving great doubt. If the Gallican Church had been more identified with the people, and less with the nobility in the French Revolution, it would have been far better for her. It may be, that the past in France, contains a lesson for the future in England. While, however, all this is so ; while we have no fears for the Anglican Church, or for her true principles, and are fain to remember that in this, as in many other matters, “ the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be,” “ and there is no new thing under the sun ;” still the fact of the late and present Secessions remains, and presents a most important subject for inquiry.

It is a very easy, and, in some points of view, a very useful thing, to present the facts of the late and present movements in their chronological order. It is easy to show, that from the time of the publication of Froude's *Remains* in 1838, there began to exist a disposition in some quarters to disparage the English Reformation ; a disposition which fairly culminated, in the famous article on Bishop Jewel in the *British Critic*. It is also easy to see, that from about the date of Mr. Ward's

Ideal of a Christian Church, published in 1844, certain persons began to claim that the existing Church of Rome was the model to which the Church of England should look for practical guidance; the way of this position having been prepared by the monstrous notion grounded on Tract XC, that all Roman Doctrine might be held, *as matter of opinion*, by an English Churchman. But after all, this is only touching on the surface of things; and it answers our inquiries as to the reasons of the Secessions, by removing them one step farther back. We take the external view at what it is worth, and it certainly is valuable. Be we desire to go deeper; to know—

“Unde tremor terris; quâ vi maria alta tumescant
Objicibus ruptis, rursumque in se ipsa residant:
* * * * *

Felix, qui potuit verum cognoscere causas.”

Now, no doubt, many persons will settle the question as to the original and motive causes of the Secessions, in a very summary, and, it may be, to themselves, a very satisfactory way. Almost every man has a natural liking for a good sweeping reason; which goes over the field clean, leaves nothing behind it, and entails no after labor. It saves time, trouble, and above all, thought; and is convenient for a hundred purposes besides. On such occasions, therefore, and in such times as the present, there are always two, and sometimes more, good stock reasons, which perform their parts with the same laudable gravity as stock actors do theirs in great tragedies. At every pause in the action they present themselves and for the time being really seem to have something to do with the progress of events.

It is therefore no matter of surprise, that in the present case, two such classes of explanations should present themselves; that one set of reasoners should assert, on the one hand, that the Secessions are no more than the natural result of so-called “High Church” principles; and that another should declare, that they may be explained by the revulsion—carrying men beyond just limits—from what are termed “Evangelical” views. We would apologize for our terms, but we are dealing with facts, and we employ them merely to avoid mistakes. The primary and obvious difficulty with these explanations is, that they are too neat and complete. They cut through all the knots, without untying them. They take no cognizance of, and make no allowances for, differences of motive, shades of opinion, changes in position, and all those various and nice matters of detail, which cannot safely be put to one side, when we are considering the operations of the human mind. They are

quite too useful moreover for the purposes of party, not to be looked upon with considerable suspicion. And, finally, they are not borne out by facts. Facts do not establish any such logical sequence of opinions, as warrant them. As matter of fact, the Secessions have not proceeded exclusively from the one class of individuals mentioned, or from the other, but from both.

We are well aware, that to all this the reply will be made, by those who take the first named view, that it is at least evident, that wherever persons have finally seceded, who originally held "Evangelical" views, they have in the first instance passed on to "High Church" principles; and that their further progress, first to Romanizing and then to Romanism, demonstrates the tendency of these principles. But here again, facts are at issue with the hypothesis. And even were the case really what it is claimed to be, the argument proves quite too much. For instances are quite as numerous, in which persons passing from the various Protestant Communions into the Roman Church, have, in so doing, gone through the English Church, as they are where individuals have changed from "Low Church" views to "High," and then seceded. So that there is just as much ground for a party outside the Church, to say that the natural tendency of English Churchmanship is towards Popery, as there is for a party within the Church, to assert, that certain views have such a tendency. If the latter conclusion is adopted under present circumstances, the former cannot be rejected. They occupy the same ground, and they stand or fall together. The truth is, that neither conclusions can be sustained by reason or facts.

As to the other explanation, that these Secessions are to be attributed to the over swing of a revulsion from certain other views, we have already said that facts do not sustain it; nor do we believe it would ever have been taken up, but as a sort of Rowland for an Oliver rejoinder, to the offensive and unjust explanation of the Secessions, noticed above. That in some cases this revulsion has taken place, is exceedingly probable. That in others it has not, is abundantly obvious. What has tended to give an air of plausibility to the idea, is the fact, that in this country most of the Secessions have been made by persons who came into the Church after their mental habits were formed, having begun life and received their training in one or another of the various Communions which are spread over the land. Indeed, the great Bramhall, speaking of his own time, says that "many who have had their education among sectaries or non-conformists, have apostated to Rome,

but few or no right Episcopal divines. Hot water freezeth the soonest." We well remember, also, to have heard a distinguished leader among the English Apostates, remark on the likelihood that Secessions might occur in the American Church, because so many of her Clergy received their early training outside her pale. We little knew then how much the wish was father to the thought.

We reject, then, both these explanations, as defective and unjust; as unsupported by facts, unphilosophical in their character, and unsatisfactory in their results. The truth is, that no such sweeping, general rules can be laid down. That very impossibility condemns them. The moment that we approach the subject now in hand, that moment we are brought in contact with matters of detail. Individuals refuse to arrange themselves in one or two great classes. Groups are formed. The various workings of the human mind are seen. Different motives begin to exhibit themselves. And the phalanx of Seceders, which at first sight seemed to present a solid front, is found to be composed of such heterogeneous materials, as to make it evident that Rome, if in the issue she does keep them together, must do so by the pressure of external force, and not by a process of internal assimilation. There is, then, no fair method of considering the causes of Secession, but by patiently arranging our facts, and patiently going through with details. And this is what we purpose now to do; hoping to be able to cover the ground, though not expecting to exhaust the subject. We shall claim the liberty of speaking with a becoming plainness, and it may be, at times, with an honest indignation. For if ever one may be angry without sin, it is surely when cowardly prevarication, deceit, and treachery, are attempted to be palmed off upon the world, under the plea of conscience and conviction. And what adds to the depth of our feelings, is the horrible character of the whole transaction. For we do not hesitate to avow our firm persuasion, not taken up at random, but reached after years of careful examination, that no member of the Anglican Church can secede to the Communion of Rome, without periling his soul's salvation. Ungrateful therefore as is our task, we proceed to consider the classifications and causes of Apostacy.

Lowest on the list stand those who secede for the sake of temporal gain. These are of course no further connected with the intellectual movements of Secession, than as they suggest to them the idea of "bettering" their condition by a change of place. If the movement were in another direction, and the same inducements existed there, they would take

that direction just as readily as they now do the opposite. The only moral quality they exhibit, is a profound sense of the duty of providing for themselves; the only intellectual one, an amazing shrewdness in the performance of this duty. There are always more or less of such persons to be met with; persons whose logic is summed up in the *argumentum ad crumenam*; their ethics, in the maxim, *quisque sibi*; and their theology, in the privately interpreted text, "Godliness is great gain."

We are well aware, that from the persevering rhodomontade, which interested priests, and foolish romancers, have kept up about the poverty and self-denial of the Romish Clergy as a body, a most false impression has been spread abroad; and it may very likely be considered strange, that we should speak of a person's hoping to better his worldly condition by entering their ranks. We certainly do not mean to deny, that there have been and are, among the Clergy of the Roman Church, noble examples of men, who have made themselves poor for Christ's sake and the Gospel's. It would be as foolish as it would uncharitable to attempt it. But then, to suppose any such thing of the great body of the Romish Clergy, is simply preposterous. The truth is, there are no Clergy who are so universally well supported, so abundantly furnished with the means of living, and in the receipt of such regular and ample incomes, as those of Rome, the world over. Nor have we ever been more utterly disgusted, than when we have heard—as it has more than once been our fortune to do—a burly priest, whose income, from the various modes by which he wrung from the poor their hard earned wages, we knew to be five times greater than that of any priest or preacher in the country-side, boasting that he was the only "minister" in the neighborhood who had no salary! The hypocrisy was somewhat too unctuous for our digestion.

Not much above this class in character, and certainly far inferior to them in shrewdness, is another, which it is easier to describe than to name. It is composed of individuals who live on trivial excitement and petty wonder-mongering; and love to make the little world in which they move, stare in a small way. Whatever secures immediate notoriety, these take up. Two centuries ago, they would have been Puritans; one century ago, Methodists; at the beginning of this century, Infidels; and now they become Papists. They can hardly, indeed, be accused of deliberate and knowing apostacy. For, to do them justice, they have as little idea of the realities to which they long to go, as the young lady in the novel who was pining

to live in a desert ; and whose notion of a desert turned out to be, " that it was rather a nice place, with plenty of turf, trees, and fountains, pretty well out of the world, yet not so far out, but one could occasionally see one's friends, and give a dinner party." These are they who fall in love with Mediævalism ; who grow serious over the cut of a cossack ; moralize on the button of a surplice ; and dogmatize on symbolism, in a vein that might astonish even Durandus. These are they who found Orders ; and gird themselves with robes ; and drive pannier-bearing asses before them to market ; really believing, meantime, that they are reviving monkery ! Popery or Mohammedanism is the system for such men ; for in either they will find room and respect for their maddest fancies. They are sadly out of place in a Church, which expects her children to retain the reason which God has given them, and counts sobermindedness to be a mark of the Christian character.

Again, there are those who are led on to final secession, by tampering with what in the beginning they believe to be error, and what they finally are permitted to regard as truth. We have no doubt that when the history of very many perversions comes to be disclosed, it will be found to begin here. In periods of theological movement and agitation, when particular doctrines are brought prominently forward, and kept before men's eyes, there is necessarily a good deal of confusion of ideas, and random denunciation. It has been eminently so, in the late and present movement. Very honest and well meaning persons have sadly mixed up and confounded with Popery, doctrines and usages which have no more really to do with it, than they have with Paganism. Each man has had his interpretation and his doctrine. And we venture to say, that could every thing which one and another, in and out of the Church, has denounced as Popery, be collected in a volume, we should have besides Popery proper, a very tolerable compendium of Orthodox Theology.

Now all this produces in minds of a certain class, a feeling and temper not altogether unnatural, though certainly very weak, which almost inevitably leads them to tamper with error. Transferring in a measure their indignation against these random denunciations of what they know to be truth, to the same denunciations when they are very differently directed, they are easily led on to regard error itself with complacency. And then, moreover, the very folly of unreal and ill-regulated fears induces many minds to attempt to terrify still further, those whose fears are so improperly directed, by diminishing as much as possible the distance between themselves and real

danger. And the same thing is not infrequently done, by that sort of spiritual foolhardiness, which some persons appear to be so fond of. The result is however unfailing. It is precisely analogous to that which always follows on tampering with sin; if indeed the two processes are not different aspects of one and the same thing. Nor can we wonder that persons who meddle with an internal machine, which it is simply their duty to let alone, should receive the whole discharge of its deadly battery into their own bosoms.

There is another possible explanation of certain Secessions, to which it is most painful to allude, and which we shall state hypothetically only: at the same time desiring our readers to remember, that the very same philosophical views which have carried some persons into the Roman Church, have landed others in avowed and open infidelity. Suppose, then, that individuals, by pursuing to their results these philosophical views, have reached a condition of unbelief; and of course losing all scruple as to the external form under which their unbelief is veiled, are anxious only to spread its poison as rapidly and as surely as possible. Their first step will naturally be, to find where their philosophical theory will be admitted, and where they can be allowed to retain and act upon it. Suppose, next, that they find their theory indignantly rejected by the Anglican Church, but accepted and avouched both by Romanism and Rationalism. It will require no great keenness to discover, that the indirect way in which they will be compelled to work in the former system, will be vastly more efficacious than the direct method of the latter. To adopt it, also, will involve less suspicion, and appear more natural. What better way then could be devised to further the supposed object, than to secede to Rome; to carry out to the utmost extreme, under her sheltering care, the supposed theory; to mix up Gospel truth with, and to endeavor to supplant it by the most anile fables and puerile fancies: and so, by making religion ridiculous and a farce, to pave the way for the instant and extensive spread of infidelity? God grant, that our hypothetical case be not an actual and dreadful reality!

The four classes, of whom we have now spoken, do not probably comprise a moiety of the Seceders, whose numbers, it should be observed, have been very much overestimated. There still remains a large proportion, the individuals composing which, fall into neither of these categories. And these may be ranged in two divisions: those who are hurried on to secession by impatience and morbid views of things; and

those who, from whatever cause, adopt such erroneous ideas of the Christian Church and the Christian Life, as impel them to the same result. The last of these classes is honest and well intentioned, and can therefore be treated with a respect and consideration, which we are bound neither to feel nor exercise towards any of the others.

We have certainly no disposition to disguise or conceal the fact, that the present relation of the Church of England to the State, is one of simple bondage. The two benefits which the Church derives from it, are a most uncertain protection of her property, and a questionable privilege of a seat for her Bishops in the House of Lords. And to balance the account, what indignities does she not receive? With a Parliament already made up of Papists, Infidels, and Errorists of every shade of opinion, and,—unless the House of Lords shall do what they never have done,—soon to number among its numbers, Jews; with a Prime Minister and Cabinet hostile to the Church, and likely to give that hostility full swing in nominating to the Episcopacy; with a Sovereign and Prince Consort who can do nothing even if they would; our Mother Church is reaping what sooner or later every Church must, who suffers herself to be drawn into that Feudal union with the State, which attempts to provide for temporals, at the expense of spirituals; and to the ante-feudal beginnings of which, with but a slight change, we may apply the lines of Dante:

“Ah, Constantine! to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower,
Which the first wealthy *Fathers* gained from thee.”

Still, while no concealment or understatement of the position of Church and State in England should be made, it is very weak to be so influenced by it, as many persons appear to have been. For, in the first place, it in no way disproves the claims of the Church, as a Church, and irrespective of the State; it in no way annuls her authority, or touches on her life. And this being so, what shall we say of the Christian soldiery of those who desert their posts because there is trouble before them, or because things do not seem to be going precisely according to their ideal? Our first proposition cannot be disproved, or safely denied. For if it be, then what becomes of the Primitive Church in the times of the Arian Emperors? What of a large part of the Roman Church herself, in the days of the French Concordat? The Privy Council might declare Arianism to be the Faith of the Church of England, and till the Creeds and Doxologies were blotted from her worship, it would amount to no more than any idle word. The State

might impose Arian Priests and Bishops on the Church, and what would she then be suffering more than the early Church suffered under the Arian Emperors? And what has she to do but to bide her time? And what words, then, can express our disgust and indignation, at the weak and willful cowardice which, under such circumstances, could desert the Church and rush headlong into a communion, where there is in many quarters just as much State-bondage, and everywhere, false doctrine, idolatry, and "wretchlessness" of living? This is worse than infatuation. It is black-hearted treachery.

This brings us to the class of *Seceders*, which we would fain hope is not only more numerous than either of the others, but even than all together: that namely, whose members have been honestly led astray. No really thoughtful Churchman, and, above all, no clergyman, can have lived through the last ten years, without feeling it to be his duty to make himself master, so far as he could, of the controversy with the Church of Rome. That general acquaintance with it, which some years ago might have appeared sufficient, is not sufficient now: it must be more deeply studied, more thoroughly comprehended. Now the study of controversy is always attended with danger. And this danger is increased in a tenfold degree, when the study of it becomes general, and the hasty conclusions, the biases, and the prejudices of others, are brought to bear upon and to influence,—it may be unconsciously,—individual minds. At such periods, the difficulty of calmly and rightly studying controversy, becomes excessive, and demands far more than usual watchfulness. One or two leaders, to whom individuals have been accustomed to look up, reach certain conclusions, and then the impression spreads, that all persons who study the controversy, must come to the same conclusions. People begin to be afraid that they will be considered as weak minded or cowardly, or, to use a vulgar phrase, "backing out," unless they follow in the same track. From all this a panic grows up, and men begin to think that study is as certain a precursor of change, as the plague is of death. This has been far too much the case, for several years past. There has been quite too much of an impression, that the study of the Roman Controversy must result in Secession. A feeling as weak in character, as it is false in fact; weak, because if it be thus dangerous to "think too much," then it must follow, that Rome is strong and we are feeble; false, because where one who has studied the controversy has seceded, scores have been strengthened, and established, and persuaded of the whole **Papal System**, so far as it is Papal, that it is a stupendous lie.



No! The danger is not in the study of the controversy, if it be rightly studied; but in the study of it under the circumstances and external influences just alluded to; and especially under the influence of false views of certain fundamental points taken up, at some time in the progress of that one-sided examination, which is mistaken for candid investigation. These views, as we have already intimated, relate to the Christian Church and the Christian Life; and we now propose to speak of them at length.

We shall consider first, those that relate to the Church: because as matter of fact, we believe they are first taken up, and lead to further and even greater wanderings. The errors here,—as was most happily stated by the Bishop of Connecticut, in his Convention Address for 1850,—bear upon the Unity and the Catholicity of the Church. Now we believe that the origin of these views is to be found in some papers of Cardinal Wiseman, originally published in the *Dublin Review*; and especially in one which forms Tract No. V, in his collection entitled “*High Church Claims*.” In this Tract, he takes up the case of the Donatists, and attempts to apply it to the Church of England. Among other reasons for our supposition that this is the origin of the errors under consideration, we may mention Mr. Newman’s avowal in the twelfth of his late Lectures on the “*Difficulties of Anglicans*,” that his mind was greatly impressed by a paper which he fell in with, “*upon the schism of the Donatists*.” It was undoubtedly the Tract of Cardinal Wiseman.

Now, in that Tract or Review, for it matters not which we call it, there were most speciously put forward a test of Unity and a test of Catholicity, which made directly for Rome; and which, if they were taken up, would sooner or later lead men to submit to the so-called “*Chair of St. Peter*,” and the self-styled “*Holy Roman Church*.” Both tests were simple; and for reasons soon to be alledged, very likely to be taking to English minds. The test of Unity, which was declared to be directly derived from St. Optatus, was Communion with the See of Peter. The test of Catholicity pretended to be grounded upon St. Augustine, Communion with the existing Church at large. The train of argument by which these positions were accompanied and defended, was most skillfully managed, and most carefully adapted to the circumstances of the times, and the temper of men’s minds. Mr. Newman, in the Lecture just cited, says, that he “*felt dazzled and excited by the new view of things thus opened to him*.” No doubt this was precisely the effect produced either directly or by the agency

of others, on very many minds. Whether such a condition of dazzled excitement is the most advantageous one, for cool and candid examination, is quite another question.

Still there are reasons why the English mind would be more likely than any other to seize upon and be taken by these views. One of the unfortunate results of an Establishment is, that it accustoms men to the idea of a personal centre in the Church, apart from and beyond the Episcopacy; and the idea carries its influence long after the Sovereign has ceased to be regarded as the Head of the Church, farther than as being Head of all persons or subjects,—whether civil or ecclesiastical,—in their state relations. It is easy to see how it prepares the mind to receive the theory of the central position of the Papacy. The very insularity, too, which so much characterizes the English, the way of measuring and estimating every thing, by comparing it with “what they do at home,” which has always been such a distinguishing note of an Englishman, inclines men, when once they are beginning to break away from it, to be captivated with the idea of largeness of intercourse and communion. It is the natural result of a relieved cramp, to produce an unreal notion of extension. And for these reasons, the two tests put forth by Cardinal Wiseman, were likely to attract and allure many minds. They were enforced, moreover, by arguments exactly adapted to the temper of the times; while the justifications of the position of the English Church, which were noticed and replied to in the course of the argument, were not the bold and manly ones of our great Divines, but the timid, treacherous, sentimental ones, of men who are excusing what they dislike, and whom therefore a school-boy can overthrow. But, after all,—for that is the great question,—to what do these tests amount, and what are they worth? Even granting that in the minds of the Fathers who employ them,—and we only grant it momentarily, for the sake of argument,—they mean precisely what Cardinal Wiseman supposes them to mean; still they are only individual arguments, and nothing more. It is one thing when a Father stands forth as a witness to the usages or doctrines of the Church in his time, and quite another thing, when he adduces his own opinions, and pursues his own individual plans of argument. Now clearly, both St. Optatus and St. Augustine, in the passages in question, occupy the latter position. So that whatever deference might be due to the tests alledged from them, were they adduced as the doctrine of the Church in their time, no such deference can, under the circumstances, be claimed. This is not the place to in-

quire what degree of deference would be due to them, under other circumstances. It is enough for us, distinguishing thus between the testimony and the opinions of the Fathers, to show that they belong to the latter class, and are to be estimated accordingly. But we do not admit,—though for argument's sake, we have been seemingly granting it,—that these tests were employed by either of these Fathers, in the sense claimed by Cardinal Wiseman. Let us take them in their order.

In regard to the argument of St. Optatus, that Unity is proved by communion with the See of Peter, before it can be so employed as Cardinal Wiseman employs it, it must be proved that by the See of Peter is meant the See of Rome, under all circumstances. Now let it be remembered that St. Optatus is writing to and of the Donatists; part of whom were then in Rome, and part in Africa. If he were writing to the former, then to propose to them communion with the See of Rome, as a test of Unity, would be no more than to propose to any persons communion with any orthodox See within whose jurisdiction they lived, as such a test. For the See of Rome was then orthodox. But suppose a failure in the orthodoxy of the Roman See; suppose the instance of the Monothelite Pope Honorius, and how would the matter then stand? Can any man suppose that St. Optatus would then have argued for communion with the See of Rome, as a proof of Unity? And if not then, how far less now! Under any circumstances then, the test cannot be employed as Cardinal Wiseman attempts to employ it, until it is proved that the orthodoxy of the See of Rome is infallible. How very weak then to be taken with a show of argumentation which does not even come up to the dignity of a *petitio principii*!

And moreover it is very doubtful, even on the showing of Romish commentators, whether the expression of St. Optatus, *Cathedra Petri*, means the See of Rome at all. It certainly may mean, and it has been by some of them distinctly declared to mean, no more than the head or metropolitan See of any province. The meaning therefore of the phrase, is at least doubtful; and of course no conclusive argument can be grounded on a doubtful premiss.

Much the same general line of remark holds good of the test pretended to be derived from St. Augustine. If it is to be employed in that unalterable and direct way, which Cardinal Wiseman intimates, without any modification from times and circumstances, then the whole Church long ago came to nothing. How could the test of communion with the existing

Church at large, prove Catholicity, when it was *Athanasius contra mundum*? Let an orthodox Christian then have gone forth into the world, as Cardinal Wiseman supposes an English Churchman to do now, and see how he would have fared. The simple truth is, that Communion with the great body of the Church, so far as regards one period of time, is a test of Catholicity, only when the great body of the Church is pure and orthodox. Under other circumstances, the test must be made to embrace the past as well as the present; and this being done, and the view being extended over all the generations since the Ascension—an *orbis terrarum* that is indeed magnificent—which will stand the test, Rome with her Creed of Pope Pius, or England with her Creed of Nice? The true issue has been cunningly ignored, and one set up which easily leads off men just breaking away from the bonds of insularity.

And even were not all this so, still the fatal difficulty remains, that not the slightest support from Holy Scripture is claimed for either of these tests. In fact the whole plan of Cardinal Wiseman, in the Tract in question, was to run a parallel between the case of the Donatists in Africa, as it is described by Ecclesiastical Historians, and that of the Church of England. As we have said, the plan was most astutely carried out; just adapted to that mawkish, sentimental way in which some persons were even then beginning to speak of non-communication with Rome, as something to be deprecated and explained, instead of being avouched and insisted on, until Rome should return to the purity of the Gospel Faith—a thing which she can never do. In all the process, there was not one word from Holy Scripture; all that was alledged was the individual opinions of individual Fathers! And if these availed so much, what ought to have been the case, when far more and striking parallels could be run, and were run, if men would only have read them, between the little horn, the man of Sin, the mystical Babylon, and the Roman Church, than this sophistical one between the Donatists and the Church of England? And if it be said that this latter parallel is matter of opinion, then we reply so is the former; and the difference still remains, that opinion in the first instance runs a parallel, grounded on other opinions, and in the second, one, grounded on Holy Scriptures. In the very lowest view then of probabilities, the chances are decidedly in favor of the latter. But, to proceed.

These false views of the Christian Church, led as they almost necessarily must lead, to false views of the Christian Life, of the relations of the individual to God, and consequently of God's dealings with the individual.



There are, be it remembered, two views, which all correct Theology holds, and holds moreover harmoniously, concerning man in his spiritual relations to God the blessed Trinity. The one of these relates to the gifts, privileges, and graces, which he receives from God; the other has in view the responsibilities which he owes to God. In the former, every thing comes to individual men, not as individuals, but as members one of another. It is in the communion of the Body of Christ, and there only, that men have any right to look for the gifts and graces of the Gospel Covenant. We do not mean to say that God cannot, and never does, bestow them out of that communion. It is not for us to set bounds and limits to God's power in any way. But we do say, that out of that communion, man has no right to expect them; that there, and there only, he is bound to seek them; and that to neglect to seek them there, or to set up some other mode in which to seek them, is the surest possible way to lose them. And thus it is, that God has bound together by the strongest bonds, in the unity of Christ's mystical body, and in the common participation of gifts and privileges—which unless sought for in common, will not be found at all—His individual sons. This is the first view, and surely no way of securing unity could be so effectual, no end for which it could be desired, so lofty. Harmoniously with this, a sound Theology holds another view of man, in reference to the responsibility which these gifts and privileges involve. In God's bestowing them, the individual as such, was nothing, apart from his membership in Christ; in receiving them, and rendering an account for their use and employment, membership in Christ's Body is of no avail, and the individual is every thing. In this way it is, that infinite wisdom has secured brotherhood without diminishing responsibility; in His bestowment of His gifts, making individuals nothing, and teaching them to say *our Father*; in their reception and accountability, making individuals every thing, and teaching them to say, *my Judge*. And this twofold yet harmonious view, our Anglican Theology most distinctly holds, while Rome, and various other communions, either divide or confound it.

Thus the later theology of the Genevan School—for the remark does not apply to Calvin—as its adherents admit, where they do not claim, leaves out of sight man's organic life as a member of Christ, and deals whether as to gifts or graces, only with the individual. It is not however with this school that we are now concerned. Rome, on the other hand, sinks the individual throughout, save in some cases when she brings him

out in exaggerated prominence. Her false view of the character of the Church, in which the notions of unity and catholicity considered above, are prime elements, leads her on to this; and disposes those who adopt them, to be led on also. The corporate existence, the organic life of the individual, is in her view all, and she ignores the other, except under the circumstances just alluded to; and of which we shall speak by and by.

Now this false principle works itself out in many ways and forms. It gives shape to views of the Priesthood, the Sacraments, Justification, Remission of Sins, Faith, and a vast many other matters. A few suggestive words on these points are all that our limits will allow. Let us take the Sacraments. Here it works to the substitution of the intention of the Priest, for the fit state of the recipient. For when the individual is so completely merged in the body corporate, as by the Romish theory he is, there can be no responsibility whether of reciprocity or of use resting upon him; and since in acts of religion, there must be something interior in their character, the attempt is made to find it, not in the receiver, but in the administrator. It operates in much the same way in regard to Justification; losing sight of the individual application of Christ's merits, in their supposed corporate diffusion. In dealing with the Remission of Sins, it erects necessarily a new Sacrament in the tribunal of Penance; while in the matter of Faith, it deprives the individual of the power of exercising it, and swallows it up in the corporate certainty and infallibility of the Church.

And yet, simultaneously with all this sinking and destroying of the individual, Rome also holds in one point of view the most exaggerated notions concerning him. For in the nature of things, individuality cannot thus be annihilated. It must come out in some way; and if it be denied its proper place, it will assume an improper one. In the system of Rome, it does this in the doctrine of works of supererogation, and that whole view of the Christian life, which grows out of this doctrine, and those which are connected with it; that frightful system which confounds all limits of sin and holiness; makes salvation a ledger balance between God and man; destroys the peace and joy of the believer in this life; and after death sends him away into fiery torments, which only differ in duration from the torments of the damned. And all the while, the only results of this wretched congeries of doctrines, are the dishonoring of the eternal Trinity, the blasphemous arrogation to man's imperfect works of Divine worthiness, and the filling

of the Papal coffers with the price of immortal souls. There can be no depths of error deeper and darker than these. For they involve the corruption of the most heavenly and holy truths. And the higher the truth, the worse is its corruption. An angel, if he falls, becomes a devil.

Such, then, it appears to us, is a fair classification of the *Seceders* to the Papacy. Some we must despise, and all we can pity. How much farther secessions are to occur we do not know, and beyond the consequences to the seceders themselves, we account it a matter of not the slightest moment. There are some reasons why, in this country, men are less likely to be taken captive by Rome, than in England. There are also reasons why the very opposite may be anticipated. Be that however as it may, we have no fears for the result. The number of actual secessions has been greatly overestimated. Even the *Tablet* acknowledges this, and mourns over it. Whether they are to be very much increased or not, is a question which time alone can answer ; and as we have said, apart from the interests of individuals, we consider the question as one of no real moment. It will not affect final issues and permanent results. Nor do we care to number up, as men do beasts in the shambles, the heads that go from us, or come to us. We shall very likely see more and stranger transitions than any which have yet been witnessed. But a great controversy is receiving meantime its settlement, and questions of the most tremendous concernment, are sifted to their final answers.

Such times are ever times of trial for individual souls. Many fall ; many more learn to stand securely. The selfish, the vain, the ambitious, the hasty, the impatient, the half read, the superficial, the cowardly, these make shipwreck of their faith and of themselves. But the generous, the self-distrustful, the humble, the patient, the studious, the earnest, and the brave, these will withstand the shock. These will remember the claims of truth, the warnings of the past, the teachings of God's Providence. These will remember, that only two centuries ago a fierce and unscrupulous enemy swept from the realm of England the Mother Church, and drove her faithful children into the dens and caves of the earth ; and where is that foe now ? Gasping in the last throes of extinction, and dying out even on her own chosen soil. These will remember that three centuries ago, the same foe that now assails again, thought that she also had destroyed the Reformed Church of England. Compare that foe now with what she was then. Look at her in the Councils of Europe ; look at her among the

people in Spain, and France, and Italy, and even Austria ; look at her anywhere, and in any light, and what is she ? Weaker and weaker has she grown, with every added year. And if she appear in brighter colors now, it is but the changing brilliancy of the inflated bubble, which is ready to burst and vanish at a touch. Meantime, the twice destroyed Church of England has risen in God's strength, and girdled the earth. " Holding the mystery of the Faith," and " holding forth the Word of Life," she has gone on in the way of her high vocation. On that way she will go still, though, no doubt, for long and weary years, she must do battle with the one hand, while she builds up with the other. Not in our day indeed must we look for peace. Ours must be the stern, uncompromising struggle ; the strong, unflagging contest for the Church, the Gospel, and the Life of Christ, against the Church, the Gospel, and the Life of Rome. It is a battle in which quarter must not be asked, nor given. There can be no truce, no pause, no intermission. The side where victory rests not, must become a spiritual desolation.

AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.*

By REV. F. L. HAWES, D. D., LL. D.

ART. VIII.—VIRGINIA COLONIAL CHURCH PAPERS.†

COMMISSARY BLAIR, GOVERNOR NICHOLSON, AND THE
VIRGINIA CLERGY.

REMARKS ON MR. COMMISSARY'S SPEECH, [BY SEVERAL OF THE
VIRGINIA CLERGY.]

"ANSWER what hath been laid to my charge," and again, "to accuse me of any crimes or misdemeanors."

It hath been laid to Mr. Commissary's charge, and under that charge, in the opinion of almost all men, who ever heard any thing of him, he still labors, that he hath been, ever since he came into place and power, a very busy man, and troublesome under every government, and it hath been laid to his charge, before Queen in Council, that he hath aspersed her Majesty's government and governor here with false and malicious informations, which is no small crime and misdemeanor, but as for that we have nothing to do with it. We never design to turn accusers, unless forced to it in our own vindication.

"Complain of me (in God's name) as much as you please. I desire no favor upon that account."

No! no favor, but a protection. Mr. Commissary very well knew before he made that speech, that we are under a prohibition of making any complaints against him, or of so much as answering for ourselves: a safe challenge.

"If any man is weary of the late unhappy divisions and animosities, which have been among us."

We are all of us weary of them and most heartily wish the cause of them removed.

"Never put him in mind of what is past."

Such a forgetfulness is necessary on all hands.

"Backbiting in holes and corners."

Of all the men I know, Mr. Commissary Blair hath the least cause to complain of backbiting in holes and corners. What men speak of Mr. Blair, they speak in the high roads and not in holes and corners.

"I, for my part, am ready to pass by all provocations."

This is good again; so that it be mutually taken.

* Copy-right secured according to law. † Continued from Vol. III, p. 616.

"Being well satisfied that ye have not been the principals, but only the accessaries in them."

In them? In what? In our addresses and testimonies, and opposing Mr. Commissary's opposing her Majesty's governor and representative? If so, I accept not of the purgation he offers in all these things. I own myself to have been not a mere accessary only, but a principal.

"But if any are still desirous to blow up the coals of contention I am afraid I must tell you they themselves may have occasion to repent it when it is too late."

This in Mr. Commissary Blair is *meekness*; in another man it would be called *overawing*.

Here follows a paragraph, the most elaborate and artificial in the whole speech, which I must dwell upon a while, and therefore transcribe it at length.

"The case is much altered now from what it was some time ago. God be thanked we have now a Governor who is as studious of union and quiet as some others have been of party and faction, and notwithstanding the idle stories which are industriously spread all over the country to the contrary, we, who have been near the fountain head of business, know that he is a gentleman of that established good character and that firm interest, that we are likely to be long happy under his government, and they will find that they do but kick against the pricks who go about directly, or indirectly, to undermine him or make him uneasy."

This paragraph, with all its paint and daubing, if taken without a corrective, is rank poison.

"The case is much altered now from what it was some time ago. God be thanked we have now a Governor who is as studious of union and quiet, as some others have been of party and faction."

As some others have been—viz. Governor Andros and Governor Nicholson, who have both of them felt the effects of Mr. Commissary Blair's meekness.

But, God be thanked, we have now a Governor who is, &c. We like our Governor as well as Mr. Commissary can do for the heart of him, and as thankfully acquiesce in her Majesty's choice; and already see sufficient grounds to ominate to ourselves the greatest ease and happiness under his government, and have not the least suspicion to the contrary. But, as a friend, let me tell Mr. Commissary that his passion hath, of late, got too much the ascendant over his discretion, and that he takes but an awkward way of recommending himself to the new Governor, by discovering upon every turn so inveterate and untameable a spleen against the old one. I wonder so great a politician as Mr. Blair should run upon so foul a mistake. But every man hath his weakness; and this is Mr. Blair's. He can as well forbear drawing his breath as venting his gall against Gov. Nicholson—and yet this Gov. Nicholson was (as I have been informed) ushered into his Government with this very self-same serenade of our

good Governor, and a very good Governor did he continue till it was his misfortune to fall under the displeasure of Mr. Commissary, but the sting lies in what follows.

"And notwithstanding the idle stories which are industriously spread all over the country to the contrary, we who have been, &c. —and that they will find that they do but kick against the pricks, who go about directly, or indirectly, to undermine him or make him uneasy."

And may that wretch be clothed with infamy, that shall go about directly, or indirectly, to undermine him or make him uneasy. But why, in God's name, all this to us of the clergy? Doth any of us go about directly, or indirectly, to undermine him or make him uneasy? and what are those idle stories? and by whom so industriously spread all over the country? and to the contrary of what? and what is the meaning of kicking against the pricks? or who is it that kicks against the pricks, or goes about directly or indirectly to undermine him or make him uneasy? These are very suspicious expressions. I would willingly hope better things of Mr. Commissary than that it is his intention to create jealousies in the Governor against us, and thereby to throw us afresh into those embroilments, out of which we are now in a fair way of recovering. But these (should he use the like in other companies, or should they come to the Governor's ears) are desperate insinuations and bear an untoward aspect that way, but we know the Governor to be too wise a man to be easily put upon, and there lies our security.

"And let us comply with the wise and Christian admonition of our excellent Bishop."

Part of which runs in these words: "If you imagine your late Governor Nicholson hath been injurious to you, forgive as you would be forgiven, and express no resentments, but part with him fairly and friendly."

"As to you, I shall take my characters of you, not from what you were, when under the strong influences of a mighty overswaying power, of which I have been many times an eye and ear witness, but from what ye will show yourselves hereafter, when fairly left to the freedom of your own choice."

Under the strong influences of a mighty overswaying power. Here's another dab upon Gov. Nicholson; so soon hath Mr. Commissary forgot the wise and Christian admonition of our excellent Bishop.

"Of which I have been many times an eye and ear witness."

And many a time have I and many others been eye and ear witnesses of many insufferable affronts and provocations offered to Gov. Nicholson on purpose to exasperate him and raise him into a passion that so they might get an advantage of exposing and accusing him. As to Mr. Commissary taking his characters of us, from the time past or time to come; if he refers (as he seems to do) to our behavior toward our late Governor, and to the difference between himself and us upon that account, he may take them at which end he pleases; should

Mr. Commissary show himself, (which God forbid,) the same toward Gov. Nott, as he hath toward Gov. Nicholson, and (as 'tis said) to Gov. Andros before him, the same is like to be our behavior towards Mr. Commissary Blair, for the time to come, as it hath been for the time past : if otherwise, otherwise. In us the addressors, there needs not, in that respect, any change. Mr. Commissary's speech concludes with a fair offer and seasonable exhortation, for which we thank him.

After this speech of Mr. Commissary follows in the account by way of narrative, a relation of Mr. Emanuel Jones' offering a certain paper to Mr. Commissary, of Mr. Commissary's refusing to receive that paper, of the reason of such his refusal and of the condition upon which at last he received it, which as to the main, (for I will not stick at a little circumstance or two,) I admit to be a true account of the matter of fact. But it is wonderful to see with what a pomp of argument, what a volley of words Mr. Commissary attacks that poor paper of ours, viz :

" A separate meeting of the clergy at the house of Mr. John Young, where Gov. Nicholson lives, which separate meeting of the clergy, as not having been called by any authority, civil or ecclesiastical of this colony, and having been held without the privity, presence, or assistance of himself as being my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary, without whom no ecclesiastical meeting for the treating or concluding upon any ecclesiastical matters ought to be held, and that therefore that paper having been drawn up at that separate meeting of the clergy, called by no power, civil or ecclesiastical, &c., therefore he could not receive that paper as an act of the clergy of this country," &c.

Nor did they offer it to him as an *act of the clergy of this country*. The clergy of this country never pretended to a power of holding separate ecclesiastical meetings without the privity, presence or assistance of my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary. But if two, three, four or more of the clergy of this country should agree to eat a plum pudding or shoulder of mutton together, they believed they might safely do it, without calling in to their assistance my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary. And if they should, after dinner, fall into a discourse of ecclesiastical matters, though without the privity, presence, or assistance of my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary, and should adventure among themselves, to say, that in suspending such an one, or doing so and so, my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary had exceeded his commission and done more than he could justify ; nay, and though they should yet further adventure to put this, their private opinion, into writing, by way of letter to a friend ; nay, or suppose to the Governor himself ; yet they do not think that all this would amount to the taking upon themselves the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or the passing ecclesiastical censures, or the breach of their canonical obedience. Or suppose they should at such a separate meeting, agree among themselves to draw up any writing,

whether by way of petition, query, proposal, complaint, or otherwise, in order to present it to my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary at the next general meeting of the clergy, they know not against what canon they offend or wherein consists the *irregularity* of making such applications. But if my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary should refuse so much as to receive their representations tendered to him after such a manner, they should not be able to forbear thinking that he took upon himself too great a state and lordliness, and was reducing them to the lowest degree of vassalage. This business of the paper, which bred such a mighty stir, was just thus much and no more. The morning before our meeting together in the church, a certain paper was drawn up and agreed to (not as it is in the account) at the house of Mr. John Young, where Governor Nicholson lives, but at Mr. Whately's lodgings in the College, though from thence carried indeed to the house of Mr. John Young, and there transcribed fair and signed; but without the privity, presence or assistance of Gov. Nicholson, or his being any manner of ways concerned in it. This paper was offered to Mr. Commissary in the Church, which he (though not knowing what was in it) absolutely refused to receive at our hands, or so much as suffer it to be read; but when one of the subscribers began to read it Mr. Commissary fled off; and so we broke up in confusion. Mr. Commissary, in his account, says that he offered to us the liberty of proceeding in the usual and regular way of fair motion, debate, question, vote, and resolution; but all this is but words again. We accepted his offer; the motion was made and the vote was passed that that paper should be read, but Mr. Commissary's resolution was to the contrary, that it should not be read, and how could there be a debate, where we were not suffered so much as to make the proposal? or is a proposal (or motion) the worse (I should think it the better) for being made in writing? Upon the whole, I cannot see wherein lay our irregularity, in offering a written paper to Mr. Commissary in a full and regular meeting of the clergy, or Mr. Commissary's fairness in refusing it a reading, though before he knew a syllable that was in it. I cannot see how this consists with that freedom of motion, debate, question, vote, and resolution, which Mr. Commissary, in his account, says he offered us, but, in fact and reality, denied us. Well, but at last, with much ado, Mr. Commissary vouchsafes to receive it, nay, and more than that, to give us an answer to it in writing, which he hath inserted at length in his account. But the question to which that answer is an answer, Mr. Commissary hath, (very prudently) took care to leave out, and, therefore, I must give myself the trouble of transcribing it for him.

A true Copy of a certain paper, offered to Mr. Commissary Blair, in a full and regular meeting of the Clergy of Virginia, at Williamsburgh, August 29, 1705.

To his reverence, the Rev. James Blair, Commissary to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London.

don, within this, her Majesty's ancient colony and dominion of Virginia; the humble representation of us, the subscribers, the far major part of the clergy of the said colony here present,—SHOWETH,

That we do not take upon ourselves to dispute your reverence's authority and jurisdiction over us as Commissary to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. Father in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, within this, her Majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia. But that, having seen an authentically attested copy of an order of Queen in Council, signifying it to be her Majesty's royal pleasure, that you should not depart the kingdom of England, nor come into Virginia, till, by having abiden her Majesty's just determination and royal award in a certain case nearly relating to the affairs of this colony, you should have put yourself into a capacity of appearing here under less suspicious circumstances, and have effectually wiped off those scandalous imputations under which at present you labor. Hereupon we humbly submit it to your reverence's own consideration, whether it be safe or convenient, either for you to require, or for us to pay, the respects of obedience otherwise due to your character, until such time as her Majesty's pleasure be further known, your being in or executing upon us within this her Majesty's Colony of Virginia, any power or commission whatsoever, of a date antecedent to the date of that order of Queen in Council or of an authority not equal to it. Or unless we shall have some such dispensation given us as may be sufficient to secure us from the danger of incurring the like censure of contempt, should we show ourselves over forward in paying our respects and obedience to a person himself, standing (as to us seems) in contempt and disobedience to her most sacred Majesty,—until which shall be done, if we think it more safe and more becoming our character for us of the clergy to withdraw and suspend for a season, our usual respects and obedience; we hope this our humble representation and the scrupulous fear we have of doing any thing which may expose us to censure or contempt, either here, (where your Reverence cannot but be sensible under what a general odium you lie,) or at home, (where your case seems very doubtful,) will receive a favorable interpretation. Thus, Sir, humbly desiring you to take into your serious consideration both our circumstances and your own, we subscribe ourselves under the conditions before named,

Reverend Sir, your Reverence's

Humble and most obedient Servants,

SOLOMON WHATELY, WM. WILLIAMS, JAS. SCLATER, EDWARD PORTLOCK, JAS. BOISSEAU, JACOB WARE, G. SMITH, RALPH BOWKER, EMANUEL JONES, O. JONES, JOHN CARNEGIE, ARTHUR TILLYARD, BAR. YATES, LEWIS LATANE, EDWARD BUTLER, DANIEL TAYLOR, JAS. BURTELL, WM. RUDD, PETER WAGENER, AND. MUNRO, THOS. SHARP, JAS. CLACK, PETER KIPPAR, RICHARD SQUIRE.

(P. S.) If, under this our humble remonstrance, you shall please to subscribe to it as your judgment and opinion that, notwithstanding

ing that order of Queen in Council, we may and ought to pay you the same respects and obedience as before, and that in so doing we need not fear any censure from above ;

If, Sir, you shall be pleased, in terms direct and express, to deliver this to us as your judgment, in that case we shall not dispute your determination, but submit, otherwise we must for a time suspend.

Vera Copia test

WILLIAM STAYNARD,

JOHN WYATT,

RICHARD WYATT.

Here is the query to which Mr. Commissary gave us an answer in writing and hath inserted it at length into his account, and calls it a satisfactory answer to the material part for the case or scruple, whereas the material part of it is quite pared off. In the answer he tells us, that he is Commissary, and that he is Commissary, and that he is Commissary, and that it is not our business to dispute, whether he is Commissary or not, all which in the very first words in our address, we told him before he told us. Mr. Commissary well enough saw where the material part of the query lay, but had wit enough to keep his finger off there. But why then did we declare ourselves satisfied with it ?

1st. Because children and fools are easily satisfied and as such has Mr. Commissary all along treated us.

2d. Because the material part of the query (that of censure from above) is to be answered for elsewhere.

3d. Because the material part of our representation was to let Mr. Commissary and all the world know, that we were not over forward in paying our respects and obedience to him, but would very gladly shake them off, if we knew how ; which discovery of ourselves thus made, we are satisfied in our having done all we can do and let time and patience work out the rest.

After this answer, there follows in the account a story of the debate moved by Mr. Commissary, upon the subject of some gross reflections cast upon him in that paper of ours, upon which there rose, it seems, great divisions, some for this thing, some for that, some for the other, some for cancelling those reflections, others for sinking the whole paper, and others for sinking not a bit of it, but all this mighty difference, when we came to compare notes, was just thus much and no more, whether or no Mr. Commissary should deliver us his answer subscribed (as was proposed in the postscript) on the duplicate of our remonstrance and just under the query of the postscript, which some insisted upon, or whether we should accept of it in a paper by itself, which others agreed to, so that dropping or sinking of the whole paper which Mr. Commissary speaks of, was no more than being content to receive Mr. Commissary's answer in a paper by itself. And as for our paper to him to drop or sink it, that is to drop or sink all farther discourse about it, to let it rest as it was and say no more of it, but a cancelling or retracting one word or syllable of it, I can assure Mr. Commissary no such thing was meant by any of those who were for dropping or sinking the paper.

As for the debate revived (as it follows in the account) by Mr. Commissary the next morning, upon the same topics of the reflections, I was not at it, and therefore can say nothing to it. Just as I was entering into the Church, I found the greatest part of us the subscribers coming hastily out of it and saying one to another they could not have the patience to hear such things. I went forward however and was one of those few who staid and heard Mr. Commissary finish his speech and took our leaves of him as is related in the account; but could not blame the rest of my brethren for not having had the like command of themselves. To have an whole body of English clergy thus cowed and awed, abused, bespattered, and belied to their very faces by one Scot darling and get nothing but a deaf ear, this is such a trial of our patience, out of which we hope God will in his due time deliver us. Or perhaps (for it is not impossible) Mr. Commissary himself may in time become a new man. But all's not over yet; here's a farther account of Mr. Commissary's continuing the meeting with some of his adhering brethren after the revolt of the greater part of the clergy. And here's Alter against Alter; a separate, clandestine, schismatical meeting of the clergy at the house of Mr. Jno. Young's, where Gov. Nicholson lived; and a regular ecclesiastical convention of the clergy under the trees of the church yard; and what a fine story will this make at home? and whose doing is all this? Why, that Gov. Nicholson's to be sure, for there is such a recourse of the clergy to Gov. Nicholson's lodgings, that while Gov. Nicholson is in the country, there's no hopes of doing any good upon them; but when Gov. Nicholson is once gone off, a little time and patience will set all things right. And so say some of the clergy themselves. 'Tis very true, so do some of them say, and that because Gov. Nicholson is gone home they are in good hopes, it will not be long ere Commissary Blair follows him, and there's little fear, but that all things will be soon set right.

But O, this Governor Nicholson! Mr. Blair has got such a trick of late, of crying out whenever he is put upon the fret, Governor Nicholson, Gov. Nicholson, that we are afraid he will become a common swearer, and with a new invented oath upon every pet, cry out "By Gov. Nicholson." But the main part of my work still remains, viz,—the remarks and objections of Mr. Commissary Blair offered to the paper and much insisted on by the clergy, which were as follows, &c. But O, dreadful! what shall I do here? no less than three generals have I to combat with, with all their subalterns.

General the first; the manner of procuring that paper.

Subalterns, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

General the second; the matter and form of that paper; this is a bold General and stands upon his own bottom.

General the third; the suspicious designs and bad aspects of that paper.

Subalterns, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, with the auxiliary of a conclusion.

A formidable appearance, but I am in the midst of them and must stand it out, and therefore as to

General the first, General Procuring. I say he's a misnomer; there was no procuring and there's an end of General the first. As for the blustering subalterns, I have disarmed them before, but if they are not satisfied, let them meet me at Doctors Commons on the south side of St. Paul's Church Yard, in London, and there I will put the issue upon this point, whether or no 3, 4, 10, or more of the clergymen of this colony, may not of their own accord and without the call of any power, civil or ecclesiastical, meet at the house of Jno. Young or where else they please, and there though without the privacy, presence or assistance of my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary enter into discourse among themselves concerning affairs relating to their own case and circumstances, and if they are so minded put their thoughts into writing and set their hands to it in order to be presented to my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary at the next general meeting of the clergy; and what law, custom, canon, or constitution, civil or ecclesiastical, they should transgress in so doing, and whether or no Mr. Commissary's refusing to receive or hear read to him any proposal so offered to him in a full and regular meeting of the clergy, be not destructive of that freedom which is essentially necessary to all lawful conventions. I would farther query whether or no her Majesty's Governor's privacy, presence and assistance be not as necessary to the holding of the council as the privacy, presence and assistance of my Lord Bishop of London's Commissary, as to the holding of any meeting of the clergy, and whether or know three, four or more of the members of council, meeting at the house of Mr. Commissary Blair, or elsewhere, without the call of any power, civil or ecclesiastical, of this colony, and there drawing up papers and setting hands to them without the privacy, presence and assistance of her Majesty's Governor be not altogether as clandestine, as ensnaring, as inconsistent, as pre-engaging, or whatever else Mr. Commissary will call it, as can be any of the clergy's and doing the like at the house of Mr. John Young or where else they please. Or hath there ever been a general meeting of the clergy or of the general assembly, where some of the members have not met together and compared notes, before they went in a full body to the Church or Capital, and Mr. Commissary took his desk, or Mr. Speaker his chair. Or must the clergy as they drop into the town one after another, first go to Mr. Commissary and ask him where they may set up their horses, and who may keep company together, for fear of being presented home as schismatics and conventiclers and holders of clandestine meetings and falling under the lash of Canon 73, excommunication ipso facto. It frets us to see ourselves used like so many babies, to be bugbeared out of our senses, by big words; what school boys doth he make of us at this rate! We shall be afraid ere it be long of stirring out of doors or giving one another a visit, without first asking Mr. Commissary's leave, *quæso præceptor da mihi veniam exeundi foras.*

Nay, but (says Mr. Commissary) the regular way of proceeding is by motion, debate, question, vote, and resolution. Very well, and that was the way we were for; we moved the putting it to the vote, whether that paper should be read or not, but Mr. Commissary's resolution was to the contrary that it should not be put to the vote, one of Mr. Commissary's friends (Mr. Anderson) saying they'll out vote us. But that meeting was called by Gov. Nicholson.

That meeting (if meeting it must be) was not called by Gov. Nicholson, nay, but it was made up only of such persons as had, by former addresses and subscriptions, pre-engaged themselves to Gov. Nicholson. Ay! here it is: this is that which sticks him to the heart, these pre-engagements he finds us under; well, Gov. Nicholson is going off, but he Gov. Nicholson where he will, I dare assure Mr. Commissary that under the same engagements or pre-engagements he found us this last meeting, he will find us the next and so on, unless he himself shall first lay aside his overawing methods, undo what he has done, and find out some way of putting us into a better state with our Diocesan. He has made us the scorn of our people. But as there be some that shake their heads and laugh at us, there be more that shake their heads and pity us. I have done with General the first, General Procuring, and his five subalterns.

2. General the second, general matter and form of that paper. Mr. Commissary's house stands by a great road. Let Mr. Commissary go but off to the gate and put the question to the first man he meets, telling him (if he does not understand Latin) the English of the word *odium*; and if he do not give him satisfaction I will. Or let him send a copy of our representation to our respective parishioners, all whom, if we have abused him, we have abused, or let him make the like presentment of us to the next general assembly near ensuing.

The words in Mr. Commissary's account of Mr. Commissary having left England under suspicious and scandalous circumstances, have undergone in the transcribing something of dislocation; as they stood in our paper they bore a stronger emphasis. But let Mr. Commissary take them which way he pleaseth, we are content.

And thus much for General the second.

3d. General the third bears a more terrible aspect, no less than Treason, Treason, Treason, engraven in the forehead of him with five subalterns to support him.

"The design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious, and to look with a bad aspect not only upon the ecclesiastical but also the civil government of this country, with relation to his Excellency Edward Nott, Esq., our present Governor, in whose sweet temper and peaceable disposition, the country is exceeding happy."

And may we be always happy in the sweet temper and peaceable disposition of his Excellency Gov. Nott.

But what shall we do with the bad aspect, which this paper of the clergy bears, not only the ecclesiastical but also the civil govern-

ment of this country? and what shall we say to this? Shall we rage or shall we laugh?

Plain it is that here's a plot! A plot as deep as Hell itself. A plot against both Church and State. A plot for the subversion not only of the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country. A plot to turn out Edward Nott, Esq., our present Governor. A plot to reinthronize the late Gov. Nicholson, to raise the dragooners and 5th men: to deliver up all the country into the hands of an indigent army and indigent officers: to lay a bridge over the bay and let in the Accomackians: to make the mouth of the Potomac fordable for the New York-kians: to set all the slaves and negroes free and arm them against their masters. To murder President Blair in his bed, fit all the school boys with fire locks and turn the college into an arsenal. In a word, a plot to cast off the yoke of England, to erect a fifth monarchy on this northern continent of America, and make Gov. Nicholson Emperor of the West; and who should have been at the bottom of this plot, but the English clergy of the Colony of Virginia, the English clergy all of them to a man save only single St. Jno. Shropshire? and who should have been the discover of this plot but Mr. Commissary Blair?

A. Puh! It is impossible, a plot against the Governor, both ecclesiastical and civil of this country! it's nonsense.

B. Nay, it is certainly so; and as sure as you are there, the clergy (some few loyal Scots excepted) are in it; have you never seen Mr. Commissary's depositions?

A. But how?

B. I'll tell you how; 'tother day, you know, there was a general meeting of the clergy at Williamsburgh; now the over night before that meeting, there came to town no less than three clergymen (and there was one there before, the most suspicious fellow of the whole gang of them) and went directly to the house of Mr. Jno. Young, where you know the late Gov. Nicholson lives, and there the said Gov. Nicholson sent them by his man James, some bottles of Madeira and Bristol and there they kept sitting up in a consult . . . to almost midnight, and there the next morning there came to town, I know not how many more of them, and set up their horses at the same house of Mr. Jno. Young, where Gov. Nicholson lives, and there they signed a paper, in the nature of an association, and there is the bottom of the plot, and if you have never seen that paper before, look you, it is, read it.

B. To his Reverence the Rev. ———; well, and what then? Here's a story of an order in council, and I know not what; here is not a word of Gov. Nicholson or Gov. Nott or any thing like it, as I can see.

A. Why that's your dullness now. But Mr. Blair can see farther into a milestone than you can; hear what Mr. Blair himself saith to it. "The design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical but

also upon the civil government of this country with relation to Edward Nott, Esq., our present Governor, in whose sweet temper and peaceable disposition, this colony is exceeding happy."

B. Exceeding suspicious, bad aspect, government, ecclesiastical and civil! I see nothing of all this in that paper.

A. Mr. Blair only saith it seems so. He doth not *swear* it now, he only saith it seems so, and hath no less than five reasons to back his *seems so*, and here they are.

1st. Because some of those clergymen that signed that paper came to town the over night before the general meeting of the clergy, which was not to be till the next morning, and what need they have comed over night there? 2d. Gov. Nicholson sent letters to some of them to come over night. 3d. These letters of Gov. Nicholson were sent by Gov. Nicholson when Gov. Nicholson was out of his government; ergo.

B. Ergo what?

A. "Therefore the design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country."

B. Well, go on.

A. Secondly, because their meeting was at Mr. John Young's house, where the late Gov. Nicholson lives, here's Gov. Nicholson again, ergo, "The design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country." 3dly. Because Gov. Nicholson had seen a chiding letter, from the Bishop of London to the clergy of this country and yet told them nothing of it, ergo, "Therefore the design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil Government of this country." 4thly. Because before that meeting of the clergy, Gov. Nicholson had sent over all this country, copies of her Majesty's and one of her Majesty's Secretary of State's letters to himself, signifying to him, that notwithstanding all the informations given in against him to her Majesty, yet he stood fair in her Majesty's favor, and that it was not upon account of any of those informations or out of any displeasure that her Majesty had conceived against him that she recalled him, but assuring him of his receiving when come home the marks of her royal favor and because Gov. Nicholson and his emissaries had also published two other papers, the one a petition to the Queen in Council preferred by one George Wilcox, charging Mr. Commissary Blair with having aspersed her Majesty's Governor and Government here with false and malicious informations, and praying that the said James Blair, Clerk, should not depart the kingdom of England nor go for Virginia, till by having stood her Majesty's just determination and royal award in a case depending between Gov. Nicholson and him, he should effectually have wiped off those scandalous imputations of his having (a work so unbecoming the meekness of his profession)

aspersed her Majesty's Governor and Government here with false and malicious informations ; and till, by his having stood for her Majesty's just determination and royal award, he should have put himself in a capacity of appearing here under less suspicious circumstances and effectually have stopped the mouths of those who are apt to say that by declining to stand her Majesty's just determination and royal award, in a cause by himself commenced, it is as if he were fled from justice ; as perhaps some of Gov. Nicholson's emissaries may do. And the other paper a copy of an order of Queen in Council pursuant to the petition of the said Mr. Geo. Wilcox, viz, that the said James Blair, Clerk, should not depart the kingdom of England nor go to Virginia till, &c. Now, Gov. Nicholson having by himself and his emissaries sent over all this country copies of the aforesaid letters, viz, of her Majesty's letter to her trusty and well beloved Gov. Nicholson, and of a letter of one of her Majesty's Secretary of State's, written to the said Governor by her Majesty's command, and assuring him of her Majesty's royal favor towards him and of the petition of Mr. Wilcox to her Majesty in Council against Mr. James Blair, Clerk, and of the order of Queen in Council pursuant to that petition, ergo, " The design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect not only upon the ecclesiastical but also the civil government of this country." 5thly. Because it is insinuated in that paper, that Mr. Commissary Blair lies under the general odium of this country, and that (as it may be supposed) for his having been such a stickler against Gov. Nicholson and so instrumental in the change of our Governors, ergo, " The design of this paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country." And these are those five arguments of Mr. Commissary Blair, upon the suspicion, design and bad aspect of that paper of the clergy. And I think any one of them to prove it to a demonstration.

B. Aye, aye, any one of them as well as all of them together.

A. Why, Gov. Nicholson is in every one of them.

B. And as long as Gov. Nicholson is in the country, there will not be a hog stole but Gov. Nicholson will be in the plot.

I have long since said that Mr. Blair is a man who knows how to make a great deal of a little, and I think here's a demonstration of it ; could any man in the world besides Mr. Blair have smelt out a plot against both Church and State in that paper of ours ? that that paper of ours should seem so exceeding suspicious and to look with so bad an aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country. Is not this planting a culverin against a cabbage ? unless upon the supposition that the security of the government, both in Church and State, in this country depends upon the share that Mr. Blair hath in both of them, and then indeed Mr. Blair (it must be granted) had some reason to say that the design of that paper seems to be exceeding suspicious and to look with a bad aspect, not only

upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country ; but that not with relation to Edward Nott, Esq., her Majesty's present Governor, in whose, &c., but with relation to the Hon. and Rev. James Blair, Esq., upon whose conduct not only the ecclesiastical but also the civil government of this country so much depends. Mr. Commissary will no doubt think I take too great a freedom with him and have been failing in the respects due to his character, and that my so often repeating his own words upon him bears a suspicious aspect and looks as if meant to turn them into ridicule ; all which I must confess is too true. But by way of replication I answer, First, that I know no better way of answering bombast, than by banter, and doth not Mr. Commissary's attacking that simple paper of ours in so pompous a manner as to make not only the ecclesiastical but also the civil government of this country in danger from it, deserve that name.

2d. That the character of Commissary to my Lord Bishop of London is not more sacred and untouchable than that of her Majesty's representative and Governor in Chief of Virginia. If therefore the manner of my treating Mr. Commissary seems too familiar and disrespectful, (as indeed it is,) too provoking and exasperating, let Mr. Commissary consider the example he hath led and the ill precedent he hath given against himself. He that would maintain the dignity of his character must be as careful to pay the respects due to his betters as to preserve those due to himself. *Exemplo quodcumque malo committitur ipsi displicet auri.*

Let Mr. Commissary remember his panegyric on the late King William the Third, delivered before the largest appearance that perhaps hath ever been seen in this country, and to Gov. Nicholson's own face ; some of his own familiar epistles to Gov. Nicholson—the churl—the Nabal—the son of Belial, &c., and the over Apostolical Παρρησία or authority he exercised upon him, his sermon to us of the clergy upon Luke x, 16, He that despiseth you, despiseth me—and (to name no more) his late sermon of meekness and humility from Matt. xi, 29, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart. The whole design of which (how artificially soever couched) to all of us that heard it (among whom Gov. Nicholson was one) was plain enough without the help of a key. In all these things I shall adventure to say, there was something too familiar and disrespectful, too provoking and exasperating. And we have an English proverb what is sauce for a goose is sauce for a gander ; and when Mr. Commissary feels within his own breast, the effects of his own practices when turned upon himself, this antidote (if duly applied) may become what I designed it for, a sovereign medicine to him, and teach him to do as he would be done by. Among Mr. Commissary's five arguments to demonstrate the suspicious look that paper of ours bears not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also upon the civil government of this country, is wiredrawn in a sly ill look't insinuation of a story of the dissatisfaction of this country at her Maj-

esty's present Governor over them, a most malicious and mischievous suggestion. 'Tis true Mr. Commissary calls it but a story. But who makes that story? who tells that story? If Mr. Commissary knows anything of such a story, he knows more than I do. According to the best judgment I can make, and to the extent of my conversation, never could a man in so short a time have gained a greater affection and veneration from all of us than hath his Excellency, our present Governor, and that from the characters so justly bestowed upon him by Mr. Commissary Blair, to which the friendly and brotherly correspondence between the two Governors, the late and the present, doth not a little contribute. The sight of which, whether it be altogether so delightful to Mr. Commissary Blair as it is to the generality of the people of this country, is best known to himself. No, let me tell Mr. Commissary Blair that the general odium he lies under in this country, is not out of any dissatisfaction they have against their present Governor, (the quite contrary to which is true;) that Mr. Commissary Blair should have been above all others, so forward and pushing a man, informing and prosecuting complaints and ejectments against our former Governor; that Mr. Commissary Blair should take upon himself the making and unmaking of our Governors; that none of our Governors should be able to be any longer quiet, than while they take care to humor Mr. Commissary Blair; that Mr. Commissary Blair should have ensnared and betrayed so many (though comparatively few, yet too many) honest and in their own temper peaceable, good natured gentlemen of this country into the like unseemly practices with himself; should have been the occasion of such unhappy divisions and animosities among us to the breach of friendship and good neighborhood; should have brought such a scandal and reproach upon his whole country, made us talked of at home as if we were a factious, troublesome sort of people, restless and unquiet under every government and never at ease. These are the things (and not the vile suggestions of his speeches to us of the clergy) which have indeed brought Mr. Commissary under that general odium in this country which he himself must be strangely insensible, if he be not sensible of, and which will go nigh to stick by him as long as his name is James Blair. And now let any man lay together those three passages in Mr. Blair's first speeches to us of the clergy after the arrival of our new Governor.

1st. That there should be supposed to be among us a man that is for going about directly or indirectly to undermine her Majesty's present Governor over us or make him uneasy.

2d. That that paper of ours should look with a bad aspect, not only upon the ecclesiastical, but also the civil government of this country with relation to his Excellency Edward Nott, Esq., our present Governor.

3d. That there should be any such thing insinuated as a story of the dissatisfaction of this country with the change of the Governor; that is (for what also can be inuendo) against their present Governor.

These are such mischievous suggestions that we cannot, but with the utmost indignation and abhorrence, protest against them. Mr. Commissary talks (no man more) of peace and union. But by those, his first beginnings with our new Governor, let any man judge whether he takes the right methods to that end, whether or no the creating jealousies and suspicions between rulers and people have a tendency toward peace and union, or quite the contrary, and whether or no such suggestions do not bear the aspect of an ill tendency that way.

Mr. Commissary (argument 3, under General 3) objects that Gov. Nicholson had seen the Bishop of London's letter to us before we drew up that paper, and yet had not communicated to us the contents of it. But had Gov. Nicholson communicated to us the contents of our Bishop's letter before it was delivered and communicated to us in our general meeting by the Hon. Bearer of it, our present Governor, I doubt not but that Mr. Commissary Blair would have made louder clamors upon Gov. Nicholson, and more reason would he have had for so doing. But poor Gov. Nicholson, right or wrong, Gov. Nicholson must be in the plot. *Obj.* But had Gov. Nicholson communicated to the Clergy the contents of the Bishop of London's letter, before their having drawn and signed that paper, they would not have done it.

Ans. 1st. That paper was presented and adhered to after our having received and read the Bishop of London's letter.

2d. That paper altogether refers to an emergency which arose not, till after the date of the Bishop of London's letter, to which, therefore, nothing in that letter could refer, and as to which we did not then know what his Lordship's judgment might be. But when Mr. Commissary afterward acquainted us, that notwithstanding his Lordship's knowledge of that business to which our paper referred, Mr. Commissary had his Lordship's order to proceed and act as before, we readily acquiesced and were content to drop that paper, and insist no more upon it, but without retracting (as Mr. Commissary demanded of us) what we had before done.

Obj. But our signing and adhering to that paper was an express acting contrary to the Bishop's admonition in the said letter.

Ans. See here what a rod Mr. Commissary hath got into his hands and what a use he makes of it, and what mutes we must be. But if by my Lord Bishop of London's letter, we, the addressors and subscribers to that paper, must stand debarred from drawing up papers or making subscriptions, will Mr. Commissary himself and his adliering brethren be brought under the same confinement? those papers upon which I am now making my remarks, were drawn up, signed, and attested by Mr. Commissary himself and six of his brethren in order to be transmitted (as it is presumed) into England, in every half page of which our Bishop's admonition of parting with Gov. Nicholson fairly and friendly and expressing no resentments against him, is most notoriously transgressed, representing the whole body of the clergy of this country, (Mr. Commissary and his six country-

men and attesters excepted,) as a parcel of fools and tools, having neither senses nor consciences of their own, but like so many babies altogether, managed like so many babies, by the beck of another, charged, (if not directly at least by broad inuendoes,) with nothing less than being in a plot to undermine her Majesty's present Government over us and make him uneasy, and of carrying on suspicious designs, not only against the ecclesiastical but also the civil government of this country. Can it be imagined that we should have the patience of having such aspersions as those thrown upon us to our very faces, without expressing a just resentment against them, and getting out of the hearing of them? For must such papers as these be sent home and spread abroad in the world concerning us and we debarred from putting in our answer to them, or offering any thing in our vindication? If so, we must e'en bethink ourselves of seeking out some other part of the world where we may live in the condition of freemen. But certainly this was not the intention of my Lord Bishop of London's letter nor the use he designed should be made of it. As for Mr. Commissary charging Gov. Nicholson, (Arg't 4.) with his having, by his emissaries, spread idle stories all over the country, that he was only going home to clear himself and would return to the government again in a little time, if any such idle stories have been talked of, I hope Gov. Nicholson is not answerable for all the silly chat of the country. If all the idle ballads, pasquils and lampoons that have been posted upon trees in high roads, nay, even sent to England and printed and spread abroad all the country over, should be fathered upon Mr. Commissary Blair, under the phrase of *spread abroad by his emissaries*, I believe his Reverence would think himself hardly dealt with. And yet it is little to be doubted, but that they were both composed and published by his partisans, though without his knowledge and consent; why then should the one be more charged upon Gov. Nicholson than the other upon Mr. Commissary Blair. But that it was by virtue of those idle stories that we of the clergy were prepared to sign that strange paper of ours (as he calls it) is another of Commissary's usual ways of calling us fools. And lastly as to Gov. Nicholson, Gov. Nicholson, Gov. Nicholson, 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th Gov. Nicholson. I can declare it very positively that Governor Nicholson did no more, whether by advice, instigation, knowledge, privity, or any other way, contribute to the drawing up or signing that paper than did Mr. Commissary himself, and I verily believe that in that last meeting of the clergy there was not any one thing done by us, either as to matter or form, but what would have been done just after the self-same manner, though Gov. Nicholson had been three thousand miles off.

Mr. Commissary concludes his speech to us in these words: "Upon all which accounts as I can by no means approve of this paper myself, so I hope several of my brethren, who have been unwarily led into the clandestine subscription of it, may now still withdraw their hands as being innocent of the sinister uses, that may be

made of their subscription." Yes, poor innocents! you meant no harm, not you, all this was Gov. Nicholson's doing.

And what did this sweet turn gain him at last? Why that instead of drawing off any hands, two more, who were not in with the first subscribers, desired they might have the liberty of adding theirs, which was done. And thus have I at length with much ado, got over these papers of Mr. Commissary, drawn up, signed and attested by

JAS. BLAIR, Commissary,	CHAS. ANDERSON,
JAS. WALLACE,	JAS. BRECHIN,
JOHN MUNRO,	ST. JNO. SHROPSHIRE.
GEO. ROBERTSON,	

When Mr. Commissary delivered me these papers, he asked me what was the use I designed to make of them; that he hoped my meaning was only to keep them for the use of the clergy. He made me in a very friendly manner sit down by him and read some part of them, and seemed desirous to have entered into some arguing with me about them. When I had read some part of them, I broke off declining to enter into any discourse with him upon them, but telling him that I supposed those papers to be designed to be sent into England. If so, that there were some passages in them not fit to pass without an antidote; that I could not bind myself from making some remarks upon them. But that I were for plain dealing; something of a corrective I told him, I must bestow upon them, but that my corrective itself should, before it crossed the water, be submitted to his correction, which accordingly I now do, and lay it at his mercy. But as his papers are designed for England, he must not think it hard if mine attend them. As for replications or rejoinders here, it will be to no purpose, and, therefore, I resolved to avoid them. He cannot but say that I deal fairly with him, and that there are no clandestine methods. I give him all the advantage in such cases as these, and of which no man better knows how to make his use. I am sensible of the hazard I run, and of the censure I may incur. But I expect the event with great unconcernedness as having a very confident assurance that time will clear up all things, and if not wholly take off yet at least somewhat mitigate the severity of the censure we now lie under. I must confess, in the foregoing sheets I have expressed myself in some places, perhaps, somewhat too familiarly, and in others perhaps somewhat too vehemently, for which, if what I have already said be not sufficient to apologize, I have nothing further to plead, but the infirmity of nature. That part which is clamorous, I am as desirous of peace and union as any man can be, but for peace upon safe and upon honorable terms; sincere, solid and therefore like to be durable. In order to which I soundly declare it to be my opinion that the change must begin on Mr. Commissary's side. Unless Mr. Commissary Blair can command his nature and bring himself to a resolution of ceasing, for the time to come, too much to presume upon

our simplicity and unapprehensiveness, and lay aside not only his *overawing*, but also (which is more provoking) his insinuating and inuendoing methods, and to deal with us in a more plain, open and direct manner, than hitherto he has done, but, above all, unless he can find out the means of placing us in better terms, with our most Reverend and honored Diocesan; for whom we have too great a veneration to be able to bear the thoughts of our lying under his displeasure, without the greatest pain and uneasiness, till this can be done we see little hopes of attaining to that stable and settled peace and union which we all of us so earnestly covet. We may be commanded silence. But that will be a patience, per force, which cannot but be both restless and brittle. But things once settled on such a bottom, I doubt not but that we shall be found, for the future, as dutiful and peaceable sons to our spiritual Father, and as contentedly acquiescing in his disposals as we may have hitherto been represented by contrary dispositions. As for my use of the plural number, I have before declared that I am now single and alone; what I now do is not by the advice or instigation, or with the knowledge or privity of any person whatsoever, and, therefore, I alone am answerable for it. But I can pretend to have that knowledge and experience of the use of my brethren as to be able to say that I confidently presume that I speak the common sense of us all. I must crave Mr. Commissary's pardon for my having been so dilatory in sending him these papers, and for giving them in by parcels, which is owing, partly, to the interruptions I have met with, and partly to the weakness of my fingers which makes the writing things out at length exceeding tedious to me; and I were now under an obligation of not making use of an amanuensis, which must also apologize for the uneasiness of my writing, the blots, blurs and defacements of many of the pages; most of them having been the first rude draughts; and not being in a capacity without the expense of more time than could be spared to transcribe them fair.

And thus, at last, have I done for this time, and I hope for good and all. I am perfectly weary of this unhappy contest, and need no other prohibition than my own aversion to it, to keep me from meddling any further in it. I cannot engage for the future, but I declare it to be my present resolution, (which God deliver me from the necessity of ever breaking,) that this shall be the last time I'll write on this ungrateful subject.

SOLOMON WHATELY.

William and Mary College, in Virginia,
Sept. 21, 1705.

These remarks of Mr. Whately upon Mr. Commissary's account, &c., though dated Sept. 21, 1705, yet the major part of them was sent to him on Tuesday morning, Sept. 18, though by reason of some interruption which Mr. Whately met with, the remainder followed not till Friday, the 21st, early in the morning. So that Mr. Whately gave Mr. Commissary all the time which (under the circumstances) he was able to do before the going off of the fleet for England. That

major part of the papers sent to Mr. Commissary on Tuesday the 18th, went as far as to the paragraph after the dialogue, A. B, ending at the word, depends. The remainder followed Sept. 21, early in the morning. Gov. Nicholson left not Williamsburgh till Sept. 27, at the sametime leaving the Commodore himself higher up in the country, which gave Mr. Commissary yet farther time before the going out of the fleet; so that he cannot pretend surprise or want of leisure.

A BALLAD,

ADDRESSED TO THE REV. MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION HELD AT MANN'S ORDINARY, AT WILLIAMSBURGH AND VIRGINIA, TO DEFEND GOV. NICHOLSON, AND FOUND AN ACCUSATION AGAINST COMMISSARY BLAIR.

Bless us, what dismal times are these,
What stars are in conjunction,
When Priests turn sycophants to please,
And hairbrained passion to appease,
Dare prostitute their function.

Sure all the Furies must combine
To sway the convocation,
When seventeen clergymen should join,
Without one word of proof, to sign
So false an accusation.

Or rather, some for interest, (*)
And hopes of next preferment,
By false pretences, finely dress'd,
Slyly imposed upon the rest,
To sign on their averment. (b)

First Whately (c) heads the rever'd tribe,
Amongst the chiefest actors,
A fool no pencil can describe,
Who sells his conscience for a bribe,
And slights his benefactors.

Sober and meek, under disgrace,
A better fate deserving,
Now he's advanced, he soaks his face,
And spurns at those that wrought his peace,
And keep the rogue from starving.

Portlock, (d) the cotqueen of the age,
Deserves the second station,
A doubtly clerk and Rev. sage,
Who turns his pulpit to a stage,
And canters reformation.

Rude to his wife, false to his friend,
A clown in conversation,
Who rather, than he'd be confined,
To either to be just or kind,
Would sign his own damnation.

Corah (*) comes next, that sturdy swain,
 A bawling pulpit hector,
 A preacher of Hugh Peters, vain,
 That sacred writ can twist and strain,
 To flatter his protector.

A sot abandoned to his paunch,
 Prophane without temptation,
 Who, flames of jealousy (†) to quench,
 Creeps in a corner with his wench,
 And makes retaliation.

Then in comes Ware with fudling school,
 Well warm'd and fit for action,
 A mongrel, party color'd tool,
 Equally mixed of knave and fool,
 By nature prone to faction.

Faint-hearted Smith, like Esop's bat,
 Both birds and beasts reject him,
 With his blue vest, and cock'd up hat,
 He signed and threatened, God knows what,
 But now pleads non est factum.

These few accomplished sparks we're told,
 Were chief at that convention,
 Where innocence was basely sold,
 And guilt and infamy grown bold,
 Laid ground-work for contention.

The tavern was the place they chose,
 To hold their consultation,
 Where each one drank a lusty dose,
 His stupid coxcombe to dispose,
 To form the accusation.

Good store of Bristol beer and stout,
 By dozens was expended,
 The glass went merrily about,
 Some sung and others swore and fought,
 And so the farce was ended.

Blest state to which the orders sunk,
 A happy reformation,
 Now, without fear, they may be drunk,
 And fight and swear and keep a punk,
 And laugh at deprivation.

NOTES —(a) Gov. Nicholson promised several of them their Commissary should be turned out and they in his place.

(b) Some were new comers and would fain have come off by that pretence, but were not suffered.

(c) When he was affronted and abused by the Governor and not suffered to preach and without a penny of money to support him, Mr. B. H. and Mr. R. Beverly, with some friends of theirs, gave him £30.

(d) He preached a sermon against women, upon the serpent's beguiling Eve, wherein he laid out his wife to the best advantage for hanging his cat called Alice, whom he more dearly loved. He is his own brewer, baker, butcher and cook.

(e) Mr. Ralph Boker. He retains the name from a public sermon wherein he espoused the Governor's part and compared Corah to the Commissary and to some of the rest of the assembly who would not join in the Governor's flattering address.

(f) When he goes abroad a drinking, he makes his wife sit with him amongst the men, though perhaps there are several women at the same house, of her acquaintance.

ART. IX.—BOOK NOTICES.

THEOPHILUS AMERICANUS; or *Instruction for the Young Student, concerning the Church, and the American branch of it. Chiefly from the fifth edition of "Theophilus Anglicanus."* By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster; late Head Master of Harrow School. Edited by Hugh Davey Evans. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, S. W., corner of Chestnut and Eighth streets, 1851. 12mo. pp. 426. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We do not hesitate to say that this is one of the most important works which has ever been issued by the American press. The following Summary of its Contents will show the nature of the subjects which are discussed. It consists of Four Parts. *The First Part* is "ON THE CHURCH;" its Name and Attributes; the Church as visible and militant, and as invisible and triumphant; the Dignity and Glory of the Church; Salvation only in the Church; Errors in the Church; Privileges in the Church, as the Word of God, and the Church as its Witness and Keeper, its right interpretation; Due Administration of the Sacraments; Three Orders of Ministers in the Church; Bishops; their Functions; Bishops as Diocesan, Metropolitans and Patriarchs; Discipline; Power of the Keys; Absolution; Sacramental Intercession and Benediction; Set Forms of Public Prayer. *The Second Part* is "ON THE ANGLICAN BRANCH OF THE CATHOLIC OR UNIVERSAL CHURCH;" her Origin; her Independence of Rome; Period before the arrival of St. Augustine; Mission of St. Augustine; Period between the Mission of St. Augustine and the Reformation; the Reformation a removal of what was new and a restoration of what was old; Succession of Orders in the Church of England; the Church of England did not, in fact, *separate herself* from Rome; did not separate herself from the Catholic or Universal Church; Orders, Mission and Jurisdiction; the Bishop of Rome has no supremacy, spiritual or temporal, in these realms. *The Third Part* is by the American Editor, and treats of the Origin and Early History of the American Church; her Organization; her Orders, Mission, and Jurisdiction; her Internal Constitution; the Relations of Church and State; the relations of the Church of England to the State. *The Fourth Part* treats of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England. There are also two Tables of Indices; the first, which is quite full, refers to matters contained in the volume; and the second to authors and places cited.

This, as the reader will perceive, is an attractive table of Contents. The original work has already passed through six editions. It is written in the form of Question and Answer, and was designed for Schools of a high order, and it exhibits the practical experience of Mr. Wordsworth in the business of instruction. A marked and most invaluable feature of the work, is its copious references to, and citations from, the Greek and Latin Fathers, and English authors of reputation.

In adapting this work to the use of American Churchmen, Mr. Evans has thoroughly revised it, making omissions, alterations, and additions. The Third Part, nearly one hundred pages, is wholly from his pen. The omissions comprise about fourteen pages; and relate mostly to the connection between the Church and State. The other additions amount to nearly twenty-five pages; and refer to the Visible and Invisible Church; to an account of Councils and their authority; to the use of the Apocrypha; the doctrine of Absolution in the American Church; and the authority of the American Prayer Book.

It is in vain to say, that the matters discussed in this volume are of comparatively little moment. They are points which must be met. And it is a chief excellence of this manual, that it grasps boldly, and handles intelligently, just

those questions of Ecclesiastical polity which the Church of Rome is forcing upon us. The fact of the original independence of the English Church of the Romish See; and also the order, regularity, and necessity of the English Reformation, are sustained by the clearest proofs. Difficulties and objections are also charged home upon the modern Church of Rome, which there is no way to answer. It is the duty of every Minister, and every Layman, to make himself thoroughly master of the facts and principles which are here lucidly and succinctly stated and supported. He is an unsafe watchman on Zion's walls, who is too stupid to understand the strategy of the enemy, or his own means of defense.

We need not say that the tone of the volume is frank and uncompromising. But we do not see that it goes one hair's breadth beyond the teaching of leading English writers; and even upon matters on which there is diversity of opinion, we think we notice a care to avoid offensiveness in statement. We are disposed, therefore, to commend the work with which Mr. Evans has favored the Church, rather than to hunt, with the microscope of the cynic, for opinions with which to find fault. We leave that task to professional grumblers who show their love to the Church by traducing those who maintain her claims.

A GREEK GRAMMAR FOR THE USE OF HIGH SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES. By PHILIP BUTTMANN. Revised and Enlarged by his son, ALEX. BUTTMANN. Translated from the eighteenth German Edition, by EDWARD ROBINSON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 8vo. pp. 517. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We are glad to welcome a new Edition of Buttmann's Greek Grammar from the learned and faithful pen of our distinguished countryman, Professor Robinson. Two editions of this work, by the same Translator, have already been published in this country, both of which have been, for several years, out of print. There was also a Boston Edition translated by Edward Everett in 1822, a second Edition of which was prepared by Bancroft and Bode, in 1826. Meanwhile other Grammars of a somewhat different character, as the Philosophical Grammar of Bekker, and the Greek Grammar of Kuhiuer, and others prepared upon a similar basis, have obtained considerable currency in our colleges and public schools. We are free to say, that we doubt the correctness of the principles upon which these Grammars of the Bekkerian School are constructed; and are disposed to look with suspicion upon their tendency. German scholarship is industrious; and in its statements of facts, aims at the most scrupulous accuracy; but in its reasonings it is almost always wild and visionary. The Germans are good scholars, but bad philosophers. It is in this light that we commend the Grammar of Buttmann. It gives *facts and results*. It is the work of a practical instructor. Its statements and classifications are made with great accuracy and perspicuity. In the present Edition the Syntax has been almost entirely reconstructed, and forms a large and important part of the work. This American Edition is also rendered more valuable by an Appendix, containing a treatise on Greek Versification; a History of the Greek Alphabet; a Table of Abbreviations; Technical Grammatical Expressions; Tables of words for Declension; a Catalogue of Regular Verbs, Barytone, Contracted, and Deponent; and a full English Index. We believe that this Edition of Buttmann is worthy to occupy in this country, the place which it has maintained, for more than half a century, at home, as "THE CLASSICAL AND NATIONAL GREEK GRAMMAR OF GERMANY." It should be added, that the work is neatly printed and substantially bound.

ELEMENTS OF ANALYTICAL GEOMETRY AND OF THE DIFFERENTIAL AND INTEGRAL CALCULUS. By ELIAS LOOMIS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850. 8vo. pp. 278. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We are disposed to greet with good will, any attempt to simplify and elucidate the difficult, but important, branch of the Mathematics—the Differential and Integral Calculus.

And although originality is not always expected to be found in most Elementary treatises, still a great share of merit attaches to the compilers of many of them

for their knowledge and judgment in selecting from the writings of others, and their satisfactory arrangement adapted to meet the wants of the student. The above work by Professor Loomis, is one of this kind. He does not aim at originality, but proposes to himself, as appears by the preface, to make such selections as will exhibit the subject in its most favorable light; and also to "explain the philosophy of these operations." Now, as far as he has acted as mere compiler, he has shown considerable judgment and foresight in his selections from various sources. But the attempt to explain the philosophy of the operations of the Calculus, either by a compilation or any thing original, more than has been done, we think, has run into the same channel as most other attempts in English treatises have done—that of giving "the mere mechanical processes of Differentiation and Integration" which the author proposes to himself to avoid.

The work is divided into two principal parts. The first is occupied with Analytical Geometry of two dimensions, and its application to the Conic Sections. The latter part is taken up with the Differential and Integral Calculus. The former part will be found a complete treatise for those who are seeking a work on Analytical Geometry and its applications. And should the latter be desired, perhaps no better strictly Elementary work in our language will be found. There is one feature, however, of the work which we dislike; which is, that no answers are given to some of the examples. This we think wrong in an Elementary treatise. Old heads at the business will see them at a glance. But the student will meet with difficulties enough in this subject, without being harrassed with doubts as to the correctness of his solutions; and which other difficulties, if he surmounts, he is certainly entitled to the satisfaction of knowing that his solutions are correct. Innumerable problems without answers may be found in other more elaborate treatises for those who are wishing discipline and exercise for the mind.

LOUISIANA; its Colonial History and Romance. By CHARLES GAYARRE. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 8vo. pp. 546. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We had occasion in the first Volume of the Review, to speak of Gayarre as the historian of Louisiana; and we are glad to meet him again in the same field. After glancing rapidly at the Expeditions of De Soto, of Marquette and Joliet, of La Salle and De Tonti, he proceeds to sketch the history of the Louisiana Colony from 1701 to 1743; and he has invested his subject not only with great interest, but has thrown light upon a portion of our Colonial History where little has thus far been known. One reason why so much uncertainty and ignorance have existed in respect to those times, is, that many of the leading characters in the French and Spanish Colonies were Romish priests, or Jesuits, Missionaries whose correspondence was kept in profound secrecy; much of which has been lost or destroyed, and little of which, providentially discovered, has been published. The late discovery, in an old Dominican Library at Rome, may perhaps add somewhat to the general knowledge of those times. Precisely what Gayarre's authorities are for his statements, he has not told us. He acknowledges some drafts on his imagination. Still there is an air of truthfulness in his story; and he has, beyond doubt, unveiled the history of a Colony which in its internal concerns was a tissue of blunders, bad management, distrust, indolence, and inhumanity, so long as it remained under French rule. Besides its historical interest on a most important portion of our country, the author has embellished his story, occasionally, with a tale of sentiment, which he knows well enough how to tell. Gayarre is a true genius, with whom, in the prevailing wilderness of books, it is a privilege to meet.

NILE NOTES OF A HOWAJI. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 320. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We have been tempted again and again, in the perusal of this volume, to speak in a different tone; but the scintillations of wit, the flashes of genius, an eye to see what was lofty and godlike in Egyptian Art, the thorough transformation of a bustling Yankee into the very embodiment of dreamy Orientalism, induce us

to say that it is one of the most amusing books of travels of the day. It does not often bend itself to facts, or tell us of such things as the height of the pyramids, or the exact dimensions of the Theban or Philæan ruins; but it is bathed throughout like an Eastern landscape, in a rich, golden, voluptuous beauty; and is full of the thoughtful meditations of one who has revelled in a world where truth itself is but another name for romance. The following little paragraph, taken at random, will give to the reader a specimen of the author's style, though it gives not a glimpse of the general tone and character of the work.

"Mardi is unrhymed poetry, but rhythmical and measured. Of a low, lapping cadence is the swell of those sentences, like the dip of the sun-stilled Pacific waves. In more serious moods, they have the grave music of Bacon's Essays."

DEALINGS WITH THE INQUISITION, or Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits, with Important Disclosures. By the Rev. GIACINTO ACHILLI, D. D. New York: Harpers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 351. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Dr. Achilli was formerly a Romish priest; he was also a friar of the Dominican Order; was "Head Professor of Theology," &c. The same processes of earnest and bold investigation in his case, which must sooner or later shake that whole system in this country, resulted, as early as 1842, in his breaking one after another the links of the chain which bound him, and his consequent arraignment, and incarceration in the Inquisition. After a fruitless attempt to convict him of crime, he finally obtained liberty and found refuge in Malta and subsequently in England. From Malta he addressed a letter to Pius IX, which contains enough of eloquence and of truth to have alarmed a less timid man than the present Pope. When, at the Revolution, Pius fled from Rome, Dr. Achilli returned to that city in February, 1849, and exerted his talents in arousing the people to a sense of their condition, circulating Bibles and tracts, &c. Some of his sketches of his public appeals, as amid the ruins of the Coliseum, he exposed the deceptions, the corruptions, the tyranny of Popery, and awakened the slumbering fire which yet burns in the breast of every true Roman, are exceedingly interesting. On the downfall of the Republic, he was again arrested, given up to the Inquisition, and consigned, for greater security, to a loathsome cell in the castle of St. Angelo. That he ever left that cell alive, is a noticeable fact. The noted missionary, Dr. Wolff, volunteered a mission in his behalf. His imprisonment seems to have troubled the three Cardinals, who had the control of public affairs; and they appear to have been glad enough, when, by the connivance of the French officers, he again made his escape and returned to England. This book is enough to show that what Popery was in its darkest days, it still is in spirit. Dr. Achilli, in his revulsion from Rome, has, as might be expected, passed to the opposite extreme. There is also an air of arrogance and pretension in the volume, which does not promise well for his future usefulness. Thus he says, "it appeared that those among the friars, who disliked me, feared me no less." "Out of the Cloister, I was equally beloved and protected." The principal value of the work is in its disclosures of the real character of Popery at head quarters.

A TREATISE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY. By GEORGE OPDYKE. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851. 12mo. pp. 339.

The subjects discussed by Mr. Opdyke are not those which we care to introduce into the pages of the Review. Not that they are unimportant, but unappropriate. Wealth, The Laws of Trade, Property, Commerce, Taxation, Tariff Laws, Free Trade, Metallic Money and Paper Money, Credit, &c. These are not questions which, as Church Reviewers, we are called upon to examine.

CURRAN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES. By CHARLES PHILIPS, Esq., one of her Majesty's Commissioners of the Court for the relief of insolvent debtors. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 451. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The period of Irish history, including the last part of the past, and the commencement of the present century, developed some rich specimens of national

character, of which Counsellor Philips has preserved several sparkling memorials. Not only Curran, but Emmet, Grattan, Plunket, Wolfe Tone, Lord Norbury, and several others are the subjects of the writer's witty and graceful pen. The portrait of Curran is drawn with great beauty.

THE EXERCISE OF FAITH, in its relation to Authority and Private Judgment. By the Rev. M. MAHAN, A. M., Assistant Minister of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1851. 18mo. pp. 183. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The following extract from the author's Preface will show the character and design of the work. "This tract does not define the limits either of Church authority or of private judgment, with theological accuracy. It takes for granted that both have their place in Christianity. Its end will be gained if it shows, that practically one need not interfere with the right use of the other, and that a person may exercise a *true faith in God*, without throwing himself absolutely and unreservedly, upon either." The utter impossibility of the Romish doctrine of infallibility having been known in the early Church, as well as the absurdity of that doctrine, is clearly shown; and the fact that the Fathers habitually appealed to the Holy Scriptures, as ultimate authority, is also maintained satisfactorily. For ourselves, we are fully convinced of the *voluntariness of belief*; and that God has subjected the *intellectual*, no less than the *emotional* powers of the human soul, to a fearful trial. Men need, not light, but a teachable spirit. The essay before us is evidently the result of close reflection upon questions which have of late been agitated; and is another proof, that the recent defections from our ranks will be overruled, to the greater confirmation of the Faith, and to the up-building of the Church.

TRAVELS IN AMERICA. THE POETRY OF POPE. By the Right Honorable the Earl of Carlisle, (Lord MORPETH.) New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851. 12mo. pp. 135.

This neatly published volume contains two Lectures delivered to the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society, Dec. 5th and 6th, 1850. The latter Lecture, on the Poetry of Pope, is a discriminating piece of criticism, and, on the whole, as we think, just. He rates English bards (which we should not) in the following order: Chaucer, Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Pope. One amusing point of his Lecture is his citation of the instances in which Pope has furnished household words, or familiar maxims, as illustrations of the common meanings of men. Except Shakspeare, no other poet has so written himself into the common thoughts of Englishmen, and we may say of Americans. We have known Yankees, of ordinary education, who have the "Essay on Man" almost at their tongue's end. We do not hesitate to add, that in respect to moral influence, we regard Pope as worse than Byron or Shelly.

The first Lecture, "Travels in America," is, however, most attractive of the two. Lord Morpeth passed rapidly through the United States in 1841 and 42. We are glad to find one English traveler, who has not written a book for the purpose of repaying the *paperyism* of fawning sycophants with mendacious and malignant abuse. His comments upon public men, customs, manners, cities, buildings, &c., &c., are in a liberal spirit, and are well worth reading. He would be astonished at the growth of the country even in the last ten years. Had he remained longer among us he would have modified some of his opinions.

MOUNT HOPE; or Philip, King of the Wampanoags: an Historical Romance. By G. H. HOLLISTER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 280. New Haven: S. Babcock.

There are rich materials in the early colonial and aboriginal history of New England, which will be employed hereafter more and more in the splendid creations of romance. What Cooper has so nobly done for the red man of our western frontier, should have been repeated in a field where Conanchoet and Philip

fought with Roman valor; where Whalley, and Goffe, and Dixwell, the murderers of their king, were so long concealed, and at last buried as renegades; and the writers of whose epitaphs dare not tell the truth; where the stern masculine virtues and the unrestrained vices of the Puritans had full development. The object of this work, as stated by the author, is "to retrace some of the faded and now scarcely visible features of those exterminating wars that marked the early settlement of the English among the Aborigines of what is now called New England; placing in the foreground of the picture a few of those prominent and leading characters who appear, when seen through the distant medium of History, almost as fabulous as the fictions of poets or the creations of an earthly mythology." The book is full of adventure; and the story is told in a style bold and masculine, but destitute of those easy, careless, graceful, but life-like touches, which can only be acquired by long and careful practice.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMORIALS OF CAPTAIN OBADIAH CONGAR, *for fifty years Mariner and Shipmaster from the port of New York*. By Rev. HENRY T. CREEVER. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 266. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The private journal of Capt. Congar was left by him to the Seamen's Friend Society, and three thousand copies of a work prepared from it, were to be distributed among seamen at his expense. There were no very marked incidents in his history, or, very strong points in his character; nor does his journal abound in adventure; it is rather the record of a sailor who, in the midst of the temptations which beset his calling, still exhibited much earnestness of religious character. In this respect, its publication will we trust do good.

THE MERCERSBURG REVIEW.

A late number of this periodical in reviewing Prof. Adams' "Elements of Christian Science" takes occasion to criticise with some severity the Article on that book, which appeared in the January number of the "Church Review." The writer represents us as saying that we "find it impossible to look upon what Mr. Adams says on this subject in any more favorable light" "than rank Pelagianism." If Dr. Nevins will read what we did say, he will see that we did not say exactly that. He represents Prof. Adams as teaching that "Redemption * * * is the deliverance of that which has been *restrained and oppressed into its rightful freedom*, * * * that our *human nature, though fallen, is still neither essentially evil, nor indifferent to good or evil, but is itself good*." Dr. Nevins also says, "Christianity does not bring into man his ethical nature, his moral necessities and capabilities, * * * it finds him with all this." We take this occasion to say, that while there is much in the tone of the Mercersburg school, which is Churchly and promising, there is, all the while, an undercurrent of German philosophy and speculation which is equally foreboding. Prof. Adams can, we think, afford to say,

"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis."

We have seen no reason, essentially, to change the opinion, expressed in the Article referred to, concerning the "Elements," &c. Although we doubt if that book, in itself alone, represents all the author's views on Christian Ethics. The Article has, as we know, received the entire approbation of several of the soundest divines in the Church; whilst also the justice of its criticisms has by others been questioned.

THE CHOIR AND FAMILY PSALTER; *being the Psalms of David; together with the Canticles of the Morning and Evening Prayer, and occasional offices of the Church. Arranged for Chanting. To which is prefixed a selection of Chants*. By Rev. J. M. WAINWRIGHT, D. D., and Rev. W. A. MUHLENBERG, D. D. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 4to. pp. 237.

The design of this important work, is to encourage the practice of Chanting amongst the members of the Church. The whole Psalter, as also the Selections

of Psalms, the Occasional Services, and the Canticles, are arranged and divided under music staves. These music staves are left blank, to be filled up from a copious collection of Chants, prefixed, which amount to nearly one hundred and twenty; and which can easily, with a pencil, be transferred to the staves, as they may be wanted. The music of the Chants embraces a great variety; the harmonies are of a devotional character, and, in general, easily adapted to Congregational use. The whole work bears the marks of the severe taste and ripe judgment of the authors and compilers; than whom, none in our Church are better qualified for such a labor. They state in the Preface that they "would not discourage *metre* singing," but "would rather discourage every attempt to discard it from the service of the Church." They would, however, limit it to the hymns. They speak of "metre singing" as being "allied to Protestant worship," and as aiding "in the early work of the Reformation." There is a popular mistake on this subject. We heard recently of a learned Romanist enjoying the joke of the modern attempts to discard "metre singing" in the Church, as a fruit of Protestantism. Such psalms and hymns, and of *human composition*, were used in the earliest and best days of the Church, as Eusebius, and Gregory Nazianzen testify. One of our late Romish apostates thought he was approaching nearer to "Catholicity" by training his congregation to discard metre singing altogether. Romanists, sure of their game, laughed in their sleeves at the owl-like gravity of the simpleton. In the face of the prejudices which such men have fostered, we commend the "Church Music" of the Rev. Drs. Wainwright and Muhlenberg to the attention of the Church.

A HISTORY OF GREECE, from the earliest times to the destruction of Corinth, B. C. 146; mainly based upon that of Connop Thirlwall, D. D., Bishop of St. David's. By Dr. LEONHARD SCHMIDTZ, F.R.S.E., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh; and author of the History of Rome, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 543. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Mr. Schmitz is not unknown as a writer of History; his work on Rome having been well received. His present contribution, down to the Peloponnesian War, is a close abridgment of Bishop Thirlwall's large and valuable work. This part includes about one-half of the volume. In the remainder of the volume, where the author found it impossible to abridge, he has expressed his own ideas and in his own language. The great difficulty in all works of this sort, to preserve any thing like completeness of detail without the dryness of mere statistics, the author has, as far as possible, avoided. A Chronological Table, and a pretty full Index, add to the value of the work. We need not add, that the history of Greece, especially in relation to the Arts, Literature, and Philosophy, should be thoroughly studied by American scholars.

NATURE AND BLESSEDNESS OF CHRISTIAN PURITY. By Rev. R. S. FOSTER. With an Introduction by EDMUND S. JAMES, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 226. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Mr. Foster, the author of this book, is a Methodist preacher, and, as we should judge, is capable of making considerable impression upon a popular audience by his vigor of thought, and earnestness of manner. The apparent design of the book is excellent; and we do not feel called upon to examine it critically, in respect either to style or doctrine.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF MATHEMATICS, translated from the French of Auguste Comte. By W. M. GILLESPIE. 8vo. pp. 260. New York: Harpers, 1851.

The book before us is a translation of the first volume of the large work by M. Comte, in 6 vols. 8vo., entitled "*Cours de Philosophie Positive*." The nature and scope of that work is too well known to require much concerning it. The first volume is the only one which treats of the mathematics, and of which it gives

the Philosophy generally in a more clear and satisfactory manner. With the remaining volumes our book has nothing to do, they being taken up with Astronomy, Chemistry, Physics, Physiology, &c.

As Prof. Gillespie has given the public simply a translation of the first volume without comment or additions we shall regard the book only in that light, excepting some omissions to be noticed. Perhaps also we may be permitted to say, that we do not exactly agree with the author in his classification of Geometry, and his ideas of Extension, as regards the conception of lines and surfaces. After a careful comparison of the book with the original it gives us pleasure to say that in our opinion it is an admirable translation. The French idioms are well managed, the spirit and argument of the author well sustained, and fidelity to the original seems to have been the constant aim. Some few unimportant sentences have been omitted in the translation, but they do not in the least impair the system or connection of the subject. But we doubt the propriety of omitting one of the subdivisions of the subject, viz, "Rational Mechanics." This certainly is an important branch, and in our opinion should have been retained, to keep up the symmetry of the author's classification. However, this will not lessen the value of the book for the use of students of the Mathematics. We think the book a desideratum, the want of which has long been felt; and congratulate our mathematical friends that a work of so much merit has been placed within their reach at so moderate an expense. We feel confident that it will be received by the mathematical public with much pleasure and satisfaction.

A COMMENTARY ON ECCLESIASTES. By MOSES STUART, lately Professor, &c., at Andover, Mass. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1851. 12mo. pp. 300.

This work has, we think, attracted less attention from the learned, than the general reputation of its author, the prodigious show of learning patent on its pages, and the difficulties connected with the subject would lead us to expect. In our view, there is a certain air about the book which unconsciously creates suspicion, and produces a want of confidence, not so much in the author's learning, as in his sound judgment, and calm, mature deliberation. He is too certain. He sweeps away with a single dash of his pen difficulties and objections which scholars, who certainly have had some reputation for profound learning, have thought to be very serious difficulties. He seems to us more like a special pleader making out a case, than a sober learner cautiously making his way from step to step in search after truth. The first third part of the volume is occupied with an Introduction, or preliminary dissertation, in which the author discusses with much ability and erudition, various points concerning the Book of Ecclesiastes; as its Nature; Design and Method; Unity; Diction; Author; Credit; Ancient and Modern Versions; and Commentators. He then gives an original translation of the Book, accompanied by a very minute criticism. On this part of the work we have no room to follow the author, though it is most important, and would repay attention. Prof. Stuart has followed the German Neologists, in denying Solomon to be the author of the Book; a fact by the way which the Book itself seems to us most clearly to affirm. (See Eccl. i, 12-16, and ii, 4-9.) We do not see, therefore, if this is so, with what consistency he holds to the authority and inspiration of the Book, or gives it a place in the Canonical Scriptures. His general course of reasoning is almost precisely that of Eichhorn, Jahn, DeWette, Knobel, Hitzig, and others; who only go farther and accuse the Book of immorality, skepticism, Epicureanism, fatalism, &c.

We need not add that this Book of Ecclesiastes was certainly a part of the Divine Scriptures which were received by Christ and the Apostles. Several of the Fathers wrote Commentaries upon it, as Gregory Thaumaturgus, Gregory Nyssen, Jerome, Oecumenius, and others; and it was also sanctioned by the earlier Councils. It is matter of deep regret, that the work of Biblical Criticism has, for the last fifty years, been so almost exclusively left to German scholarship, in which the style of argument has always tended and must always tend to infidelity.

THE IRISH CONFEDERATES, and the Rebellion of 1798. By HENRY M. FIELD. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 369. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We are reluctant to speak of this book in the brief paragraph to which we are limited. Every thing upon Ireland just now is important, and the present volume suggests reflections and anticipations of the gravest character. The British Government have not yet seen the end of trouble with this country. Mr. Field writes in a glowing style, and his sketches are thrown off with a good deal of life-like vigor. The volume is interesting in that respect, rather than as pretending to give the sober details of history. Churchmen will be amused in hearing him say of the Primitive Churches of Ireland, they "could hardly be called Episcopal; for though they had bishops, *their clergy were all equal*," p. 19. Either Mr. Field knew better or he did not, than to write such a paragraph as that; but the man capable of writing it, is capable of writing almost any thing in the line of history.

ROSE DOUGLAS; or the Autobiography of a Minister's Daughter. By S. R. W. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 372.

One of our English exchanges in noticing this work gives the following sketch of the story:

"The story is of the simplest kind, and in its incidents neither novel nor striking. Rose Douglas is the only surviving child of a Scotch Presbyterian minister and his wife, who died almost immediately after giving birth to her. She is, however, most carefully and tenderly educated by her father, and becomes his inseparable companion in all his ministrations. The different families in the parish, some old and excellent maiden sisters, a house-keeper at a deserted house of Sir Robert Crauford's, various poor persons of singular and interesting characters, are very well described. A distinct impression is left of the manse, the church, the old mansion-house, and other scenes in the parish. The state of society also is minutely and pleasantly represented. The few visits paid by Mr. Douglas beyond the limits of his parish give occasion to some of the best passages in the book; there is, in particular, an account of a meeting of clergy, followed by a dinner at a neighboring manse, which is full of life and humor. So time passes on till at last, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, her father dies, worn out with his work, of a consumption, and leaves her almost unprovided for and alone in the world. Then follows the more painful part of the book. She is taken to Glasgow by a coarse and unfeeling aunt and uncle, exposed to much misery in their family and almost reduced to the level of an over-worked and unkindly treated servant. From this state she rescues herself by the aid of an interesting family, the Campbells, who procure her a place as a governess with an amiable but hypochondriacal woman. Here she remains happily for a year, and sees a good deal of Glasgow, the manners of which place, half a century since, are cleverly sketched. Eventually she relinquishes her place in favor of this lady's niece, and ends by marrying young Mr. Campbell, to whom Sir Robert Crauford had presented her father's living on his decease, so that she goes home again once more as mistress to Auchtermuir, where, at the conclusion of the volume, she is still happily living in a good old age, having seen her children well established in the world." This is altogether out of the ordinary run of the novels of the day. Its perpetual Scotticisms, and its pictures of manners, customs, and persons, give to it a strongly marked national character; while its air of truthfulness and unambitious honesty, united to considerable earnestness of style and power of description, impart to the story a charm which rivets the attention of the reader.

THANKFULNESS; a Narrative, Comprising passages from the Diary of the Rev. Allan Temple. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 12mo. pp. 306.

THE ANGEL'S SONG; a Christmas Token. By CHARLES B. TAYLER, M. A., Rector of Otley, Suffolk. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 12mo. pp. 207.

Both of the above volumes are from the pen of Mr. Tayler, and are rather favorable specimens of this class of works. They are both pervaded by an earnest

religious tone; and both seem designed to inculcate a religion of feeling, in distinction from a religion of ceremony or form. Their tendency will be, we think, to produce an impression that the one is necessarily antagonistic to the other. They are written in great simplicity of style; the author knows how to address the conscious experience of the common reader; and they will, we presume, be quite as popular as his other works which have been republished in this country.

THE FRANCONIA STORIES. In five volumes. MALLEVILLE. WALLACE. MARY ERSKINE. MARY BELL. BEECHNUT.

This series of Juveniles, by Jacob Abbot, is now completed. The author possesses the true secret of writing books for children. His stories are told in a quiet, easy style; delineating domestic life, and inculcating domestic duties, in a manner which has the power of fascination over the minds of the young.

A LETTER to the Rev. Clement M. Butler, D. D., Rector of Trinity Church, Washington, D. C., in review of "Old Truths and New Errors." By a Presbyter of the Diocese. Baltimore: D. Brunner, 1851. 8vo. pp. 12.

The work of Dr. Butler, which this pamphlet reviews, we have never seen. But this writer urges grave objections, strongly, and in a kind spirit. The truth is, and there is no way to get around it, we must either give up the *Apostolic* origin of Episcopacy, or we must contend for its divine authority and perpetual obligation. And yet the fact of such an origin is as clear as the sun. As a matter of policy, yielding one hair's breadth to the radicalism of the day, on such a point as this, is like attempting to appease the insatiate spirit of the grave; or like loosening the key-stone of an arch; or like opening the first water-course for the flood. It may be very amiable to do such a thing, but it is not so very safe. The grave will still cry, give! give! The whole arch will finally crumble to ruins. The flood will sweep every thing before it. We may as well be prepared to be called *exclusive*, or else give up every thing like distinctive Christianity in the outset. The age is coming to this issue as fast as it can. Sectarianism has already *levell'd down* the institutions of Christianity, until it is almost as difficult to find them, as it is the aboriginal inroads of Western New York. Its most learned doctors say that there are no such institutions.

LOSSING'S PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION. No. 13. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. New Haven: S. Babcock.

In the lively, sketchy character of the style, in the beauty of the illustrations, and the general excellence of the mechanical execution, this work well deserves the high encomiums which the press of the country are bestowing upon it.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE. May and June, 1851.

This Magazine stands at the very head of all the monthlies. In both the editing and publishing departments the work is well sustained. It is having an almost unprecedented sale and deserves it. The June number has illustrations of Thomson's Summer, which are on wood, and yet which are almost as delicate and distinct as the finest steel engravings. These alone are worth the price of the number.

LONDON LABOR AND THE LONDON POOR. By HENRY MATHEW. With Daguerreotype engravings. Parts I—VI. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 8vo. pp. 48. New Haven: S. Babcock.

These sketches originally appeared in the London Chronicle, from which they are now republished by the Messrs. Harper in a greatly enlarged form. They are designed to be a Cyclopaedia of the social condition and earnings of those that will work; those that cannot work; and those that will not work, of the great metropolis. London is a little world in itself; and presents all the conceivable

phases of society. The sketches are graphically written, and are well worth reading. One sees in a great city what human nature is capable of being and doing.

STRICTURES ON ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE'S DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION. New York: Published by the P. E. K. Society, 1851. 12mo. pp. 65.

We find this pamphlet attributed to the Rev. Dr. Turner, Professor in the General Theological Seminary. The Rev. Professor, we think, should have said that the *Church Review* did not endorse Wilberforce's theory; that it published the article on Wilberforce under protest; at the suggestion of men of moderate and conservative views; and as a fair and pretty full exposition of Wilberforce's doctrine. Dr. Turner notices several of the difficulties in this theory; but does not allude to what we regard as its primary and radical evil; to wit, *its essential pantheism*. "There are considerations which will suggest themselves to the thoughtful" why this feature of Wilberforce has escaped the eye of the learned Professor. That German Philosophy underlies Wilberforce's whole structure is undeniable, and was seen at the first glance by some of our best German Scholars.

BISHOP DOANE'S ADDRESS at the Funeral of the Rev. Dr. Ogilby, in Trinity Church, New York, March 24, 1851.

The outpourings of a heart full of poetry, and eloquence, and friendship.

GEORGE C. ANTHON'S NARRATIVE OF DOCUMENTS Connected with the Displacement of a Professor in the New York University. pp. 72.

REV. SAMUEL A. CLARK'S SERMON, HONESTY IN TRADE. pp. 15.

THE MOTTO OF JUBILEE COLLEGE. March, 1851.

JAMAICA AND THE AMERICANS. By WILLIAM W. ANDERSON, Esq. New York, 1851. pp. 80.

THE DOLLAR MAGAZINE. New York. Edited by the Messrs. Duykinck.

REV. DR. ROSWELL PARK'S ESSAY on the History and Progress of Geographical Discovery.

Worthy of preservation.

ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

AMERICAN.

THE following correspondence on a question which involves the whole point in dispute between the late Rev. Dr. Jarvis in his Chronological Introduction and those who differed from him, will be read with interest. We regret that it did not appear in season to have been a source of gratification to the learned and lamented gentleman. As it is a question of no inconsiderable importance, we venture to suggest to Editors of our Church Papers, the propriety of publishing the correspondence.—ED. CH. REV.

Boston, May 22, 1851.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHURCH REVIEW :

SIR,—At the request of the late Dr. Jarvis, the undersigned consulted the Messrs. Bond, the eminent astronomers of Cambridge, in relation to the correctness of the younger Bianchini's quotation from his distinguished uncle Francis Bianchini, (see page 433 of the Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church,) the means of verifying which were not within the learned author's reach ; and also as to the accuracy of the statement therein given concerning the first Easter Sunday of Christendom. The following satisfactory reply came too late to be made use of by the lamented historian, and there seems no better way of disposing of it, than by publishing it in the Church Review.

I am, sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

PETER OLIVER.

CAMBRIDGE, April 1, 1851.

DEAR SIR,—The work referred to on page 433 of Dr. Jarvis' History of the Church, is not in our possession, nor in the University Library. But by computing the time of new moon for March, A. D. 28, from Damoiseau's Tables of the Moon, and also from the Tables of Largeteau, recently published, I find no reason to doubt that Bianchini is correct in his date, as quoted by Dr. Jarvis.

Yours, very truly,

G. P. BOND.

Peter Oliver, Esq.

C. S. Francis & Co. are publishing the works of Alexander Hamilton, comprising his Correspondence and his Political and Official Writings, Civil and Military. The whole will form seven octavo volumes. They are chiefly from MSS. purchased by Congress, under the direction of the Joint Library Committee. Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, Boston, have published the first volume of the Biography of Wordsworth, by Christopher Wordsworth. The Memoir and Remains of the late Professor John D. Ogilby, D. D., with a Life written by Rev. F. Ogilby, is to be published under the direction of a Committee of Publication, for the benefit of his family. Mr. Dodd, New York, has recently published the Letters and Journals of Henry Martyn, a new work.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Mr. Bohn has published the second volume of *Vasari's Lives of the Painters*. The Messrs. Rivington advertise the second Edition of a Translation of the Epistles

of Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp, and of the Apologies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian. With Notes. By the Rev. Temple Chevallier, B. D., Professor of Mathematics in the University of Durham. This Edition will contain an Account of the Present State of the Question respecting the Integrity of the Greek Text of the Epistles of Ignatius, with reference to the Syriac Version of some of them lately Edited by Mr. Cureton. In one volume. Also, Original Papers, in Illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland during the Reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. From the State Paper Office, Whitehall. Printed uniformly with Sir Henry Ellis's Collection of Letters.

Blackwood and Sons announce a Series of Six Lectures on the Poetical Literature of the past Half Century; by D. M. Moir. Parker advertises the Memoir of Bishop Copleston, late Bishop of Llandaff. Edmund Sharpe has just written the Seven Periods of English Architecture, from the Heptarchy to the Reformation. The Longmans have published the History of the Church of Rome to the end of the Episcopate of Damasus, A. D. 384; by E. G. Shepherd, A. M. Parker has published the Calendar of the Anglican Church Illustrated. It is Archeological rather than Theological. Professor Trench has just written a work on St. Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture. Seymour's Pilgrimage to Rome has reached a fourth Edition.

Bagster and Sons, of London, have in preparation, and nearly ready for publication, the following important works:

The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Text; together with the real LXX of Daniel. Also all the Apocryphal Books extant, in Greek, including the Tenth of Maccabees, not commonly applied to the Vatican Text. With a Critical and Historical Preface.

A Synopsis of the various readings found in all the ancient manuscripts of the Septuagint, which are extant. In one volume, 8vo. This will present the Biblical student with a more complete critical apparatus for the LXX than any thing which has hitherto appeared.

A Greek Testament, according to Mill's Text. Large print. In one volume, 8vo. In the margin will be given references to parallel passages; with select various readings, which have been approved by Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, or Tischendorf.

A Complete Synopsis of the Variations of the Texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. Designed as a companion to the preceding, or any other Greek Testament.

They have also issued specimens and prospectuses of a New and Complete Hebrew Concordance, and also for a Syriac Concordance.

Mr. Bohn has published the second volume of the translation of Neander's Church History, bringing the work down to the end of the life of Origen.

Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh, have published a new edition of the History of the Church of Scotland, beginning the year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of King James VI. By the Right Rev. John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland. With Biographical Sketch and Notes, by the Right Rev. M. Russell, LL.D., D.C.L. In three volumes.

The *Daily News* states that Lord Cockburn is preparing a life of Lord Jeffrey for the press.

The Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent with the Appendix and Additional Statutes, containing the Condemnation of the Doctrines of Wickliffe, Huss, Luther, and other early Reformers. For the first time completely translated into English. By Theodore A. Buckley. Published by Routledge & Co. One volume. 8vo. p. 55.

Mr. E. Monro's "Parochial Work" has passed to a second Edition. Parker has just published Some Account of Domestic Architecture in England, from the Conquest to the End of the 13th Century, by T. Hudson Turner, with Illustrations. The Rev. James Ford has nearly ready his Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke, (chiefly in the Doctrinal and Moral Sense,) from Ancient and Modern Au-

thors. Murray has published *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, by James Ferguson, Esq., in which he discusses the Chronology and the Architecture of these buildings; and which we think must be a valuable work.

CONTINENTAL.

About twenty-five volumes of manuscripts, relating to America, have been discovered in the library of the Dominican Friars at Rome. They contain the narratives of Romish Missionaries who visited and resided on this Continent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The third volume of Louis Blanc's *History of the French Revolution* will soon appear at Paris.

The old German Professor, Jahn, is writing his personal memoirs.

AN IMPORTANT WORK DISCOVERED.

An important work of Origen's, hitherto believed to be lost, has been discovered in Paris by M. Miller, librarian of the National Assembly, among the Greek manuscripts brought to that Capital by M. Mynas about ten years ago. The *Journal des Debats* describes the original work as being in ten books:—the first of which is already known to the world under the title of "*Philosophumena*." The last seven books are now, it is said, recovered, and about to be published. The French journals describe the work as a "refutation of heresies, in which the author endeavors to prove that the heresiarchs have all taken their doctrines from the ancient philosophers;"—a very curious task for Origen to perform, since he was himself chiefly remarkable for the mixture of Zeno, Plato, and Aristotle, which he compounded with his Christianity. But apart from its controversial interest, the recovered manuscript will throw new light upon the opinions and practices of the Neo-Platonists, and on the manners and customs of ancient times.

The *Giornale di Roma* published a Decree of "The Sacred Congregation of the Index" at Rome, prohibiting several books. Among them we find the Italian translation of the *Dictionnaire des Dates*, or Chronological Dictionary by d'Harmonville, 1844; the *Elements of Logic*, by the Rev. Richard Whately; *A Pilgrimage to Rome*, by the Rev. Hobart Seymour; and *L'Égypte Pharaonique*, or History of the Institutions of the Egyptians under their National Kings, by Henry. The latter author "has acknowledged his errors and made due submission to the congregation."

Don Adolpho de Castro has written a work entitled "*Persecution of Spanish Protestants*," by Philip the Second, published at Madrid, in which the author speaks with great plainness.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.*

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Burrill, John T.,	Eastburn,	June 9,	St. Matthews',	S. Boston, Mass.
Drayton, John G.,	Gadsden,	Mar. 16,	St. Andrew's,	Charleston, S. C.
Fitzgerald, Fred.,	Ives,	Apr. 25,	St. Paul's,	Edenton, N. C.
Green, Thos. L.,	Whittingham,	Mar. 16,	Christ,	Easton, Md.
Ingraham, J. H.,	Green,	Mar. 9,	Trinity,	Natchez, Miss.
Lumsden, David F.,	Brownell,	Apr. 6,	Christ,	Hartford, Conn.
M'Vicar, Wm. A.,	Chase, C.,	Mar. 16,	Ascension,	New York City.
Murphy, Jos. A.,	Ives,	Apr. 25,	St. Paul's,	Edenton, N. C.
Parkman, Chas. M.,	Ives,	Apr. 25,	St. Paul's,	Edenton, N. C.
Rudder, Wm.,	Brownell,	Apr. 6,	Christ,	Hartford, Conn.
Sansom, Wm. Orne,	Chase, C.,	Mar. 16,	Ascension,	New York City.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Clements, F. C.,	Potter,	May 25,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Clements, S.,	Potter,	May 25,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Cummings, E. H.,	M'Ilvaine,	May 8,	St. Paul's, Akron, Ohio.
Draper, George B.,	Chase, C.,	Mar. 16,	Ascension, New York City.
Duane, R. B.,	Potter,	May 25,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Foot, Geo. C.,	Chase, C.,	Mar. 16,	Ascension, New York City.
Habersham, B. E.,	Elliott,	May 11,	Trinity, Columbus, Ga.
Huntington, Gurdon	Chase, C.,	Apr. 14,	St. Paul's, New York City.
Hyde, Marcus F.,	Doane,	Apr. 27,	St. Andrews', Mount Holly, N. J.
Mitchell, John M.,	Cobbs,	May 11,	St. John's, Montgomery, Ala.
Musgrave, Wm. B.,	Potter,	May 25,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Neally, John,	Whittingham,	Mar. 16,	Christ, Easton, Md.
Paddock, W. H.,	Potter,	Mar. 23,	Kittanning, Pa.
Royce, M. S.,	Otey,	Mar. 16,	Christ, Nashville, Tenn.
Swope, C. E.,	Chase, P.,	Jan. 5,	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Taylor, Benj. F.,	Chase, C.,	Mar. 16,	Ascension, New York City.
Washburn, Daniel,	Potter,	Apr. 6,	Epiphany, Philadelphia, Pa.
Walsh, Geo. H.,	Potter,	Mar. 18,	Lewistown, Pa.

* A full summary of Diocesan Intelligence, made up from recent Journals, will appear in next number.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
Christ,	Waukegan, Ill.,	Chase, P.,	May 13, 1851.
Ch. of the Epiphany,	Urbana, Ohio,	M'Irvine,	Apr. 11, 1851.
St. John's,	Bristol, Ind.,	Upfold,	May 8, 1851.
St. John's,	New Hartford, Conn.,	Brownell,	June 4, 1851.
St. John's,	Dubuque, Iowa,	Kemper,	Apr. 13, 1851.
St. Mary's,	Woodville, Md.,	Whittingham,	Dec. 12, 1850.
Ch. of the Mediator,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	Potter,	Apr. 5, 1851.
St. Paul's Chapel,	Waterbury, Conn.,	Brownell,	June 9, 1851.
Ch. of the Redemption,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	Potter,	Apr. 20, 1851.
St. Timothy's,	Catonsville, Md.,	Whittingham,	June 5, 1851.
Trinity,	Shrewsbury, N. J.,	Doane,	May 13, 1851.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Acly, C. G.,	Union,	Seymour, Conn.
" Austin Benjamin,	St. James',	Painesville, Ohio.
" Bailey, A. B.,	St. James',	Castleton, Vt.
" Clark, Wm. J.,		Washington City.
" Fontaine, Edw.,	Epiphany,	Austin, Texas.
" Franklin, Benjamin,	St. John's,	Philadelphia, Pa.
" Geer, Edwin,	St. Peter's,	Washington, N. C.
" Ingraham, J. H.,		Aberdeen, Miss.
" Jessup, Edward,	St. John's, (Asst.)	Waterbury, Conn.
" Johnson, Wm.,	Christ,	Tuscaloosa, Ala.
" Mitchell, J. M.,	St. Jno's in the Prairies,	Green Co., Ala.
" Nash, S. P.,	St. Andrew's,	West Vincent.
" Olmsted, Henry,	Trinity,	Branford, Conn.
" Perry, J., D. D.,		Northfield, Vt.
" Riley, Reuben,	St. Thomas',	New Windsor, N. Y.
" Sansom, Henry,	Trinity,	Marshall, Texas.
" Smith, A. P.,		Cazenovia, N. Y.
" Stone, B. F.,	Christ, (Asst.)	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Stryker, P. M.,	Christ,	Ansonia, Conn.
" Tuttle, R. H.,	Missionary,	Thompsonville, Conn.
" Tyler, T. P.,	St. Paul's,	Columbus, Ohio.
" Weaver, Joshua,		Jersey City, N. J.
" Weller, R. H.,	Grace,	Jefferson City, Mo.

HOSPITAL OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN PHILADELPHIA.

An Institution with the above name has just been incorporated by Charter to be located in the city of Philadelphia. We judge by the language of the Charter and of the Report, that the plan has been entered upon in earnest, and we trust that the zeal of its inception will not expire for want of nutriment, as has too often been the case in such undertakings. One of the greatest defects in our Church hitherto has been that she has partaken too much of a cast-iron character, and has not known how to address herself to the practical wants of society. Hence it is, that worldly men have lost sympathy with the Church, have doubted whether she be not meant after all for the few and not the many. Hence the tendency to look favorably upon Socialism, which has, in its essence and principle, obtained a prodigious hold on the moral sense of the community. We are glad to see the Bishop of Pennsylvania giving practical shape to those rich endowments which God has conferred upon him.

The Objects of this new Hospital are thus stated:

"1. To provide medical and surgical aid and nursing for the sick and disabled, either in the wards of the Hospital or at their homes.

2. To instruct and train suitable persons in the duties of nursing and attending upon the sick.

3. To provide the instructions and consolations of religion according to the principles of the Protestant Episcopal Church, for those who are under the care of the institution.

4. Such other purposes incidental and kindred to those above mentioned as the Board of Managers hereinafter to be provided, may prescribe."

The funds for its establishment and endowment are to be raised by voluntary contributions. A sum of not less than \$50 will entitle the contributor to a vote at the annual election of managers. \$1,000 will entitle the donor to have one person constantly in the Wards, on his or her recommendation, and contributors of larger sums are to have increased privileges of the kind.

The Board of Managers will consist of twenty-four persons, communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church, one-third clergymen, in addition to the Bishop, who shall be, *ex-officio*, President. The medical, surgical, and other attendants, are to be chosen by the board. A chaplain, appointed by the Bishop, is to have divine worship daily, and shall discharge all duties of a minister of the Gospel in attendance upon the patients. Patients are to be admitted "without exclusion of creed, color or country," provided that among incurable patients, likely to be long in the hospital, preference is to be given to members of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

The Report closes with the following eloquent and far-seeing expression of thoughts, which it does one's heart and faith good to read; and to know that there are men in the Church who are capable of such noble and truthful conceptions.

"There are now in the city and county of Philadelphia forty congregations and sixty clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Should that Church increase hereafter, as it has increased heretofore, twenty years will not have passed before we shall number, within the same limits, more than one hundred and thirty congregations, and more than one hundred and fifty clergymen. Our present number of communicants, estimated at six thousand, will have risen to thrice that number. Our Churches freed from debt, and our people characterized by enterprise and crowned with prosperity, will have augmented, almost beyond conception, their ability to honor God with their substance and labors and prayers. The Committee surround themselves in thought with the Churchmen of that day, and with all that in the meantime may be done among us for Christ and His Church, and they ask what is needed but united and earnest zeal to make our future brighter and better than all our past. There is that scattereth and yet increaseth—there is that withholdeth more than is meet and it tendeth to poverty. The liberality which has distinguished many of our members in former days, has not been in vain. Their prayers and alms have gone up as a memorial before God. He hath blessed us richly with temporal blessings, and He has not withheld from us tokens of His spiritual presence and favor. Well then may we thank God and take courage, resolving that we will abound yet more and more in love and in good works."

As important items of intelligence we publish an abstract of the doings of several Societies which have recently held their anniversaries. We adopt a condensed statement made to our hand without altering the phraseology.

AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the American Home Missionary Society was celebrated at the Tabernacle, May 7th.

The Society has had in its service the last year, 1,065 Ministers of the Gospel, in twenty six different States and Territories; in the New England States, 311; in the Middle States, 224; the Southern States, 15; the Western States and Territories, 515.

Of these, 640 have been the *pastors* or *stated supplies* of single congregations, and 425 have occupied larger fields. Four have ministered to congregations of

colored people; and forty-one have preached in foreign languages—ten to *Welsh*, and twenty-nine to *German* congregations; and two to congregations of *Norwegians* and *Swedes*.

The number of congregations supplied, in whole or in part, is 1820; and the aggregate of *ministerial service* performed is equal to 853 years.

The pupils in Sabbath Schools and Bible Classes amount to 70,000.

There have been added to the Churches 6,678, viz: 3,855 by profession; and 2,823 by letter. Many of the Western Churches have been visited with the special effusions of the Spirit. Seventy-seven missionaries make mention in their reports of revivals of religion in congregations; and 366 report 3,096 hopeful conversions.

Thirty-three more missionaries have been in commission than in any preceding year, and this increase has been mainly in the Western States and Territories; forty-one more years of ministerial labor have been performed, and two hundred and forty-five more congregations blessed with the preaching of the gospel.

Forty-three Churches have passed from a condition of dependence to that of *self-support*; sixty houses of worship have been completed; fifty-five others repaired; and the building of forty others commenced.

During the twenty-five years of the Society's labors, not far from 800 churches, which had been reared and nurtured by its instrumentality, have passed from the list of beneficiaries, and are now supporting their own gospel institutions; some of which are among the strongest and most influential churches in the land.

THE TREASURY.

Resources.—The balance in the Treasury, April 1, 1850, was \$15,553.69. The receipts of the succeeding twelve months have been \$150,940.25; making the resources of the year \$166,493.94.

Liabilities.—There was due to missionaries, at the date of the last report, \$11,935.77. There has since become due, \$151,515.41; making the total of liabilities \$163,457.18.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

The Treasurer's report was presented by Moses Allen, Esq., showing the following results:

Receipts from donations, \$109,897.76; from sales, \$200,720.33; balance in the treasury last year, \$110.23; total, \$310,728.32. Expenditures for paper, printing, binding, engraving, &c., \$179,984.48; for colportage, \$73,278.23; remitted to foreign and pagan lands, \$20,000; other expenditures, \$37,356.59; total \$316,619.30, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$109.02. Due for printing paper, (to be paid within six months,) \$32,908.64. Twenty general agents and seven superintendents of colportage have been employed in large districts.

An abstract of the annual report was then read by Messrs. Hallock and Cook, Secretaries, showing the operations of the past year. New publications which have been issued in nine languages, 78; of which forty-two are volumes, eight volumes illustrated, and fourteen volumes in German. Total publications on the Society's list, 1,098, of which 327 are volumes, besides 2,594 approved for foreign stations, in about 114 languages and dialects. Circulated during the year, 686,692 volumes, 7,837,692 publications, 269,784,615 pages. Total in twenty-six years, 6,567,795 volumes, 119,826,867 publications, 2,777,087,404 pages. *Christian Almanac*, 310,000 copies, *American Messenger*, 186,000 monthly, *German Messenger*, 18,000. Gratuitous distributions in 2,697 distinct grants, 56,638,548, value \$37,760.03.

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The receipts of the year amounted to \$276,882.56. Number of Bibles and Testaments issued in the year, 592,432. Total from the formation of the Society 7,572,967 copies. For the first time the exercises of the Anniversary were hallowed by the voice of prayer.

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.

Abstract of the Fourteenth Annual Report, May, 1851.

FINANCE.—The receipts from all sources, as stated in the Treasurer's Report, has been,.....\$139,084.33
 To which added the balance of the last year,.....1,137.39

\$140,221.72

The expenditures shown in the same Report, has been,.....\$140,085.56

Leaving a balance in favor of the Treasury of.....\$136.16

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

From a summary (which we find in the *Washington Republic*) of the population of the United States, according to the recent census, and from the returns of previous years, we compile the following tables:—

States.	Whites.	Free colored.	Slaves.	Total.	Total '40.
Alabama.....	426,515	2,250	342,894	771,659	590,756
Arkansas.....	162,071	587	46,983	209,641	97,574
California.....	200,000	—	—	200,000	30,000
Connecticut.....	363,189	7,415	—	370,604	309,970
Delaware.....	71,282	17,957	2,289	91,528	78,085
Florida.....	47,120	926	39,341	87,387	54,477
Georgia.....	513,083	2,586	362,966	877,635	691,392
Indiana.....	983,634	5,100	—	988,734	685,866
Illinois.....	853,059	5,239	—	858,298	476,183
Iowa.....	191,830	292	—	192,122	43,112
Kentucky.....	770,061	9,667	221,768	1,001,496	779,828
Louisiana.....	254,271	15,685	230,807	500,762	353,411
Maine.....	581,920	1,312	—	583,232	501,793
Massachusetts.....	985,498	8,773	—	994,271	737,698
Maryland.....	418,763	73,943	89,800	582,506	470,019
Mississippi.....	291,536	898	300,419	592,853	375,654
Michigan.....	393,156	2,547	—	395,703	212,267
Missouri.....	592,176	2,667	89,289	684,132	383,702
New Hampshire.....	317,354	477	—	317,831	284,574
New Jersey.....	466,283	22,269	119	488,671	373,306
New York.....	3,042,574	47,448	—	3,090,022	2,428,921
North Carolina.....	552,477	27,271	288,412	868,370	753,419
Ohio.....	1,951,101	25,930	—	1,977,031	1,519,467
Pennsylvania.....	2,258,480	58,201	—	2,311,681	1,724,083
Rhode Island.....	144,012	3,543	—	147,555	108,830
South Carolina.....	274,775	8,769	384,925	668,469	594,398
Tennessee.....	767,319	6,280	249,519	1,023,118	829,210
Texas.....	133,131	926	53,346	187,403	150,000
Vermont.....	312,756	710	—	313,466	291,948
Virginia.....	894,149	53,906	473,026	1,421,081	1,239,797
Wisconsin.....	303,600	626	—	304,226	30,945
Total.....	19,517,885	409,200	3,175,902	23,102,987	17,243,258
District of Columbia.....	38,027	9,973	3,687	51,687	43,712
Minnesota.....	6,192	—	—	6,192	1,000
New Mexico.....	61,632	—	—	61,632	50,000
Oregon.....	20,000	—	—	20,000	2,000
Utah.....	25,000	—	—	25,000	—
Grand Total.....	19,668,736	419,173	3,179,589	23,267,498	17,339,970
Total population of the United States and Territories.....					23,267,498
Total population in 1840.....					17,339,970
Increase in ten years.....					5,927,528

COMPARATIVE POPULATION.

Below we present the aggregate population by States, according to each Census from 1790 to 1830, both inclusive, which with the Census of 1840 and 1850, given above, will exhibit at a glance the rapid growth of the United States for the last sixty years:

POPULATION FROM 1790 TO 1830.

<i>States</i>	1830.	1820.	1810.	1800.	1790.
Alabama.....	309,527	127,901	20,845	—	—
Arkansas.....	30,388	14,273	—	—	—
Connecticut.....	297,665	275,202	262,042	251,002	238,141
Delaware.....	76,748	72,749	72,647	64,273	59,098
Florida.....	34,730	—	—	—	—
Georgia.....	516,823	340,987	252,433	162,101	82,548
Indiana.....	343,031	147,178	24,520	4,875	—
Illinois.....	157,455	55,211	12,282	—	—
District of Columbia.....	39,834	33,039	240,023	14,093	—
Kentucky.....	687,917	564,317	406,511	220,955	73,077
Louisiana.....	215,739	153,407	76,556	—	—
Maine.....	399,955	298,335	228,705	151,719	96,540
Massachusetts.....	610,408	523,287	472,040	423,245	378,717
Maryland.....	447,040	407,350	380,546	341,548	319,728
Mississippi.....	136,621	75,448	40,352	8,850	—
Michigan.....	31,639	8,896	4,762	—	—
Missouri.....	140,445	66,586	20,845	—	—
New York.....	1,918,608	1,372,812	959,949	586,756	340,120
New Hampshire.....	269,328	244,161	214,360	183,762	141,899
New Jersey.....	320,823	277,575	249,555	211,949	184,139
North Carolina.....	737,987	638,829	555,500	478,103	393,751
Ohio.....	937,903	581,434	230,760	45,365	—
Pennsylvania.....	1,348,233	1,049,458	810,091	602,365	434,373
Rhode Island.....	97,199	83,059	77,031	69,122	69,110
South Carolina.....	581,185	502,741	415,115	345,591	249,073
Tennessee.....	681,904	422,813	261,727	105,602	35,791
Vermont.....	280,652	235,764	217,713	154,465	85,416
Virginia.....	1,211,405	1,065,379	974,622	880,200	748,308
Total.....	12,866,920	9,638,131	7,239,814	5,305,925	3,929,827
Population in 1840.....	17,339,970.	Do. in 1850.....	23,267,498.		

REPRESENTATIVES.

The following table will show the Representative population of the United States, the number of Representatives to which each State is entitled, and also what States are to send Representatives on fractions.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Federal Rep. Population.</i>	<i>No. of Rep's.</i>	<i>Fractions.</i>	<i>No. at present.</i>
Alabama.....	634,501	6	*72,289	7
Arkansas.....	100,848	2	3,444	1
California.....	200,000	2	12,596	2
Connecticut.....	370,604	3	*89,498	4
Delaware.....	90,612	—	*90,612	1
Florida.....	71,650	—	*71,650	1
Georgia.....	733,448	7	*77,534	8
Indiana.....	988,734	10	*51,714	10
Illinois.....	858,298	9	20,980	7
Iowa.....	192,123	2	4,718	2

Kentucky,.....	912,788	9	*75,470	10
Louisiana,.....	408,440	4	33,682	4
Maine,.....	583,232	6	21,020	7
Massachusetts,.....	984,271	10	*57,251	10
Maryland,.....	546,686	5	*78,076	6
Mississippi,.....	472,685	4	4,175	4
Michigan,.....	395,703	5	20,895	3
Missouri,.....	648,416	6	*86,204	5
New Hampshire,.....	317,831	3	36,725	4
New York,.....	3,090,022	32	*91,558	34
New Jersey,.....	488,623	5	20,113	5
North Carolina,.....	753,505	8	3,889	9
Ohio,.....	1,977,031	21	9,289	21
Pennsylvania,.....	2,311,681	24	*62,533	24
Rhode Island,.....	147,655	1	*53,853	2
South Carolina,.....	514,499	5	45,989	7
Tennessee,.....	923,310	9	*89,992	11
Texas,.....	166,064	1	*72,362	2
Vermont,.....	313,466	3	32,360	4
Virginia,.....	1,231,870	13	13,744	15
Wisconsin,.....	304,226	3	23,120	3
Total,.....	21,832,521	218		233
Representatives allowed for fractional numbers, as marked,.....		15		
Whole number of Representatives under the next apportionment,.....		233		

* These States have a Representative added to the number of Apportionment.

THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.

The total expenditures for the year have been \$93,973; the receipts, \$95,926. Several additional agents have been appointed during the last year. The number of periodical publications amounts to 426,750 copies. The Union has now about 23,000 members. The Board have now in charge eighteen missions, ten in Asia, one in Africa, three in Europe, four among the N. A. Indians. Connected with these missions are 77 stations and 164 out-stations, and 119 missionaries and assistants, 192 native preachers and assistants, 5 schools and 5 printing offices.

OBITUARY.

Died, at Litchfield, Conn., March 27, the Rev. Truman Marsh, at the age of eighty-three years. Mr. Marsh was born at Litchfield, February 22d, 1768. His early studies were pursued at Litchfield, (South-Farms.) He graduated at Yale College, in 1786, in which Institution he sustained a high reputation, especially as a classical scholar. He then became a private tutor in Baltimore, Md., and subsequently a tutor in Cokesbury College, the Presidency of which was offered him. He was ordained Deacon by the Right Rev. Bishop White, in March, 1790. and Priest by Right Rev. Bishop Seabury, June 2d, 1790. His first Pastoral charge was that of the associated Parishes of New Milford, New Preston, and Roxbury, Conn. In 1799, he became Rector of St. Michael's Parish, Litchfield, Conn.; and retained the Rectorship during thirty years. At the end of nine years, on account of infirm health, he asked for an assistant, but still continued to perform more or less of clerical duty. For several years previous to his death, the infirmities of old age had confined him to his house, but he retained the high respect and esteem of the clergy and of all who shared his acquaintance. His last end was eminently peaceful; and he has left behind him the memory of a good man; and of a faithful Christian minister.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLAND.

CONSECRATION OF BISHOP BINNEY.

The consecration of Dr. Binney, of Worcester College, Oxford, to the Bishopric of Nova Scotia and its dependencies, took place on Tuesday morning, March 25th, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. The service was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Oxford; the Rev. Dr. Binney (father of the new Bishop,) the Rev. Dr. Goulburn, and the Rev. Mr. Thomas, chaplain to the Archbishop. The whole of it was conducted in the most simple manner, no chanting or singing, but every part read. The chapel was well filled with visitors, among whom were many clergymen. Bishop Binney has already entered upon his arduous labors.

The Rev. J. Garbett, A. M., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and Rector of Clayton, Sussex, is advanced to the Archdeaconry of Chichester, vacant by the apostasy of the late Rev. H. E. Manning.

The Bishop of Exeter (Phillpotts) is out with a Pastoral Letter. He seems to be in very bad humor; and his Pastoral, of which we have only seen considerable extracts, is able, petulant, self-opinionated; harsh in its judgments upon the other Bishops and their Address, (which is given below;) disrespectful towards his Archbishop; unfilial towards the Church of England, which he unfeelingly and cruelly describes as, "*in the eye of some, suffering from paralysis, under which it seems to them she is dragging on a worthless and lifeless existence!*" In conclusion, he summons a *Diocesan Synod*, to sustain, or refuse to sustain him in his present position. There are strong points in this Letter, which, as contradistinguished from the Erastianism of the Establishment, appeal to the heart of American Churchmen; but it is difficult to read it and not be reminded of the fact that he has been again and again foiled in his late attempts to carry a point.

In speaking of a late charge of the Archbishop of York, he says, "I could not name any one work of any minister in our Church, which, though of double the bulk, contains half so many heretical statements as are contained in this one Charge."

We are forced to say, that the temper shown in this Pastoral is the strongest argument we have ever seen against the revival of Convocation.

ADDRESS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS TO THE CLERGY.

Something like the following has been for a considerable time expected. The Bishops had hardly power to say more. The object of the Address evidently is, to check the tendency to adopt into the ritual and ceremonial of the Church, practices which existed in the Church previous to the Reformation, and which were then formally or informally laid aside. Men who are loyal and true to the Church, will so understand it and will govern themselves accordingly. Men who are Romanists at heart, or who are traitors and Jesuits in disguise, will have great difficulty in finding out what it means. The secret of the trouble with these men is that *they have abandoned the main doctrines of the Reformation*. These new ceremonials are not ends with them; but they are signs, way-marks, by which we may mark their retrograde movements.

"We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops of the provinces of Canterbury and York, do most earnestly and affectionately commend the following Address to the serious consideration of the Clergy of our respective Dioceses:—

[Signed] J. B. Cantuar, T. Ebor, C. J. London, E. Dunelm, C. R. Winton, J. Lincoln, C. Bangor, H. Carlisle, G. Rochester, J. H. Gloucester and Bristol, C. T. Ripon, E. Sarum, G. Peterborough, C. St. Davida, H. Worcester, A. T. Cicester, J. Lichfield, T. Ely, S. Oxon, T. V. St. Asaph, J. Chester, S. Norwich, A. Landaff, Auckland, Sodor and Man."

"Beloved brethren:—We have viewed with the deepest anxiety the troubles, suspicions, and discontents which have of late, in some parishes, accompanied the introduction of ritual observances exceeding those in common use amongst us.

"We long indulged the hope that, under the influence of charity, forbearance and a calm estimate of the small importance of such external forms, compared with the blessing of united action in the great spiritual work which is before our Church, these heats and jealousies might by mutual concessions be allayed. But since the evil still exists, and in one most important feature has assumed a new and more dangerous character, we feel that it is our duty to try whether an earnest and united address on our part may tend, under the blessing of God, to promote the restoration of peace and harmony in the Church.

"The principal point in dispute is this—whether, where the letter of the Rubric seems to warrant a measure of ritual observance which yet, by long and possibly by unbroken practice, has not been carried out, the clergy are either in conscience required, or absolutely at liberty, to act each upon his own view of the letter of the precept, rather than by the rule of common practice. Now, as to this question we would urge upon you the following considerations:

"First, that any change of usages with which the religious feelings of the congregation have become associated, is in itself so likely to do harm that it is not to be introduced without the greatest caution; secondly, that, beyond this, any change which makes it difficult for the congregation at large to join in the service is still more to be avoided; thirdly, that any change which suggests the fear of still further alterations is most injurious; and fourthly, that according to the rule laid down in the Book of Common Prayer, where any thing is doubted or diversely taken concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in that Book, the parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall always resort to the Bishop of the Diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in that Book.

"The fair application of these principles would, we believe, solve most of the difficulties which have arisen. It would prevent all sudden and startling alterations; and it would facilitate the reception of any change which was really lawful and desirable. We would, therefore, first urge upon our Rev. brethren with affectionate earnestness the adoption of such a rule of conduct. We would beseech *all* who, whether by *excess* or *defect*, have broken in upon the uniformity and contributed to relax the authority of our ritual observances, to consider the importance of unity and *order*, and by common consent to avoid whatever might tend to violate them. In recommending this course as the best under present circumstances, we do not shut our eyes to the evil of even the appearance of any discrepancy existing between the written law and the practice of the Church. But there are many cases when the law may be variously interpreted, and we believe that we are best carrying out her own principles in urging you to have recourse, in all such cases, to the advice of her chief pastors.

"But beyond mere attempts to restore an unusual strictness of ritual observance, we have to deal with a distinct and serious evil. A principle has of late been avowed and acted on which, if admitted, would justify far greater and more uncertain changes. It is this—that as the Church of England is the ancient Catholic Church settled in this land before the Reformation, and was then reformed only by the casting away of certain strictly defined corruption; therefore, whatever form or usage existed in the Church before its reformation may now be freely introduced and observed, unless there can be alleged against it the distinct letter of some formal prohibition.

"Now, against every such reference from the *undoubted identity* of the Church before and after the Reformation, we feel bound to enter our clear and unhesita-

ting protest. We believe that at the Reformation the English Church not only rejected certain corruptions, but also, without in any degree severing her connexion with the ancient Catholic Church, intended to establish one uniform ritual, according to which her public services should be conducted. But it is manifest that a license such as is contended for is wholly incompatible with any uniformity of worship whatsoever, and at variance with the universal practice of the Catholic Church which has never given to the officiating ministers of separate congregations any such large discretion in the selection of ritual observances.

"We therefore beseech any who may have proposed to themselves the restoration of what, under sanction of this principle, they deemed a lawful system, to consider the dangers which it involves, to see it in its true light, and to take a more just and sober view of the real position of our Church; whilst with equal earnestness we beseech others, who either by intentional omission or by neglect and laxity, may have disturbed the uniformity and weakened the authority of our prescribed ritual, to strengthen the side of order by avoiding all unnecessary deviations from the Church's rule.

"Such harmony of action we are persuaded would, under God's blessing, go far towards restoring the peace of the Church. This happy result would more clearly exhibit her spiritual character. The mutual relations of her various members would be more distinctly perceived; and our lay brethren would more readily acknowledge the special trust committed to us, as stewards of the mysteries of God 'for the edifying of the body of Christ.' They would join with us in assisting, and, if need be, defending for themselves, as much as for us, the true spiritual freedom of the Church. They would unite with us in a more trustful spirit, and therefore with a more ready will, in enlarging her means and strengthening her powers for the great work she has to do amongst the swarming multitudes of our great towns, at home, and of our vast dominions abroad; and that Church which has so long received from the hands of God such unequalled blessings might continue to be, yea and become more and more, 'a praise in the earth.'

"March 29, 1851."

The dissentients from the address are the Bishops of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Hereford, and Manchester.

As a sign of the times, and a most disheartening one, we find the "*Church and State Gazette*" commenting on the above as follows. "We could have, moreover, wished to have seen less eagerness displayed to purchase the questionable support of certain Episcopal names, by '*identifying* the Church before and after the Reformation.' Surely it had been enough to have asserted our Church's connection with the ancient Catholic Church, which rests on community of doctrinal teaching and spirit, instead of obtruding in a manifesto concerning usages, the *vezata questio* of Succession." After such a delivery as this, we are prepared for any thing.

IMPORTANT COLONIAL CHURCH MOVEMENT.

There are cheering evidences that the disabilities under which the English Church in the Colonies has labored cannot much longer be borne with. The following account of a recent meeting will show that an important movement has already begun.

CHURCH IN AUSTRALASIA.

On the 1st of October, 1850, the Metropolitan, and the five Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Australasia, met at Sydney, in New South Wales, and continued in Session until Nov. 1st. This was virtually a Provincial Synod; and during the Session, measures were carefully matured for further efficient action in that large section of the British Empire. The Bishops present were the Right Rev. W. G. Broughton, D. D., Metropolitan, and Bishop of Sydney; the Right Rev. G. A. Selwyn, D. D., Bishop of New Zealand; the Right Rev. F. R. Nixon, D. D., Bishop of Tasmania; the Right Rev. Charles Perry, D. D., Bishop of Melbourne; the Right Rev. A. Short, D. D., Bishop of Adelaide; the Right Rev. W. Tyrell,

Bishop of New Castle. We have a full Report of the Proceedings. The following abstract of the Report we copy from one of our English exchanges.

The object of the meeting was "to consult together upon the various difficulties in which we are at present placed by the doubtful application to the Church in this province of the ecclesiastical laws which are now in force in England, and to suggest such measures as may seem to be most suitable for removing our present embarrassments; to consider such questions as affect the progress of true religion and the preservation of ecclesiastical order in the several dioceses of this province; and finally, in reliance on Divine Providence, to adopt plans for the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races of Australia and the adjacent islands of the Western Pacific."

The resolutions to which the meeting finally came we can do little more than enumerate. They acknowledged the binding force of the constitutions and canons of 1603-4; but suggested the advantage of a revision and fresh adaptation. They, secondly, declared that the action of their Church in the Colonies could not be developed without the calling of provincial and diocesan synods. For these synods they claim a right of deciding upon the subdivision of dioceses, and a respect for any episcopal nominations made by them to the authorities in England, whose claim to appoint to the colonial bishoprics is not, however, disputed. The coöperation of the laity with the clergy in conventions is then advocated—the former to consist only of laity in full communion with the Church. They deny the power of Bishops to revoke or suspend the licenses of clergymen at pleasure. Alleged clerical offences, on the part of the priests and deacons should, it is stated, be brought before a diocesan synod; a bishop, accused of doctrinal error or other ecclesiastical offence, should find his judges in the bishops of the province. The members then claim for the clergy, generally, the right to admonish the laity who live in open sin, to reprove, and finally—all other means failing—to excommunicate. The members then declared themselves to be of opinion that the bishop has discretion to authorize clergymen to divide the morning service, by using either the morning prayer, the litany, or the communion service separately; but that each of the services so used should be read entire, and that no clergyman has authority at his own discretion to abridge or alter any of the occasional services of the Church.

On holy baptism it is said that regeneration is the work of God in the sacrament of baptism, by which infants baptized with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, die unto sin and rise again unto righteousness, and are made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; that this regeneration is the particular grace prayed for and received; that all infants do by baptism receive this grace of regeneration; and that a wilful neglect of the means of grace does not prove that the gift of regeneration was never received.

The opinions, expressed in full detail, were agreed to by the Bishop of Sydney, and the Bishops of New Zealand, Tasmania, Adelaide, and Newcastle. But the Bishop of Melbourne preferred to state his views after his own fashion, in which he only differed from his brethren in declaring that "the Church is silent as to the fitness or unfitness of an infant, who is incapable of repentance and faith, for receiving regeneration in baptism; and that our own personal repentance and faith, are the only sure evidences of our being spiritually the children of God."

The Report also treats of other subjects, as "Marrying within prohibited degrees," "Ministering to Dissenters," "Education," "the Extension of the Gospel," &c.

AUSTRALASIAN BOARD OF MISSIONS.

During the Session of the Synod, a public meeting was held at Sydney, a full Report of which is published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of Nov. 2d, a copy of which has been sent to us by some unknown friend. This newspaper is itself a curiosity. It is a mammoth sheet, of the largest size; and its numerous commercial advertisements indicate that it comes from the great commercial mart of the South-Eastern world. On the opposite side of the globe, English enterprise and

the English Church are laying the foundations for, perhaps, one of the mightiest nations of the earth. The *Sydney Morning Herald* gives full reports of the speeches of the six Bishops and of several Laymen who took part in the Missionary meeting. The congregation was immense. It was a noble meeting; and in view of its associations a sublime spectacle. The objects contemplated by this Board of Missions, are, 1st, *Domestic*; or the conversion and civilization of the Australian blacks. 2d, *Foreign*; the conversion and civilization of the heathen race in all the islands of the Western Pacific. The difficulties enumerated, are, the low state of barbarism; the unsettled habits of the race; the multiplicity of languages and dialects; and the unhealthiness of many of the islands.

As American Churchmen, when we remember that, a few years ago, the Church had not even a name in Australia, and that now we have the report of a missionary meeting, attended by six missionary Bishops, one of whom has in his diocese more than fifty clergymen, we cannot but say "what hath God wrought!"

ANOTHER COLONIAL CHURCH MOVEMENT.

Diocese of Toronto.—On the 1st of May last, the Bishop of Toronto held the Triennial Visitation of the Clergy at Toronto. Owing to the present crisis of the Temporalities of the Church, he invited the attendance of one or two Laymen from each Congregation of the Diocese, and about 125 Laymen were present. The Bishop's Charge on that occasion is a valuable document. In it, he uses this significant language. "The period has arrived when the Church in this Diocese must assume her responsibility as a body and act as a whole, Lay and Clerical." And again, "This is the first time that the whole Church, lay and clerical, has assembled. * * * * Our meeting and proceedings will begin a new era in the history of the Colonial Church, and may be the prelude, not only of Diocesan Synods, but of the ultimate union of all the British North American Bishoprics, to convene at stated times in general Synods or Convocations."

The Bishop has also lately published a letter to Lord John Russell, urging the imperative necessity of some better system of legislation and administration for the Church in that colony. The Bishop proposes, in the first instance, to petition the Queen to grant her license for the convoking a provincial synod of the three Canadian dioceses; and, if this be denied, he will then proceed to inquire if a synod, merely diocesan, cannot be assembled.

The expression of public feeling, in view of the threatened robbery of the Church of the "Clergy Reserves," at the above meeting, and especially at the meeting of the *Church Union*, on Friday evening, May 2d, was very strong. The speeches of several of the clergy and laity were equal to the occasion, and did great honor to the heads and hearts of our Canadian brethren. We shall be surprised if the echo of that meeting does not reach the British throne; and does not cause Lord Grey to pause in the sacrilegious work to which he has put forth his hand. If he believes in the righteous retributions of Heaven, he will not dare consummate that most unrighteous act.

THE THIRD JUBILEE OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

On the 16th of June, the Society completed a circle of labor covering one hundred and fifty years. At the anniversary on the 21st of February last, it was resolved to celebrate the Third Jubilee with thanksgiving and prayer. The celebration commenced on the 16th of June, in Westminster Abbey, when there were Divine service and communion. A public meeting of its patrons and friends was to be held on the following day; and on the succeeding Sunday as many of the London Churches as possible were to be obtained for the preaching of Jubilee sermons. Applications were to be made for the use of the Cathedral Churches in England and Ireland, for Diocesan celebrations. The services will be spread over the Jubilee year; and the Bishops of the various Colonial Dioceses, and all other Bishops in communion with the Church of England, are invited to unite with the

Society in the proposed celebration. The following letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, will be read with interest.

LAMBETH, March 28th, 1851.

RIGHT REVEREND AND DEAR BROTHER,—I think it right to apprise you that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts having, through the goodness of Almighty God, been permitted to complete a century and a half of missionary labor, has resolved to commemorate with thanksgiving and prayer the close of its third Jubilee.

The commemoration will commence on Monday, June 16th, being the anniversary of the signing of our charter, with full church service in Westminster Abbey; and on the following Sunday, June 22d, sermons appropriate to the occasion will be preached in the principal London churches.

It is unnecessary for me to enter into further particulars, as they will be found in the accompanying printed circular.

The Society has good reason to expect, that what may be called its solemn Jubilee, will be observed in all the Colonial Churches, but the occasion seems to justify the hope of a still more comprehensive union of prayer and praise.

Bearing in mind the relation of our two countries and the intimate connection which subsisted between the Society and many of the States during the greater part of the last century, I feel some confidence in proposing to you the joint celebration of a Jubilee, in which all the members of our Church must feel a common interest. I venture also respectfully to submit whether in time of controversy and division the close communion which binds the churches of America and England in one would not be strikingly manifested to the world, if every one of their dioceses were to take part in commemorating the foundation of the oldest missionary Society of the Reformed Church—a Society which, from its first beginning in New England, has extended its operations into all parts of the world, from the Ganges to Lake Huron, and from New Zealand to Labrador. Such a joint commemoration, besides manifesting the rapid growth and wide extension of our Church, would serve to keep alive and diffuse a missionary spirit, and so be the means under the divine blessing of enlarging the borders of the Redeemer's kingdom.

In submitting to you this proposal it can hardly be necessary to add that we 'desire no gift,' but only your Christian sympathy, and the communion of prayer. If however the alms of your congregation be added to their prayers we should rejoice to see them appropriated to the relief of the pressing needs of your own church.

It would be a great satisfaction to me to learn from you at any moment of leisure whether you have thought it expedient to take any step in this matter. And now commending the whole subject to your serious consideration, and yourself to God's help and protection, I am, Right Reverend and dear Brother, your affectionate brother in the Lord,
J. B. CANTUAR.

A number of American Bishops have already responded to this appeal in an appropriate manner; and the Jubilee will be celebrated in almost all the parishes of the United States, and Missionary collections will be taken up.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

If there is any one thing more abhorrent to the feelings of an American Churchman than another in British legislation, it is the introduction on to the floor of the House of Commons of the most vital interests of the Church of Christ. Not only Church Rates, but Ceremonies, Doctrines, Discipline, the Official Conduct of the Clergy, are themes upon which Infidels, Papists, and for aught we know, Jesuits are permitted to dogmatize and vent their spleen. Withal, it is laughable to see a man like one Mr. A. B. Hope stating in debate that "he approved of the American plan, which imposed a religious rate," and "every man stating in his schedule what sect he belonged to, the amount was handed over to the governing body of that sect!" And yet not a member of Parliament seems to have noticed the blunder.

THE NEW JEW BILL.

The Bill introduced by Lord John Russell to remove the disabilities of the Jews and thus admit them to Parliament passed to its third reading in the Lower House by the vote of 202 to 177; which ensures its rejection again in the House of Lords.

COLONIAL CHURCHES.

On the 25th of March a conversation took place in the House of Lords between the Bishop of Oxford and Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, as to what had been done, or was proposed to be done, by the Home Government relative to the legal status of the Colonial Churches. The Bishop wished to know whether the Church is free from statutes which apply to the Church at home, and whether the Colonial Churches have power to adapt the machinery of the Church to their new position. Lord Grey replied, "that from no one of the Colonies had any complaint reached him, from the members of that Church, with respect to any grievances under which they labored, which were not capable of being removed by the Colonial Legislature. * * * * He could find no measure pointed out as necessary or required in the Colonies. He did not know to what particular points to address himself;" and "*he did not know what extension of power or privilege to the Church of England was really desirable or required.*" And yet this is the man who proposed to the Queen and to Parliament to wrest from the Church in Canada the Clergy Reserve Lands; as gross an act of sacrilege as ever provoked the justice of Heaven.

ANTI-ROMISH AGGRESSION BILL.

This Bill, which as amended only imposes a fine of £100 for the assumption of Romish titles, but omits the forfeiture of trusts as in its first draft, is creeping its way through the Lower House with the healthy majority of 271 to 80.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES ACT—1851.

The Bill brought in by Mr. Lacy and Mr. Spooner, to prevent the forcible detention of females in houses wherein persons bound by religious or monastic vows are resident or associated, provides that such house shall be registered by the clerk of the peace of the county in which it is situate; that the justices for every county in which any religious house shall be registered shall appoint six or more justices of the peace to act as visitors of each house, who shall be sworn to the following oath:

"I, A. B., do swear that I will discreetly, impartially, and faithfully execute all the trusts committed unto me by virtue of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the fourteenth and fifteenth years of the reign of her Majesty Queen Victoria, entitled 'An Act to Prevent the Forcible Detention of Females in Religious Houses;' and that I will keep secret all such matters as shall come to my knowledge in the execution of my office as visitor, except when required to divulge the same by legal authority, or so far as I shall feel myself called upon to do so for the better execution of the duty imposed on me by the said Act. So help me God."

Registered religious houses shall be visited twice a year without notice, and for such a length of time as they think fit; and, if it appear to the visitors that any female is desirous of leaving the religious house in which she is resident, they shall have power to remove her, and to place her under the care of the matron of the union in which the religious house is situate. Superiors not causing their religious houses to be registered, or willfully making any false statement in respect of such houses, or obstructing or impeding any of the visitors on their way to, at or in, or returning from, any such religious house, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. Any person assaulting a visitor in the religious house shall be deemed guilty of a felony. Concealment of any part of a religious house, or the premises appertaining thereto, or of any person residing therein, from the visitors, or the production of a false list of the inmates, shall be looked upon as a misdemeanor.

In the debate growing out of this Bill, Mr. Drummond took occasion to call *Nunneries* by some very bad names, declaring that they are either prisons or brothels. The Romanists throughout the Kingdom were greatly excited by his speech. Mr. Richard Swaine, of Dublin, formerly a Romish priest, under date of April, 1851, in a letter to Mr. Drummond, states certain facts which have fallen under his own observation, which go to show the extent of the abominations committed in those institutions. Whoever has traveled in Romish countries, and has noticed the greasy, bloated, and besotted countenances of Romish Priests, is prepared to believe all that Mr. Drummond said of the effect of these unnatural vows; imposed oftentimes by compulsion, or in utter ignorance of the world and its temptations. Mr. Lacy's Bill was defeated by a majority of 23.

NEW CHARTIST MOVEMENT.

The English Chartists, aided by Foreign refugees, Socialists, Red Republicans, &c., have entered upon a plan to revolutionize the country. The Church, the State, Education, Property, the Navy and the Army, are the boons, which these national thieves are already grasping in anticipation. The virus is already circulated in the United States by means of newspapers which are called respectable.

MORE APOSTATES TO ROME.

On the 3d of April, the Rev. Mr. Ward, formerly vicar of St. Saviour's, Leeds; the Rev. T. Minster, late vicar of the same Church; the Rev. Mr. Crawley, late curate; the Rev. Mr. Rooke, and the Rev. Mr. Coombes, also late curates of St. Saviour's; the Rev. Mr. Neville of Leeds; and the Rev. Mr. Lewthwaite, incumbent of Clifford; and thirteen or fourteen of the laity, all joined the Romish Church at Leeds. The apostate, Newman, preached on the occasion. Mr. Manning, late Archdeacon of Chichester, joined the Romish Church in London on Sunday, April 6th. Other names are also given; making the Oxford list 98; and the Cambridge 45. Both these lists will soon be increased. At Leeds, a part of the form of confession adopted by these men was as follows:

"I profess likewise that in the mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. And that in the most holy sacrifice of the eucharist there is truly, really, and substantially, the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls 'transubstantiation.' I also confess that, under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and as a true sacrament. I constantly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful. Likewise that the saints reigning together with Christ are to be honored and invoked, and that they offer prayers to God for us, and that their relics are to be had in veneration. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ, of the mother of God, ever Virgin, and also of other saints, may be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration are to be given them. I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people. I acknowledge the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Church for the mother and mistress of all Churches; and I promise true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, successor to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ. I likewise undoubtedly receive and profess all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and general councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent. And I condemn, reject, anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned, rejected, and anathematized. I do at this present freely profess, and sincerely hold, this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved; and I promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire and inviolate, with God's assistance, to the end of my life."

We confess that we read the painful news concerning Mr. Manning with sad-

ness, although we were partly prepared for it. Our readers will recollect that several months since we spoke of a new volume of his sermons with suspicion. We spoke deliberately. We found in one of those sermons what seemed to us to look like the Romish doctrine of Confession; the distinction of sins into mortal and venial; monasticism, &c., &c. Manning has doubtless been for months, and perhaps for years, a Romanist in disguise. And yet, in his sermons, there is the constant avowal, even to the last, of sentiments which he now anathematizes with all the curses of God. How Mr. Manning is to reconcile all this with his conscience; or if a Romanist has and can have no conscience, with honesty, and truthfulness, and honor, is more than we know. The vigilance of the English Bishops has unwolfed these men, or they would have prowled in the English Church for months, perhaps for years.

ARCHDEACON SINCLAIR'S CHARGE.

The Archdeacon of Middlesex, at his May Visitation, delivered a Charge to the Clergy, which deserves to be regarded as a feature of the times. It is plain, honest, and to the point; it covers the whole subject of the present difficulties in the Church; and presents the historical facts in the recent movement in such a light, that men not willfully or judicially blind will understand them. This charge is one of numerous indications that the English Church is emerging from her difficulties, humbled, but invigorated, for a great and glorious career. It will appear, by and by, that her sacrifices, great as they have been, were necessary, and an occasion of gratitude to Him who knows how to bring good out of evil. The mind of England has received a new tone which was beginning to be needed.

POPERY IN FRANCE.

M. de Sibours, Archbishop of Paris, issued a Pastoral last January, counselling his clergy to abstain from politics altogether, and to confine their attention exclusively to their duties as priests. Whereupon the Bishop of Chartres, M. Chausel de Caissergues fulminates a charge which is scattered over Paris, denouncing the Archbishop's Pastoral as unconstitutional, illegal, inconsistent, absurd, irreligious, short-sighted, and blasphemous! The Archbishop simply appeals to the Provincial Council of Paris to be held this year.

POPERY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Bishop Gray, of Cape Town, having warned his people against sending their children to Romish schools, as he had discovered in their books Popish sentiments, the Romish Bishop came out with an attack on Bishop Gray, characterized by the same coarseness, vulgarity, insolence, and abuse with which their messages have so often been marked in the United States. There is so much of the tyrant in the composition of these men, that there is no room for the gentleman.

POPERY IN IRELAND.

The Romish Archbishop of Dublin (Murray) has discouraged public contributions for the new Romish University. Whereupon the Romish Primate (Dr. Cullen) is out with a little tempest of wrath; charging "avarice," "timidity," being "influenced by certain high authorities," "hostility to every good undertaking," &c., upon those who discouraged the undertaking.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Bishop of Rochester has suspended a Clergyman for six months who sent an address to Dr. Wiseman. The parishioners complain of this as an arbitrary act on the part of the Diocesan; but we cannot view the matter in that light. What would the Duke of Wellington have done to an officer who shortly before the battle of Waterloo, had sent an address to Marshal Ney?

The *Dublin Evening Herald* announces that on Sunday week four persons renounced and abjured the errors of Popery, under the spiritual direction of the Rev. Thomas Scott, and received the holy communion in St. Thomas' Church—

the Ven. Archdeacon Magee, &c., &c., officiating. It is remarkable that one of these converts is a Mr. John Daniel, who had been a student in the Roman Catholic College of Carlow and Belfast; and another, a Mr. Michael George Conway, a law student of Trinity College, Dublin, of whom the late Mr. Daniel O'Connell, M. P., had the highest opinion. In an autograph letter of the Liberator to him, he says—"As to you, personally, I do unfeignedly assure you I admire your splendid talents, and entertain great confidence in your patriotism."

Two highly respectable members of the Romish Church lately renounced the errors of Popery at Amblecote, Worcestershire.

Recently the Lord Bishop of London declared in the House of Lords that "he had intended bringing forward a measure this session for the correction of Clerks in certain cases; but upon considering the state of Public business, he had thought it more prudent to abstain from introducing it at present. The subject was too important, however, to be delayed much longer. It was therefore his intention, if it pleaseth God to spare him till next session, to introduce a measure upon this subject. It was likewise his intention, after due deliberation and conference with those whom he ought to consult, to re-introduce the measure which he brought forward last session, and which was received with less favor than he had expected,—he meant the measure upon the important question of a tribunal for the purpose of determining ultimately all questions relating to the Church."

RT. REV. DR. WISEMAN.

On the 20th of March, at the mass house in Spanish place, this really learned Cardinal and Archbishop publicly declared "that the nails, crown of thorns, and other material relics of the Passion, now possessed by his Church, are the undoubted originals." In the face of the impositions, proved again and again in respect to these pretended relics, we are at a loss how to account for such an expression from this learned doctor; whether to look upon him, as a noble intellect thoroughly besotted by Romish superstition; or as a deliberate cold-blooded deceiver. He is either one or the other. The wide-spread infidelity at Rome is no cause of wonder.

SPAIN.

What is called a copy of the Concordat recently settled with the Court of Rome has made its appearance at Madrid, and, if it be a genuine one, it is at direct variance with every thing that the friends of Government would have induced us to suppose, and will not fail to produce general disgust throughout the country. The number of Bishops is reduced by four; the education of the country is placed under Church control; the introduction into Spain, or reprinting of such books as they may not approve—namely, all those calculated to enlighten or instruct the people—is left to the clergy. No other than the Roman Catholic religion is to be tolerated. The re-establishment of the monastic orders of San Vincente de Paul, San Felipe Neri, and one other of those sanctioned by the Pope, is provided for, so that they will return to the old times of unparalleled immorality. The property belonging to the convents of nuns now in existence is to be sold in exchange for three per cent. Perpetual Inscription, but the Government admits and guarantees the right which the Church has to acquire property, no matter by what means, provided they conform to those formerly in practice. The annual income of the Archbishops is to vary, according to the different provinces, from £1,200 to £1,500; that of the Bishops from £700 to £1,000, independent of their fees, which are very high—such of those as may happen to be Cardinals are to have £200 more per annum, with the understanding that these sums are to be increased as soon as possible. No clergyman is to hold more than one living or one church appointment; which is very proper. The whole of the unsold church property, returned to the clergy by virtue of the Royal decree of April 3, 1845, is to be hereafter considered as belonging to it. A tax is to be levied on the produce of the land, to be collected by the clergy itself, as was the case formerly with respect to the tithes, to provide for whatever may be wanted to make up the required sum.

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THE JUBILEE YEAR, OR GOD IN HISTORY.

ART. I.—*Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.*

THAT God works in History, is a truth which no religious and philosophical mind will deny. If we believe in His interposition in the ages prior to the Advent, we cannot regard it as now withheld ; nay, we shall look for evidences of this, higher in degree, though different in kind, since the more perfect unfolding of that great scheme, which was designed to bless and to save a lost world. With the facts of history spread out before us, we must seek for indications of the secret, but no less effective, exertion of Divine power, through subordinate agencies, operating on the destinies of mankind upon the broadest scale.

The Jubilee Year of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is one of those epochs which lift us above the present, and enable us to take a panoramic view of the History of the Christian Church. It is like an eminence on a battle-field, to which, coming wearied with strife, and half discouraged by its length and severity, we can survey the path already trodden, the struggles that are passed, and the grand sweep of the whole line of contest. There is the highest benefit attending such general reviews of the great field of Christian action ; for, although all upon which the eye can rest,

are the most prominent points and principles, they are sufficient to guide us in our estimation of details ; and by inspiring us with the conviction of God's presence with His Church, nerve us to fight hopefully and cheerfully the battle which the Lord of Hosts has set before us.

The great desideratum in the philosophy of Church History, seems to be the discovery, or rather, we should say, the manifestation of some principle which shall reconcile the unity of Truth, with the tangled web of events springing out of the intermingling of the wisdom and folly, the virtues, crimes and passions of mankind. There is a mysterious importance attached on all sides to facts ; and the debate concerning abstract truth, seems often to depend upon the opinions and the actions of individuals. This is, no doubt, frequently carried to excess, and there are those whose only perceptions of truth are through the medium of a *majister dixit*. But without a due and thoughtful attention to the History of what men have said and done, we can scarcely, in the present age, attain a clear idea of what God has revealed. We need the past, in order to explain the present, and preserve us from its delusions.

Development, is a theory necessary to the defense of Rome. It is her explanation of God's Historical working. It affords, indeed, at the best, a lame defense, but it is the only one which she has against instructed adversaries ; and when viewed, not with the eye of an enemy or a critic, but of an enthusiastic disciple, which, dazzled with the poetry of the principle, does not pause to examine how it can be made to square with facts, or with the Divine authority of the original Revelation, but rests satisfied with imperfect analogies, it may seem satisfactory. Rome says, look at this acorn, and at that oak. How different in appearance, the seed, from the forest monarch of centuries ! Yet such as the one is, the other was ; and what that other is, the first may become. Do you need any stronger proof that identity can be reconciled with difference ? It is sufficient, to establish the sameness of corporate life. To look for sameness of appearance is to judge unrighteous judgment, for by so doing you might disprove that the tree sprang from its seed. Now the Primitive Church was the acorn—the Church of Rome is the oak. That page which supplies you with a list of the Popes is evidence of historic identity—and for the rest—it is God's work—the development of truth by the indwelling Spirit. Believe, submit, adore.

Such we say is the Romish reading of the truth, that God works in History. We might reply that development implies a return to first principles ; and that if the oak spring from the acorn, acorns are the fruit of the oak, so that if the Church of

Rome were a true development of the Primitive Church, it ought to produce a multitude of churches precisely like the Primitive Church, in doctrine and essential discipline. We should probably be told in reply, that we had misstated the theory ; that Romanism is the development, not of a fact, but of an idea ; that the original idea is unknown, and that we must therefore devoutly take it for granted, that the development is faithful—and so the whole theory ends, like every argument we ever heard from the same quarter, in a mere *petitio principii*.

We consider, therefore, that the theory of development does not throw the slightest light upon the facts of History ; but only entangles and mystifies them.

The old and familiar word, Reformation, affords a far more simple and intelligible clue to the Divine dealings, and furnishes analogies more striking and exact. The whole process of Redemption is a restorative work ; giving life to the dead, health to the sick, sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, making the lame walk, and cleansing the lepers ; while at the same time there is not only *restoration*, but *advancement*. They who are in Christ, are in a higher position than they could have been in Adam. They are not only renewed but elevated. And such, for we deny any retrogression in history, is our view of the English Reformation. It was a point gained in the destinies of the race. Apologize, theologically, for the Reformation, in any other sense than Jewel did, or than Justin Martyr did for the Gospel itself—as soon apologize for the Acts of the Apostles.

Before entering on the study of the difficulties which Church History affords, let men look steadily on the previous history of the world, and the condition of society at the Advent of Christ ; and then let them not leave such considerations at the threshold, but bear them onward as elements in the great problem of restoration which is to be worked out. If they do this, adding, as time progresses, all the social difficulties arising out of political changes and the irruption of the barbarians, the fusing, blending and re-creation of nations, with every similar change up to the present time ; the history of the last eighteen centuries will assume a very different aspect from that in which it is usually viewed. The scene of strange confusion will be seen gradually arranging itself under the guidance of fixed laws, and we behold events accomplishing the process of restoration, by the shortest method consistent with human free will, weakness, passion, ignorance, and prejudice. Instead of the stream of time turning on itself and running retrograde—which seems to be the perplexing view which even strong

minds have taken of History, and as a refuge from which, others have known no other method but to sanctify all the idolatries and corruptions of centuries, as progressive revelations of the Spirit of God—it will be seen that from the hour when Christ disappeared over Olivet, until the present, there has been continual advancement ; that every defeat has been a victory, every period of unusual gloom “ the burning and fuel of fire,” sending up a light, lurid and red at first, but finally clear and heavenly—and that every eddy and vortex so unaccountable to those who were whirled round by it, has been but the fury of the pent up waters shaping themselves a channel through the obstructions that impeded their course. We fearlessly ask whether this does not afford a truer and more consistent solution of the difficulties of History, than the subtle theory by means of which Newman has shrouded himself in darkness. We may not be able, with our limited understanding, and the complexity and hidden nature of events, to reduce the whole to order ; but as surely as we know that there are meteorological laws to which every tempest is subject, and out of which it springs, so may we feel certain that even the schisms and corruptions which have attended the progress of Christianity, have been, in the moral disorganization of the world, necessary to the full elucidation and the universal reception of the Gospel of Peace. In such a scheme, the Reformation falls naturally into its place, as the necessary sequel of ages of apparent retrogression, and yet of real progress. With such views of Church History, as a whole, let us take a cursory glance over it, limiting our thoughts principally to the manner in which the Gospel has been extended.

“Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,” was the command of Christ to His Apostles. “As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you.” was the link which connected their work with the throne of the Invisible. Christ came as a missionary. He sent out His Apostles as missionaries. So long as the world stands, the duty, and the being of the Church, are centered in the Missionary work, under some form or other. When Missions cease, the Church ceases to be. For every Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, and in a lower sense, every baptized person, is a missionary, and the whole Church in conjunction forms “a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people.” Differing as we do, *toto cælo*, from some of the views of such men as Neander and Arnold, we are free to confess that we believe they have asserted a great and vital truth, however neutralized, or rather rendered mischievous, by their errors, in maintaining the priestly character inherent in the laity. Certainly the Church

holds this as a matter of doctrine, however it may be obscured in practice, as is evident from the words used at our baptism ; and never can she prosper until it is acted on. Being made "members of Christ the great High Priest," and pledged "to fight under His banner," Christians are a priestly community, a nation of heavenly missionaries gathered out of all nations. When Neander says that "priests as a class find no place in Christianity," he distorts the truth. For he sees no distinction between an Apostolic ministry, which shall "form a link between the rest of mankind and God and godly things," and making it their duty to "exclusively provide" for the religious wants of their fellow-beings. But he speaks incontrovertible truth when he goes on to say that there is "The same High Priest and Mediator for all, through whom all being reconciled and united with God, become themselves a priestly and spiritual race. One Heavenly King, Guide and Teacher through whom all are taught of God ! One faith, one hope, one Spirit which must animate all." And again : "Through the one High Priest they had become through union with Him a holy and spiritual people—their whole life was to be a continual priesthood, a spiritual serving of God." "And thus also," he continues, "the furtherance of God's kingdom, both in general and in each individual community, the furtherance of the Propagation of Christianity among the heathen, and the improvement of each particular Church, was not to be the concern of a particular chosen class of Christians, but the nearest duty of every individual Christian." Such, making allowance for his error, the shadow of which can scarcely be excluded even from the most general statements of truth, we deem to be a correct representation of the principles and practice of the Primitive Church, in regard to the propagation of the Gospel. It was a work, engaging the energies, and taxing the resources, of every member of the Christian community. The clergy did not stand solitary in labor and responsibility. All, from the highest to the lowest, worked with them, encouraging, aiding and sustaining them. The Church spread by a spontaneous and irrepressible growth. Every man was a missionary ; nay, every woman also. Not that the one usurped offices to which he had not been ordained, for all members had not the same office ; or that the other unsexed herself, as do the female Quixottes of these latter days ; but each, in their station, and according to their gifts, regarded it the main business of their lives, to toil for the Church ; or, in other words, for the salvation of their fellow creatures. Led on, and marshaled by the ministry, which soon assumed a collegiate form, working under a head

from fixed centres, and reproducing, in dissemination, the primary system, as is the case with every true development, the Church spread in a few years from Judea to every point of the compass, back into Persia and the East—north into Armenia, southward into Arabia, thence into Egypt and Africa. As the signal fires, in time of war, seemed to leap from promontory to promontory, over mountain and island, lighting up the waters as they went, so rapidly through Asia Minor and Greece, into Italy and thence wheresoever Rome had empire, to Gaul and Spain and Britain, darted the sound of the Gospel.

Now when we consider the vastness of the scale on which this work was carried on, and the previous unpreparedness of the heathen world to receive the Gospel, together with the unceasing convulsions inseparable from a state of decay and transition, the conflict of all opinions, and the confluence of all conceivable errors, the wonder is, not that corruptions of doctrine, and a departure from the primitive discipline, gradually stole over the Church; but that she maintained form, unity, coherence, and gained universal sway; and was able to build up in the very teeth of the tempest, those mighty bulwarks of orthodoxy which shall outlive the world. That she was not riven asunder before the definite settlement and vindication of the Faith, is only to be ascribed to the providence of God. And the importance of the work which was then done, cannot be better evidenced, than by the fact, that the Council of Trent, before sealing with its authority the perilous additions to the Faith which had grown up in the lapse of centuries, declares that the Nicene Creed "*totidem verbis*" is the "*fundamentum firmum et unicum contra quod portæ inferi nunquam prævalebunt*;" a confession which is all that we require to dispose of the creed of Pope Pius. The Roman Empire, while it opposed the progress of the Gospel, by persecution, afforded, in various ways, a solid platform upon which the Church could be upbuilt; but together with this aid, so necessary at that time, it gave also a warp to her constitution, which moulded itself according to the political divisions of the country, and so laid the foundations of separation between the east and west, and prepared the way for the Papacy—tendencies which were only strengthened, when imperial power threw its sheltering arms over the Christian fold. But the result of the conflict for the fundamental principles of the Faith, which took place during the first six centuries, though it gave the Church the appearance of declension, and was attended with fearful evils, was a great and enduring victory.

The struggle was a necessary step towards the yet far distant triumph of the Gospel, and though the armor of Christ's servants was bruised and blood-stained, it was only what must happen in every prolonged battle. All the objections, which either the subtleties of Greek philosophy, or the speculations of human reason, could bring against the central truths of the Gospel, were met and overcome; and we behold even the Congregationalists of New England, in the nineteenth century, are compelled to resort, for defense against heresy, to the definitions of that Catholic Church, which they profess to despise. The rapid extension of the Church, and the circumstances in which she was placed, led by a moral necessity to corruption; but even the heresies that attended Christianity, were an advance upon the previous heathenism of mankind, and when put to silence by the successive reformations effected by the General Councils, added distinctness and stability to the Faith which they had assailed. The history of the ancient Church is thus a witness in favor of Anglican restoration, and not of Romish development.

The world-wide march of events must continue. There was a destiny in them which no human arm could arrest. Right and wrong, good and evil, rushed forward and extended together, mingling, as they went, with new elements of discord, and yet, in the end, of progress. The Church had invaded heathenism in every direction, and conquered all in it that was civilized and intellectual. But before the work of assimilation was complete, and she was ready for further inroads and victories, Providence laid upon her a new missionary work, by pouring down upon Christianized Rome the wild barbarians of the North. Here were new elements at work. For centuries her task was, to prevent the light of knowledge from being quenched, to civilize strangers, and to hold high above the surging waves, not only sacred truth, but also all that was worthy of preservation in heathen antiquity. We need not be startled if we find Christianity tinged with heathenism. Without a perpetual miracle it could not be otherwise. Even the missionary spirit became carnalized. And yet still in the midst of darkness, strife, heresy, and superstition, the limits of Christendom continued to extend, sometimes by legitimate means, and sometimes by bloodshed and extermination. The little leaven, though diffused and sometimes apparently lost, was yet actively at work. Still there was progress. What in one sense was deterioration, was in another improvement, and good and evil went hand in hand. At length we reach a period when, through the influ-

ence of all kinds of causes, the Gospel was nominally triumphant over the whole of Europe, even to its most northern and barbaric limits. Society had assumed a settled form. Law had asserted its power over brute force. With the rise of cities, the principles of freedom began to be felt and understood. Under the influence of a spirit of deep devotion and unbounded liberality, Christianity had carved its faith, its hopes, and its aspirations on the enduring stone, in forms of majesty, and loveliness, and solemn, simple beauty. The world had awakened to the charms of literature and science. All the fundamental truths, principles, and institutions of Christianity were found preserved entire. The Bible, the Creeds, the Ministry, the Sacraments, still stood forth unhurt by the shock of ages. Not one stone had dropped out of the fabric of the Faith.

But there had gathered round it every species of anomalous additions. Every event, political, social, mental, with which the Church had been brought in contact, had left some relic behind. How to separate these elements, became now the problem which must be solved. It was impossible to read the Bible, or the writings of the Fathers, without perceiving that the religion there taught, was not exactly that which the age received. But how to divide the Divine from the human, to disentangle this complicated web, was a task from which it is no wonder that strong minds recoiled. It was easy to draw up arbitrary individual systems. But, granting that the precise truth could be discovered, how persuade the world to unlearn a great portion of its faith! Attempts were made at both. They failed—and yet not wholly. Great principles were seized on. Trains of thought were laid out for examination. Flagrant abuses were condemned. As time went on, the inquiry narrowed and became more definite. The very air seemed burdened with the cry for Reformation—reformation in the head, and the members. Read the *Centum Gravamina* of the Diet of Nuremberg, and the reply of Pope Adrian. “We acknowledge,” says the latter, “that in this holy See there have for some years past been many abominations, abuses in spirituals, excesses in mandates—all things, in fine, perverted. We have all declined in our ways, and it has been long that there was none who did good, no not one.” The Council of Trent was a concession to the just demands of the age. Why was it not truly a General Council? men may ask. Why was so favorable an opportunity lost for restoring peace and unity to Christendom? The reply must be fetched from the depths of antiquity, from the mysterious passion for

empire, which outlived the Cæsars and the Constantines, and leagued itself, as an instinct and destiny, with the fortunes of Rome. It was a legacy from the past, an element in the world's history, too potent and too nearly allied to the "Mystery of Iniquity," not to assert for itself a place. The events of centuries could not thus easily be done away. The turbid tide of corruption was too strong to be easily rolled back.

But there was another power still stronger,—divine truth. If error and passion had not existed in vain, no more had Christ and His apostles, the Fathers, the Martyrs, the whole Church of God. The truth leveled for itself a stand-point in England. True, the work of restoration began in a few great minds whom Providence called to commanding stations. But all great moral revolutions must spring from individual minds, solving, by Divine grace, problems too intricate for the mass. Reformers, restorers, have always stood by themselves. Look at Elijah; at John the Baptist; at Athanasius. What they were of old, Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley were in their day. The Prayer Book contains their credentials, and their justification. In the Council of Trent we see all the good and evil of History blended together. In the work which the Church of England accomplished, under her heroic Bishops, the good is separated from the evil. It required all the conflicts of preceding centuries, to gain and to secure the ground which the English reformation occupies. At no previous period in Christian History could such a book as the Prayer Book have been compiled. Its glory consists as much in what it omits, as what it contains; and there is no inconsistency in asserting, that it is truer to antiquity than antiquity was to itself. For by the time that the Faith was defined against the assaults of the great heresies, corruptions of a different kind had gained entrance, which being more subtle in their character, and falling in with the current of men's sentiments, did not throw themselves into open opposition to the Gospel, but required ages to attain their full development. The Anglo Saxon mind, trained in the hardy principles of Magna Charta and the common law, and endowed with the youthfulness of a growing civilization, was more favorable to the reception of the Gospel, in its simplicity, than the old Roman, Greek or Barbaric intellect, wearied and warped with dead superstitions. And thus while the Church of England repudiated the corrupt tendencies springing from a surrounding atmosphere of heathenism, which had deformed the orthodoxy of the ancient Church, it retained that orthodoxy itself intact. From the moment that the Prayer Book was put forth, a new era opened on

mankind, and the universal extension of the principles of that single volume, became the one definite object for the Church to achieve. But while the Church of Rome retained indiscriminately all that "time, in his huge drag net," had gathered of good and evil; and the Church of England, with careful reverence, built itself on the solid foundations of Scriptural antiquity—a third party constructed a Christianity on the basis of the individual conscience, to which it referred even the canon of Scripture, and the doctrine of the Trinity. Hence the three great elements of modern theological strife—Romanism, Anglicanism, Puritanism; having, as the event proves, for their respective watchwords, Development, Immutability, Innovation; the first and the last of which are plainly akin. There was a necessity that these principles should show themselves, and should conflict.

Since the conversion of the last heathen nations of Europe, or, more properly speaking, since their nominal adoption of a corrupted Christianity, missionary operations were brought to a stand, with the exception of some ineffectual attempts to restore unity between the Eastern and Western Churches, and a few feeble efforts in the same quarter among the Mahomedans. But the beginning of modern discovery and commercial enterprise in the Western Hemisphere and Africa, opened new fields for the ambition of the Roman Church, whose children, however, had by this time become habituated to the use of the sword, as the most efficacious instrument of conversion. For a long time before the Reformation, missionary operations had been little else than a libel and caricature of the Gospel. But a new spirit was now breathed into the Church of Rome. Ascension Day, 1534, is memorable in the annals of the world, for the vows with which Loyola and his companions bound themselves in the Subterranean Church at Montmartre. In 1540, five years before the first session of the Council of Trent, the Society of Jesuits was instituted at Rome, by Papal authority, and while the Council was forging chains for Christendom, the new missionaries, with the passion of an infant zeal, were preaching a corrupted Gospel, with a devotion worthy of a purer faith, from Brazil to Japan. At the Reformation, the Colonial power of England was yet in futurity. In the reign of Henry VII, the Coast of America, from Labrador to Virginia, was discovered by a Spanish navigator sailing under the English flag; but the discoveries of Cabot, in 1497, were turned to no practical account until the colonization of Virginia in 1578, in the reign of Elizabeth. Trade had indeed been previously opened with Newfound-

land, and with South America, and commerce with the East Indies was beginning to assume a lucrative form.

Meanwhile the Reformation had occurred, and the Church of England had sufficient missionary work at home, without attempting enterprises of the kind abroad. And when we reflect that she had every thing to do, to form anew the mind of the whole nation, even to create for herself a competent Clergy, we must admit that she did her work well, considering the times, and the obstacles which she had to encounter. During the reign of James, which began in 1603, New England was settled, under a trading charter from the king, by sundry knights, gentlemen, and merchants, from the west of England. A similar colony also went out to Virginia, concerning which Bishop Berkeley remarks—"that the view of propagating the Gospel and civil life among the savage nations of America, was a principal motive which induced the crown to send the first English colonies thither, doth appear from the charter granted by King James I, to the adventurers in Virginia." Charles I, ascended the throne and began his stormy and troublous reign in 1625; and during all this time the colonization of this continent was increasing from all the variety of motives which animate men in seeking new habitations; the love of adventure, dissatisfaction with things at home, and thirst after wealth. In the providence of God, commerce has preceded the Gospel, and the schemes which were set on foot from secular and selfish ends, have turned to the advancement of the truth. That Charles, like his predecessor, was alive to his duty to the Indians, is evident from the tenor of the Charter which he granted to the Puritans; and whatever might have been the sincerity or the insincerity of their professions in the matter, there is no reason for distrusting his. But while the Church of Rome, from its position, was able to act with perfect freedom, in the dissemination of its doctrines, that of England was hemmed in on all sides with difficulties. The pontificate of Gregory XIII, which lasted but two years, from 1572 to 1574, is memorable for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the incipient steps which led to the establishment of the Propaganda in 1621, four years before the accession of Charles I. All instrumentalities came alike to Rome—the dagger of the assassin, the zeal of the Jesuit, and the patient labor of the catechist: and occupying, in repose, a commanding spiritual position, while the political power of a great portion of Europe was at its command, it could act unrestrained, and upon a large scale.

Had circumstances permitted, the same missionary zeal,

which in 1639 caused Laud to superintend the translation of the Prayer Book into Greek and French, for the use of the Island of Jersey, would have led to the adoption of proper measures for the conversion of the Indians. The origin of the Venerable Society is indeed ascribed by Grant to the reign of Charles I. "The Society for Propagating Christianity in Foreign Parts," he says, "had been originally instituted by an act of Parliament, A. D. 1647: but the civil commotions ensuing, the execution of that project was suspended until the year 1661, in the reign of Charles II. King William, in 1701, enriched that valuable establishment with new donations and privileges. Under the bounty and protection of succeeding monarchs it has continued to dispense the glorious light of truth to nations which sat in darkness." But Grant must have been mistaken. It is scarcely possible that in 1647, a Church Missionary Society could have been established. There were men enough alive who would have gloried in the sacred project; for those were the days of Jeremy Taylor, Nicholson, Hammond, Herbert, Ferrar, Hall and Juxon, men who had the mind to plan, and the hand to do, and the heart to suffer, and had been trained in truth, to use the words of one of them, by "converse with all the glorious martyrs and Fathers." But it was next to impossible that the scheme could have been set on foot in 1647. In 1643—and it is well to run over the record to remind us of the straits to which the Church was then reduced, and as a contrast to her present state)—in 1643, the liturgy was entirely abolished by Act of Parliament, and by solemn league and covenant Episcopacy abjured as destructive of all true piety:—in 1644, Laud was murdered:—in 1645 occurred the fatal route of Naseby and the surrender of Bristol:—in 1646, the king was held prisoner by the Scots:—in 1647, Charles fell into the hands of Cromwell; and the same year, as Hume relates, "above one half of the established clergy were turned out to beggary" for fidelity to their Church and king:—in 1648, Charles was told that if he did not consent to the utter abolition of Episcopacy he would be damned:—and in 1649, he exchanged, at Whitehall, a corruptible for an incorruptible crown.

If, in the sad and gloomy year of 1647, when religion and loyalty, the State and the Church, lay crushed under the heel of an iron fanaticism, Churchmen still dared to dream of the universal prevalence of the truth, and which they doubtless did, or they would not have fought and suffered for it—and fidelity like theirs, under such circumstances, was more sublime than the courage of the old Romans, who, when a foreign enemy encamped before their city, sold and bought the ground

on which he pitched his tent—yet they certainly could not have got an Act for the Propagation of Church principles through a Puritan Parliament. It is however evident from what Bishop Nicholson, then Rector of Llandillo-Vawr, in Wales, says in the Preface to his excellent Exposition to the Catechism, respecting the motives which induced him to publish it, after he had been turned out of his cure by the Puritans, that an Act for the Propagation of the Gospel did pass the Parliament about this time, but that it was designed to operate in England and to supply, probably, the place of the dispossessed clergy. “That which most of all prevailed with me is the sad face of religion we behold and condole here, ever since the act of the Propagation of the Gospel hath been put in execution in these parts. For the itinerants have been so few, so mean, so ignorant, that I say no worse, that as it was in the days of Eli so now, for their sake the sacrifice of the Lord is abhorred, and the sheep are scattered on the mountains without a shepherd.”

Mysterious are the ways of God. The Church, recovering from the severe pruning of the Reformation, had no sooner spread its sheltering arms abroad and began to bear ripe fruit, than the axe was laid to the root of the tree, and its giant trunk and goodly branches, and leafy honors, were prostrated in the dust, and drenched in kingly and in priestly blood.

But in 1661, the very year succeeding the Restoration, the fire of a true missionary zeal began to kindle in the Church. That noble man, not more distinguished for high birth than his profound learning and deep piety, Robert Boyle, Esq., was made first Governor of a Company “For the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen natives of New England and the parts adjacent.” This was in 1661. In 1679, Charles II, at the suggestion of Bishop Compton, had sanctioned the erection of a Church in Boston; and that same Prelate was making inquiries as to the religious condition of the Foreign Plantations in America. In the West India Islands, especially, the good work went forward. A little later, 1693, and under William and Mary, a College was planted and endowed in Virginia, whither Bishop Compton also sent Dr. Blair as his Commissary; and Dr. Bray in the same capacity to Maryland. The labors of these missionaries abroad, and the amount of missionary funds necessary for their support, rendered a Charter necessary; and on the representations of Archbishop Tenison, in 1701, a Royal Charter was obtained.

The Church had within itself a life which Puritanism could not destroy. Charles, Stafford, Laud, might die upon the scaffold; Hall might be plundered till he had scarce a plate

for his children to eat from, or a chair for them to sit down ; Jeremy Taylor, and Nicholson, with wisdom capable of instructing, and eloquence of entrancing generations, might be driven from the pulpit to keep school for their support ; many an ancient fane might become a stable, or a pig-sty ; the axe, the hammer and the stone might do their work on the carving and the blazonry of sanctuaries ; but it was not by such means that the revived truth of God was to be destroyed. As soon as the blows of an enemy, that almost destroyed itself by its fury, had ceased, the aged trunk put forth a little shoot, green and delicate, so that any rude foot might have trodden it down ; and other shoots grew beside it from the same mighty root, and they became trees, and were venerable and overshadowing, and the birds of the air lodged in the branches of them ; every tree having the fruit of a tree yielding seed.*

It was thus, towards the close of the seventeenth century, that the Missionary cause in the Church of England received its first strong impulse. The venerable Bishop Stillingfleet, who had lived all through the troublous times of the Rebellion, and was a link to connect that epoch with the coming

* The following lines are so beautiful and appropriate that we need no apology for quoting them. They are from the pen of the Right Rev. Bishop of New Jersey :

" The Banyan, of the Indian Isles,
Strikes deeply down its massive root ;
And spreads its branching life abroad,
And bends, to earth, with scarlet fruit :
And, when the branches reach the ground,
They firmly plant themselves again :
Then rise, and spread, and droop, and root ;
An ever green, and endless chain.

" And so the Church of Jesus Christ,
The blessed Banyan of our God,
Fast rooted upon Zion's Mount,
Has sent its sheltering arms abroad ;
And every branch, that from it springs,
In sacred beauty, spreading wide,
As low it bends, to bless the earth,
Still plants another by its side.

" Long as the world itself shall last,
The sacred Banyan still shall spread,
From clime to clime, from age to age,
Its sheltering shadow shall be shed ;
Nations shall seek its " pillared shade,"
Its leaves shall, for their healing, be :
The circling flood, that feeds its life,
The blood, that crimsoned Calvary."

age, survived long enough to take part in the consultations, which led to the formation of the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, and the obtaining the Charter to that for the *Propagation of the Gospel*. The movement at that time was greatly promoted by the labors of Dr. Bray, whose missionary efforts in Maryland, in planting Churches, establishing Schools, &c., began to assume an important aspect. To Archbishop Tenison, however, a debt of gratitude is due from American Churchmen, which they ought to remember. He not only obtained the Charter from King William, but contributed, during his lifetime, fifty pounds a year to the Society; and at his death bequeathed a thousand pounds towards the support of the first Bishop that should be settled in America.

The Reformed Church had now passed through her worst trials. She had preserved life, but all the machinery pertaining to a Church, in the full exercise of her functions, had yet to be provided. Popular religious education, charities, distant missions, the dissemination through all ranks of society of sound and wholesome information suited to their respective positions, these were now the special wants of the Church. Translations of the Bible and the Prayer Book were to be made in different languages; parochial libraries were to be formed for missionaries; familiar instruction to be afforded to the young; tracts disseminated; schools formed; teachers trained; and the Church, in a word, roused to fulfill the commission with which she was entrusted in the times of the Apostles as a missionary association. The two Societies, for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for Propagation of the Gospel, though composed of nearly the same members, took different fields, but they have ever worked faithfully together in the dissemination of the truths taught by the English Church. The Christian Knowledge Society occupied itself principally at home and in Asia: the Propagation Society confined itself mainly to the English Colonies in the Western Hemisphere. A brief glance at the operations of both, is necessary to form a just idea of the missionary work, on which the Church of England entered.

One of the first steps taken by the Christian Knowledge Society, even before the granting of the Charter to the Sister Society, was a resolution to form Branch Societies throughout the kingdom. In respect to education, Providence immediately favored their exertions, and hundreds of charity schools in which many thousand children were taught the principles of the Church, sprang, under their fostering care into existence. They also bent their energies to the dissemination of the Holy

Scriptures and the Prayer Book in conjunction, that wheresoever the word of God went, thither the Witness of His Church should accompany it. Undismayed by the spurious liberality of modern times, the Society has consistently pursued this course to the present hour. What God has joined together, that is, means with ends, this Society has never put asunder. If then, for no other cause, yet for this, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge will ever be deserving of the gratitude of Churchmen, in that it has set its face as a flint against obscuring the Divinely ordained office of the Church, as the Witness of the Truth. Equally high is the praise which must be accorded to the Society for the able, sound, and efficient theological works and tracts which it has circulated, which still are to be found in many of our parish libraries, and in which it has always, with sober wisdom, adapted itself to the wants of the times. Four years after the granting of the Charter to the Venerable Society, the Church of Denmark bestirred herself in the missionary cause, and the Royal Mission College was founded at Copenhagen. In 1709, the Danish mission was taken under the care of the Society, and from fostering the enterprises of others, it proceeded, in 1728, to establish a mission of its own at Madras, and thus laid the foundation of that noble Church which is destined to cover all India and the East with the light of Reformed Christianity, and which has already inscribed upon its annals so many brilliant names. In conjunction with the support of missionaries, the Society has, from the first, labored successfully in encouraging translations of the Scriptures and the Prayer Book into the Eastern languages, and in providing teachers, catechists, schools, colleges, churches, and all the machinery necessary to instruct and elevate the debased population of Hindostan; in all which good works it has been aided both by the East India Company, and by the Venerable Society, to which we will now return.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Church was struggling into existence in the teeth of the prevailing spiritual tyranny of New England; and both there and in other parts of the Colonies, Churchmen gladly hailed the design of their brethren in England. But it was soon discovered that to render the Church really effective, it was necessary to have the ministry in its integrity. Many efforts were made, even in those early days, to secure the Episcopate for the West Indies and the Continent.* How very different might have been the

* We have materials for furnishing a pretty full account of *the efforts made to obtain, and to prevent obtaining the Episcopate for the Colonies, which we hope to give in the next Number.*—ED. CU. REV.

fortunes of the Church, had they succeeded, it is in vain now to speculate.

But the monarchy of England had allied itself to the congenial principles of the world, and statesmen took expediency, and not rectitude, for their motto. Charles II, sounded the key note of State-policy, when, shortly after the Restoration, he began to pray aloud to deceive some Puritan preachers whom he knew to be within hearing; and the worthy example has been faithfully followed by the majority of those who have since held the reins of authority. Queen Anne, indeed, who died too early for the Church, was a fast friend of the Propagation Society; and George III, stood firm upon the Papal question; but the majority of monarchs and ministers have been indifferent, or hostile, to the truth; and it is to the Church, almost in contradistinction to the State of England, that the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States is indebted under God "for her first foundation and a long continuance of nursing care and protection."

The progress of the Church in the Colonies was at first very slow. "It is acknowledged," wrote Berkeley, in 1725, "that there is at this day but little sense of religion and a most notorious corruption of manners in the English Colonies settled on the Continent of America and the Islands. It is also acknowledged that the Gospel has hitherto made but a very inconsiderable progress among the neighboring Americans, who still continue in much the same ignorance and barbarism in which we found them above a hundred years ago." He complains of the inefficiency of many of the missionaries who were sent out, as being "very meanly qualified, both in learning and morals, for the discharge of their office." "Separated by the Atlantic Ocean from the Episcopacy," says Bishop White, "the Church had no resource for a ministry, but in emigration from the mother country, and by sending its candidates for the ministry to that country for Orders. The first could not be the channel of a respectable, permanent supply. And the second, which was most depended on in the latter years of the Colonies, was very troublesome and expensive." Berkeley somewhat changed his opinion concerning the general character of the missionaries, after his return from Rhode Island, since in his sermon before the Venerable Society, in 1731, he says, that "they have done, and continue to do, good service in bringing the planters to a serious sense of religion which, it is to be hoped, will in time extend to others," and that "they have, by their sobriety of manners, decent behavior, and a

competent degree of useful knowledge, shown themselves worthy of the choice of those who sent them." But nothing can be worse than the account which he gives of the condition of society in general, in which there was manifested "a thorough contempt for all that is sacred, being equally careless of outward worship and inward principles, whether of faith or practice." His scheme of building a college in the Bermudas for the instruction of native missionaries, both European and Indian, in the Colonies, though it failed through the supineness of the English ministry, remains an enduring monument of his practical wisdom and his Christian zeal; and the main principles are those upon which, as we think, foreign missions should ever be conducted. When, by the use of the imperfect instrumentalities which had been employed, the Church in this country attained to a self-supporting strength, it pleased God to permit the social convulsion, which, while it deprived Great Britain of the fairest and noblest of her Colonial possessions, served to give to the Church in this country, what most it needed, and which it might not otherwise have had for ages, the sacred ministry in its integrity; and enabled the Venerable Society to devote its energies to other portions of the world.

It is interesting to glance, at successive intervals, at the progress of the Church, since she threw off her corruptions. Three hundred years ago, 1553, Mary ascended the throne of England, and the Reformation, it was fondly hoped by Rome, was quenched in the heart's blood of Cranmer. Another century rolled by, and Charles bent down his kingly head upon the scaffold, and the victory of Puritanism seemed complete. Again, another hundred years, and we may estimate, by what Butler and Berkeley have said, the sad condition of religion on both sides of the Atlantic. Still one more leap of a century and we are brought to our own times. And what do we now see? Rome paralyzed at the very heart; and only supporting life in her local stronghold, (from which when torn she will neither have a name nor a meaning,) by the doubtful aid of Gallic bayonets; while her worship has become a gaudy display of heathenish idolatry. Puritanism, divided into countless schisms, unable to defend itself from the heresies which it has conjured up; and changing its aspect with each coming year. But the glorious Reformed Church of England, in doctrine and in discipline is precisely what she was when first she raised up the ensign of truth to the nations. While by the spontaneous energy of her own children, she has spread, and is spreading, over the whole of this vast northern Continent;

throughout India, Australia, and the Islands of the sea—reckoning her Bishops by scores ; her priests by thousands ; and her communicants by millions. Said the Bishop of Tennessee, in his late Jubilee Sermon, in London, “There are now congregations under the pastoral care of 2,750 clergymen, with more than fifty Bishops, deriving their Episcopal character from the Church of England,” in territories which have been occupied by the Venerable Society. The Church is now rallying around her the best hearts and the strongest intellects on earth ; and teaching everywhere, with the Bible and the Prayer Book in her hands, “the same belief our Saviour taught, the Apostles disseminated and the martyrs confirmed ; and which, when by the sinister ends of princes, the avarice of prelates, and the fatal corruption of the times, it was decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, was by careful and charitable hands restored to its Primitive integrity.” O ! good Sir Thomas Browne, how would thy quaint spirit rejoice to see what we see ? The battle which the Church of England is fighting against Erastianism without, and Treachery within, is one to which she is fairly committed, and she will come out of the conflict, pure, free, strong, united ; possessing a power not only over the hearts and the judgments of Englishmen, but over those of the world, which she never had before.

Thanks be to God, a spirit of enlarged munificence and self-sacrifice, worthy of the best days of the Church, pervading all ranks and classes, seems struggling into life in the Mother Church. It is shown alike by the British Prelate in his Cathedral and the missionary in Australia—where the green sod is oft the pavement, and the broad oaks are the pillars and the roofs of God’s temples—shown by nobility that dates from the conquest, and by brighter wealth springing up amid the looms of Sheffield and the dock-yards of London and Liverpool, by those who give themselves, and those who give their money, to the Church. A few years ago, an old crumbling ruin might be seen in Canterbury. The ivy crept along the lines of buttressed towers, and all looked venerable, but for sacred purposes it was dead. Passing though an archway of peculiar beauty, you came to a bar-room, and further on in the open space, you might see groups playing at nine pins, or sipping at their tables. Little did those who frequented St. Augustine’s for amusement, think that in a few years, through the noble liberality of *an individual*, the Church would regain her own, the gardens would become a College, and the College be a nursery through coming centuries for missionaries, perhaps

for martyrs. But such changes are typical of the age. It is an age of religious revivals; revivals which are truly such; restoring old things to ancient uses, or converting them to better; reviving the principles, the feelings, the aspirations, the heroism, the devotion of the past; but purified by much that then alloyed; and making men lovers of truth, of unity, of gravity, simplicity, and God. May God grant that this year of Jubilee may stir up the Church to renewed activity and zeal in this great work.

And now a word, in conclusion, for ourselves as American Churchmen. Why, amongst other blessings which we see accruing from this Anniversary, may it not be signalized by laying the foundations of a strictly missionary college; which may be to us, what St. Augustine's is to England? If an individual could do such a work there, why may not many do it here? Why may we not rear up in our midst an institution, to which the young converts in China, and Africa, and every other heathen land, in which it may be our privilege to labor for Christ, may come, and together with our own sons, who devote themselves to missionary work, receive the instruction and the discipline which they need. We see no difficulties in the way which Faith and Love cannot overcome. Then would our missionaries, instead of losing some of the best years of their lives in struggling to acquire the elements of the languages in which they are to preach the Gospel, master these in the ordinary course of their education, and with full health and energy be able to enter at once upon their duty. Then would the converts from heathenism who desire to enter the Christian ministry, receive such discipline as they cannot otherwise have. "Brought up," to use the words of Berkeley, "in such a seminary, and well instructed in religion and learning, they would make the ablest and properest missionaries for spreading the Gospel among their countrymen," care being taken "that during the whole course of their education, an eye should be had to their mission, that they should be taught to consider themselves as trained up to that sole view, without any other prospect of provision or employment; that a zeal for religion and love of their country, should be early and constantly instilled into their minds—and that they should be animated and inflamed by the great examples in past ages of public spirit and virtue to rescue their countrymen from their savage manners to a life of civility and religion." A College like this would be a constant incentive in our midst to the performance of our duty to the heathen; and would be a perennial missionary fountain.

But we have no space to enlarge upon this subject. We throw out the idea for the consideration of earnest Christian men; and with them we leave it. Sure we are, that this Jubilee is thrilling with its trumpet-tones the hearts of all American Churchmen, who love the cause of Christ, better than they love themselves. Its associations are too sacred not to be felt and responded to in every breast where Christianity is something more than a name or a party badge. And there will be monuments of this Jubilee, planted with prayers, and baptized with tears of gratitude, which will live to greet the eyes, and provoke the charities, of our sons and our daughters, when in 1901, the thousands on thousands of our Church-going bells shall echo and reëcho from the Atlantic to the Pacific the story of the noble deeds of this Venerable Society.

ART. II.—THE CANADIAN CLERGY RESERVES.*

VARIOUS circumstances now occur, which appear destined to hasten on some decision. The Legislative Assembly in two successive Parliaments, passed Bills like the preceding, which were rejected by the Legislative Council. In 1831, the Wesleyan Conference, which had hitherto taken no active part against the Church, began to join in the agitation, and presented an address to the King, praying that the proceeds of the Reserves might be appropriated "to purposes of general education, and perhaps to other internal improvements." This and other efforts in the same direction, no doubt determined the Bishop of Quebec to proceed to England to plead the cause of the Church with the Home Government. His success however does not appear to have been great; for early in the next year we find a message from the Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada, Sir John Colborne, inviting the House of Assembly to "vary or repeal" the provisions of the statute 31 Geo. III, c. 31, in respect of the support of a Protestant Clergy; and a Bill was introduced by the Attorney General, Mr. H. I. Boulton, the principal object of which was to reinvest the Clergy Reserves in the Crown, "discharged from all trusts for the benefit of the Protestant Clergy, and of and from all and every the claims and demands of such Clergy, upon and in respect of the same."

This proposition, equally iniquitous and sacrilegious with that which emanated from the House of Assembly, was recommended in the Message, on the ground that "the period at which the Clergy Reserves might be reasonably expected to be productive is still remote;" and that "his Majesty has solid grounds for entertaining the hope that before the arrival of that period, it may be found practicable to afford the Clergy . . . such a reasonable and moderate provision as may be necessary for enabling them properly to discharge their sacred functions." The nature of these "solid grounds" does not appear to have transpired; and we have no doubt that the provision contemplated by those who drew this Bill would have been exceedingly "reasonable and moderate."

It is remarkable that this Message is the first public document which affects to place the Established Churches of Eng-

* Continued from page 241.

land and Scotland "upon an equality," expressing the belief that the objects of the Bill may be attained "without sacrificing their just claims." Could there be a greater mockery?

The introduction of this Bill was followed by a Message from the Governor to the Clergy Corporation, informing them that he had received a dispatch from the Secretary of State, "directing that the leasing of the Clergy Reserves should be suspended," until the Bill lately introduced into the House of Assembly respecting the Clergy Reserves shall have passed into a law. To this Message the Corporation returned a respectful Address, in which they protested against the interference of the Secretary of State as an infringement of their privileges; but stated that, in deference to the Governor himself, they would suspend the leasing until a general meeting of the Clergy of Upper Canada could be assembled. Meanwhile the Bill was introduced and printed, but not further proceeded with during that Session.

The meeting of the Clergy took place in September; and there were present the Bishop of Quebec, and seventeen of the Clergy. At this meeting a petition to the Crown was adopted, to proceed from the Clergy and other members of the Church in Upper Canada, in which they "do not appeal so much to his Majesty's well-known grace, as to his equity; and claim the continued security of their undoubted rights; that justice to which all are entitled; that regard to their religious privileges which is paid to those of their Lower Canadian brethren of the Roman Catholic Religion." This Petition was sent home by the hands of the then Solicitor General, Mr. Hagerman, whom the Corporation constituted their special delegate. This vigorous action of the Corporation appears to have been for the time successful: for although the Bill was re-introduced, and read a first time in the session of 1832-3, it was not passed. This however does not relieve the originators of it, whoever they were, from the burden of having proposed on the part of the Crown so lamentable a measure.

Every year seemed now destined to introduce some new attack. In May, 1833, the Corporation received a communication from the Governor, requesting them to issue orders to their tenants to pay all moneys due on account of the Reserves into the hands of the Receiver General, in order that they might be brought into the public accounts. This request arose from an opinion expressed by the Attorney General as to the illegality of the present mode of management. The Corporation regarded it, however, as a new attempt at encroachment on the part of the Government, and appointed a

Committee to represent to the Governor that, by consenting to his proposal they "would be giving up a privilege guaranteed by the Charter to the Clergy of the Province, and hitherto exercised without objection." The Governor, fortified by the opinion of the Attorney General, could not be convinced, and announced to the Corporation that he could not "sanction any other arrangement" than that proposed, "nor consent to become responsible for the disbursements authorized by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, without further reference on the subject to the Crown officers and his Majesty's Government."

There can be but little doubt that this disagreement accelerated, if it did not produce, the resolution of the Home Government to withdraw from the Colonial Church that aid which it had wisely entrusted to it, during the non-productiveness of its own resources. It has been already stated that in the year 1816, the Imperial Parliament granted £16,000 annually for the whole of the Colonies. Of this sum the share appropriated to North America, in 1816, was £5,730, in 1818 £8,126; but in that year the Home Government announced to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that from the year 1834 this allowance would absolutely cease. The remonstrances made by the Society and the Colonial Bishops induced the Government to reconsider the matter, and the result with regard to Upper Canada was that the Government agreed to support the existing Missionaries at a reduced rate of £170 per annum, but not to undertake the charge of any new Missionaries.

The example which had been set on the part of the Crown of desiring to resume what it had given to God, seems to have encouraged the House of Assembly again to dispose of that which was never theirs, and to wrest the whole out of the hands of both the Church and the Sovereign. The object therefore of the next measure (that of 1834) was to enable certain Commissioners nominated (not by the Crown nor by the whole Legislature, but) by the House of Assembly alone, to sell the Reserves, and pay over the proceeds to the Receiver General, to be disposed of by the Legislature for the promotion of education, and for no other purpose. This Bill passed the Assembly; but the Upper House, remaining firm to their former views, and perhaps being confirmed in them by the slight cast upon themselves, rejected this Bill, as they had done its predecessors.

In this state of things the party headed by Sir Robert Peel came into power; and it was thought prudent to embrace this opportunity, and to endeavor at least to obtain some provision out of the Reserves to compensate the Clergy for the

deductions which had been made from their incomes, to secure the permanency of the several parishes and Missions when the government stipend should cease by the death of the present incumbents, and if possible to procure a final settlement of the question of the Clergy Reserves. Accordingly the Clergy Corporation was summoned to meet by the Bishop of Quebec, and came to some important resolutions, which were embodied in an Address and submitted to the consideration of Sir John Colborne. The substance of them is as follows: that it is desirable that every Parish and Mission should be endowed with a portion of the Reserves, and that a lot or two in every township in which there is no Mission should be exempted from sale or lease, for the purpose of future endowment; that the leasing of the Reserves should be recommended and the rents newly arranged; that not more than one-fourth in each township should be sold, and none under 10s. per acre; that the lots of defaulters should be declared vacant, and that no leased lots should be sold in future. At the same meeting it was agreed to address Sir Robert Peel, for the final settlement by the Home Government of the Clergy Reserve question.

Some of these regulations were adopted by the Government; but this is the last meeting of the Clergy Corporation. There can, however, be but little doubt that their recommendations led to those communications between Sir John Colborne and the Secretary of State which issued in the further carrying out of that portion of 31 Geo. III, c. 31, which provided for the establishment of Rectories.

In order, however, to be under no mistake upon the subject, the Governor obtained the formal opinions of the Law officers of the Imperial Crown; and that he might avoid the charge that the rights of Members of other communions were infringed, he avoided giving the Rectors any territorial jurisdiction, by omitting to define the limits of the Rectories or parishes. But the erection of parishes would have been nothing strange; for the British Crown had erected parishes in most of her old Colonies in America; everywhere in the West Indies there are parishes; and even Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have parishes. Led by these and other considerations, Sir John Colborne made an Order in Council for the establishment of fifty-seven Rectories; and hastily issued patents for the endowment of forty-four of them, with lands amounting to more than 20,000 acres. We say "hastily;" for he was suddenly superseded; and he was compelled to act hastily, or else leave the results of so much thought and care unaccomplished. This was done in 1835, and the Bishop of Quebec lost no

time in filling the Rectories with the oldest and most deserving of the Missionaries.

This step taken by Sir John Colborne seems to have excited in a very high degree the displeasure of the opponents of the Church ; and accordingly in the next session of the Provincial Parliament in 1836, under Sir Francis Head, a bill was brought forward for devoting the proceeds of the Reserves to purposes of education. It proceeded so far as to get into Committee ; but when there it met with the strenuous opposition of the conservative members of the House, led on by Mr. Solicitor General Hagerman ; and the Committee reported a resolution, which set aside the preamble of the bill, viz, " That it is desirable that the lands, commonly called the Clergy Reserves, and the proceeds arising from the sales thereof, be appropriated for the promotion of the religious and moral instruction of the people throughout the Province."

Thus the bill was rejected. But it is ominous to see the very loose ground occupied by the Conservative leader, and he a zealous Churchman. What is the meaning of the loose phrase, " religious and moral instruction of the people throughout the Province ?" This victory was in fact to all intents and purposes a defeat. The very wording of the resolution shows that it was intended to gain the votes of the Conservative portion of the Presbyterians and Wesleyans, without whom no doubt the Bill could not have been thrown out. And this is further illustrated by the speech of Mr. Hagerman. " I believe," he said, " that the Clergy Reserves were appropriated exclusively for the support of the Established Church of England in these Provinces ; and I believe that the interests of religion will be best advanced by applying them to that object. *But I am willing to admit that I do not consider it consistent with the interests of religion, that its temporal possessions should be the cause of dissension and discord amongst any large proportion of the community.* The Christian religion inculcated peace on earth and good will amongst men ; and to attain that object I am willing to make any sacrifice that shall not involve any of those high principles, which it is the duty of an honest man under all circumstances and under all hazards to maintain," &c. &c. What unmeaning verbiage ! When will the time come when the temporal possessions of the Church will not be a cause of envy to those opposed to her ? Those of the Church in England were for the most part the voluntary gift of the original proprietors of the soil ; yet when did her enemies cease to make these possessions " the cause of dissension and discord ?" Is our comparatively tri-

filing endowment of Trinity Church allowed to pass without challenge? And what right had Mr. Hagerman to be willing to sacrifice what did not belong to himself, but to God and His Church.

These repeated and persevering attacks upon the property of the Church naturally rendered the members of it desirous that the claims of other bodies should be adjudicated upon by some superior authority; but any intended action on the subject was superseded during the next two years by the insurrectionary movements which broke out simultaneously in Lower and Upper Canada in the autumn of 1837, and were brought to a head by the general rising in Lower Canada in 1838. These troubles occasioned the Mission of Lord Durham in the latter year; and although his stay in the country was extremely brief, yet it added another unfavorable feature to the question of the disposition of the Reserves.

Up to this period the Romanists had contentedly acquiesced in the position of the Church of England; and in Upper Canada their leading ecclesiastics had not only been conspicuous for their loyalty to the British Crown, but had freely expressed their opinion that the Clergy Reserves belonged rightfully to the Church of England and to her alone. But it was the natural consequence of such a mission as Lord Durham proclaimed himself to have come upon, as a hearer and redresser of all grievances, that it invited all who were disposed to complain of public or individual grievances, to think of subjects of discontent which never occurred to their minds before. Thus upon this occasion the Romanists began to reflect that, however clear might be the claim of the Church to the Reserves, yet Wesleyans and others had now been encouraged to look for a share of them—who never pretended to suppose that they had been originally included in their destination. They therefore began to discover, according to Lord Durham's Report, "that any such favor" as the restriction of these lands to "any one or even all the Protestant sects would be most unadvisable;" and accordingly began to claim a share of them, if divided; and to join the Protestant sects in requiring, if that were not done, that they should be applied to the general purposes of the government or to the support of a general system of education. Nor was this claim discouraged by Lord Durham, although made in the face of the Imperial Act, which especially appropriated these lands to the support of "a Protestant clergy." On the contrary, he proposed to the Government, in that notable "Report" which bears his name, (if indeed he was in any sense the author of it,) that

the whole of the previous provisions on the subject should be repealed, and that it should be left to the Provincial Legislature to deal with the reserved lands as they might think proper ; and this notwithstanding his commendation of the wisdom and prudence which made an ample provision for the support of the Roman religion in Lower Canada, and his expressed opinion that this provision might with propriety be augmented.

Lord Durham, however, did not remain to carry out his own views. Lord Sydenham succeeded him as Governor General ; but Sir George Arthur still remained Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada ; and, in February, 1839, proposed to the Legislature of that Province to settle the question by some measure which could satisfy religious persons of all persuasions, or else to reinvest the lands in the Crown. In agreement with this proposition a Bill was passed through the House of Assembly in February, 1840, by which it was proposed to divide the Reserves into two parts, one of which was to be again divided between the Churches of England and Scotland, according to the numbers of their adherents, and the other half between the other denominations upon the same principle ; but this Bill did not become law, in consequence of some assumption in it which the Crown Lawyers decided to be unconstitutional.

By the management of Lord Sydenham the union of the two Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was carried through both Legislatures, and was sanctioned by an Imperial Act in the course of the same year. In this state of things the friends of the Church became increasingly anxious for a final settlement of the Clergy Reserve Question by the Imperial Government. The year before, Archdeacon Strachan had gone to England for consecration to the See of Toronto ; and there can be little doubt that the whole matter was very fully discussed by him with Archbishop Howley and the other heads of the Church. After the passing of the Union Bill, the next subject which engaged the attention of the Government was the Clergy Reserves. In order to the settlement of the question it was considered expedient first to ascertain the proper interpretation of the phrase in the Constitutional Act, "a Protestant Clergy ;" and accordingly the matter was submitted to the twelve Judges of England for their solemn adjudication. Up to this period the Judges of England, since their independence of the Crown had been established by George III, had been regarded as wholly out of the reach of political influence ; but the decision to which they came upon this question was

such as to grieve a large portion of the English people by its manifest subserviency to political circumstances. We have in a former portion of this article exhibited sufficient reasons why it could not have been the intention of those who framed this Act to include in the term any but the clergy of the Church of England. But the Judges choosing to look only at the actual wording of the Act, and taking the term "clergy" in a sense entirely unknown to the law up to that period, decided that it might be applied to ministers of religion of any Protestant denomination. This decision was received with regret even by many who were not members of that Church, but who desired to respect the character of the Judges of the land; and who were therefore mortified that a decision should have been legally given by them, which was notoriously contrary to the facts, and rendered, too obviously in order to enable the minister of the day to deal more easily with this political question on such principles as would be palatable to a majority of the Colonists.

This difficulty being removed, a consultation was held with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he (no doubt after consultation with competent persons) proposed the following as the basis of a measure with which the Church of England might rest content:—1st. That the proceeds of the past sales of the Clergy Reserves, amounting to about one-fourth of the whole, should be divided between the clergy in communion with the Established Churches of England and Scotland, in the proportion of two to one; i. e. that the Church of England should have two parts and the Church of Scotland one part. 2d. That the proceeds of the sales of the remaining three-fourths should, as they accrued, be divided into two equal portions; of which one portion should be at the disposal of the Government, and the other should be divided between the Churches of England and Scotland, in the before-mentioned ratio. It is evident that the position of the Primate in making this proposition after the decision of the Judges, was very different from that of those who made proposals for a surrender of part of the Reserves or the whole, before this decision, and when they fully believed that the whole had been given to the Church. This proposition was acceded to by the Government, and accordingly on June the 30th, 1840, the Premier, Lord John Russell, brought in a Bill founded upon it, which passed both Houses of Parliament, and received the Royal Assent on the 7th of August in the same year.

By this Act the Imperial Parliament guarantied to the Church of England the sum of £7,700, and to the Church of

Scotland £1,580 annually, in order that the existing Missions might not fall to the ground for want of funds and that the existing Rectors and Missionaries might not be destitute of support. The proceeds of the Reserves were to be divided between the two Established Churches, precisely in the manner proposed by Archbishop Howley; and the portion appropriated to the Church was placed under the management of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The annual sums guarantied to these Churches respectively were to be the first charge upon the funds appropriated to them; and so long as the annual proceeds of their shares should fall short of these sums, the deficiency was to be supplied out of the Consolidated Fund of the Imperial Government; and the sums so supplied for the Church of England were to be paid over to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, according to the practice pursued for many years previously, leaving it to them to appropriate these sums without control. The remainder of these annual sums, or the whole, (whenever the Clergy Reserves availed to pay the whole,) was to be paid on warrants, issued by the Governor General; and in the case of the Church of England, under the arrangement made by the S. P. G. The same was to be the case with the rest of the proceeds above these sums.

That half of the future proceeds of the Clergy Reserves, which by the Archbishop's proposition was to be left in the hands of the Government, was to be disposed of by the Governor in Council, "for purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada." In order to prevent misappropriation by any of the religious bodies to whom any sums were or might be allotted, a remedy was provided by authorizing the Governor to invoke the aid of the Court of Chancery.

This then was the settlement of a question which had been in agitation for many years; and it is curious to observe the principles, or want of principle, upon which it was decided: for by the operation of it, those lands which were originally destined to support the *Clergy* of the Church of England, may now be employed to sustain the sect the most hostile to her, and to support those who could never have dreamed of being called clergymen, unless this pecuniary advantage had been attached to the name: whilst the lands intended, beyond any doubt whatever, for the sustentation of Protestantism, are now often employed to sustain Popery: and all this in consequence of the agitation kept up by the members of a communion more zealously and ostentatiously Protestant than

their opponents,—and whose clergy, anterior to this struggle, could never be brought to acknowledge any minister of religion as a clergyman, who was not ordained either Presbyterially or Episcopally. These then are the results of this culpable cupidity of the Presbyterians; and thus the members of a Communion, especially bigoted and intolerant, have been brought to promote, amongst a whole community, the opinion that there is no important difference between different and even contrary religious opinions, and that the same nation may justifiably support each and all alike.

The Colonial authorities began now to apply themselves to make arrangements for the management of the Reserves; and as it was a great object with those who desired popularity, to sell them as soon as possible, regulations for their sale were issued by the Government in October of the same year. It was not long however before the watchful Bishop of Toronto observed that the sales were being effected at a rate so ruinously low, that the remnant now remaining to the Church was in danger of being almost entirely dissipated. He accordingly drew up a long and able paper, addressed to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, in which he represented in powerful and persuasive terms the waste of property, and the injury to religion which must result from continuing to pursue this plan. In this document he proposed first for a total discontinuance of the sales, until land should have so risen in value, as to render the endowment in some degree adequate to its ends; and failing this, he begged for a suspension of the sales, until a less improvident system could be arranged. Representations of a similar kind appear to have been addressed to the Governor General, Sir Charles Bagot; and the result was a minute of the executive council in March, 1842, in which the system of sales was much amended. This, however, in the opinion of the Bishop, left the system so destructive, that the Reserves would be sold for less than half their value.

Meanwhile, in this same year, the Church Society of the Diocese of Toronto was formed, and the lay committee of this Society proposed to discharge its duty of watching over the temporalities of the Church. Accordingly, in the beginning of the next year this committee applied to the Bishop for such information as he could furnish of the actual property in which the Church has an interest, and of the condition in which it stood. From the answer to this application it appeared not only that the system of sales was exceedingly wasteful, but that the system of management was unnecessarily expensive. They therefore memorialized the new Gov-

ernor General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, on the subject, but without success. In consequence of this, the persuasion which had been already entertained of the advisableness of dividing the lands assigned to the Churches of England and Scotland, and placing their respective portions in the management of members of those Churches, began to gain ground in the minds at least of the members of the Church of England. Accordingly, a special meeting of the Church Society was held in September, 1844, in which petitions to that effect were agreed to, and forwarded to the Provincial Legislature. These petitions, be it remembered, did not apply for the distribution of the proceeds of the lands, which had been already placed by the Imperial Statute in the S. P. G. ; but for the removal of the economical management from the hands of a Government Board, and its transference to members of the Church of England. The Legislative Council paid so much respect to this petition, as to appoint a select committee on the subject, which committee reported favorably to the views of the petitioners ; but the business proceeded no further.

It will be remembered that at the time of the passing of the Clergy Reserves Act an appropriation was made out of the Imperial Revenue for the support of the then existing clergy, to the amount of £7,700 ; with the understanding that, as the Reserves themselves should produce an available income, it should be appropriated to relieve the government from a portion of the burden. In the year 1845, not only was the process of absorption by that regulation completed, but there was an available surplus, which, according to the statute, was to be paid into the hands of any Treasurer appointed by the S. P. G. The Bishop of Toronto becoming aware of this, acquainted the Society with the fact ; who accordingly appointed their own Treasurers in Upper Canada, who entered on their office in July, 1846. The Society likewise proceeded to consider in what way this fund might be made available to supply the needs of the Church. Before taking any steps whatever, it became necessary to ascertain whether the surplus was likely to be permanent, and what would be its probable annual average. Whilst these and similar inquiries were proceeding, the Bishop likewise considered what in his opinion would be best for his Diocese, and in May, 1846, proposed a plan for the management of the fund.

As the result of these discussions, one of the first steps taken by the Society was to do what had long been pressed upon the government and Church at home without success, viz, to provide an Episcopal income for the Bishop of Toronto,

who had hitherto depended upon his income as Archdeacon, together with the surplus of the Rectory of St. James' at Toronto, after paying two Curates. This done, it was decided to pay to the Bishop likewise the arrears of his salary from the time of his consecration ; deducting the income he had actually received. At the end of 1847, the Bishop resigned his office of Archdeacon of York, and the Rev. A. N. Bethune, Principal of the Diocesan College at Cobourg, was appointed to the office ; the salary of the Archdeacon therefore was no longer guarantied by the government, and was placed as a charge upon that part of the Clergy Reserves Fund administered by the S. P. G. This however made no real difference, as it had really been paid out of the Reserves. ever since they had become available for the purpose. The Society likewise repaid the Bank of Upper Canada the advances it had made, both to the Bishop and to some of the clergy, deducting of course the former from their payments to the Bishop.

These payments having been settled, they came to arrange in what way they could best apportion the remaining surplus ; and the result of their deliberations they embodied in the following regulations :

"1. That a sum of £1200 per annum currency be appropriated to the maintenance of a Theological Institution for the Diocese of Toronto.

"2. That annual grants of £60 currency be made to travelling missionaries.

"3. That stipends to the clergy in the settled districts be paid, equal in amount to the sum raised within the Diocese."

These, with some allowances for outfit, were the most important regulations ; and upon them in substance all their subsequent administration of this fund is based.

The principles adopted in these regulations are evidently these : that since the Clergy Reserves do not entirely belong to the Church, the people must necessarily do much for themselves ; that they are more likely to provide voluntarily for that which comes home to their own constant needs, viz, the pastor who is always amongst them ; that they must be both incited and encouraged to make an adequate provision for him ; that the fund ought to be employed to provide those spiritual advantages of which the people are less likely to see and feel the utility, such as the missionary to those who have lost the sense of the necessity of religion, the Bishop who only visits them occasionally, and the College whose advantages reach them only indirectly. We understand that some amongst the Canadian Clergy are dissatisfied with these ar-

rangements ; but, viewing them from without, they appear in a high degree wise and well considered.

But no sooner did it appear that the clergy were obtaining such an accession of means from the Clergy Reserves, that the Church was able to extend her operations and add materially to the number of her ministers ; that she was no longer the absolute dependent on British benevolence, nor constrained to make her way only by the voluntary efforts of her adherents in the Colony, than her old enemies began to rise up against her and to renew the clamor against the Clergy Reserves and Rectories. There are many motives which combine men in this crusade.

First of all, the Congregationalist and Baptist denominations, and in general all those who have gone from the United States into Canada in recent years, are opposed to the idea of a Church supported by the State. Their principles lead them to repudiate this connection for themselves, and they would not choose that any others should partake of that which they repudiate. Or (to put the matter in a more favorable point of view for them) they conceive the connection between Church and State to be injurious to the interests of religion, and therefore desire to abolish it altogether. United with them are even some adherents of the Church of England, who find their views strengthened by the mischievous nature of State interference in England for some years past, and think that the possession of any exclusive principles by the Church of England, is rather a hindrance than otherwise ; inasmuch as it prejudices many against the Church herself, and prevents them from giving a candid attention to her claims. This body is further swelled by those who keep up the old cry, for which there is less and less reason every day, that the Reserves are a hindrance to the improvement of the country, by keeping considerable tracts still either entirely wild, or only partially cultivated ; thus leaving, as they say, the burden of making roads, &c., entirely upon the proprietors and occupiers of the cleared lands, and adding to the future value of the Church lands at the expense of those who now occupy the adjoining lands. This is really the case in very few instances ; but its occasional occurrence is sufficient to induce covetous men to hold it up as a general grievance. Another too considerable class is that of those who attach themselves to no Church or sect,—who dislike the restraints of religion, and would therefore gladly do away with all provision for the support of its ministers. But from what we can learn, all these would be powerless, however loudly they might clamor, were

it not for the accession to their ranks of the body called the Free Church of Scotland.

It is true that the leading men of the party in Scotland, and we believe in Canada also, are favorable to the *principle* of a Church establishment : but in Canada they act as though they were opposed to it ; and for this line of conduct they have several motives. Some probably think that the practice of supporting one dominant Church, and of supporting two or more in addition to it, are very different things ; and whilst favorable to the former, they would reject the latter, as making no distinction between truth and error. Then again, in Scotland, there is *some* hope that they may become the majority of the population, and thus become the established Church ; whilst in Canada no such hope can exist : for if there were to be a dominant Church in Canada, it must be the Church of England. They therefore see no chance of their obtaining an equality of temporal condition with the Churches of England and Scotland, excepting by bringing them down to a level with themselves. Moreover there can be little doubt that, whatever may be the case in Scotland, many of this body in Canada are opposed altogether to the temporal sustenance of the Church by the State, on account of the danger of the interference of the State in spiritual matters.

There is another subject which unites all these different classes, and even brings in the members of the Church of Scotland ; and that is the Rectories. It is not merely that certain ministers of the Church of England have a portion of land set apart for their maintenance ; for that is the case with the ministers of certain other congregations, not of the Church, but it is *the very name of Rector* ; it is the status and position which this name gives to those who hold it and to the whole body to which they belong. These, no other body can aspire to, for they have no such title amongst them. It is also the connection which this name gives them with the clergy of the mother country. Along with all this there is some vague, shadowy dread (not the less influential because it is wholly undefined) that this name may at some future day become connected with the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction by our clergy over persons not of us,—and may even revive the hated claim for tithes, which, but for the Rectories, they might hope was extinguished forever.

To all these elements must be added the mere interested politician, who makes a trade of professions of liberality, and who is more frequently a member of the Church than of any other body, because she numbers in her ranks the larger portion of

more or less educated persons. It is in this class that our own real weakness lies. If we could shake these men off,—if all the members of our own body had been united in support of our just claims,—as we should never have been brought into the unfavorable position in which we now stand, so we should have no dread from the attacks of our enemies.

These then are the various parties combined in the present attack.

The object directly proposed, as we learn from certain resolutions proposed by Mr. Price, a member of the Government, to the House of Assembly, is to obtain from the Imperial Parliament the power to make a new settlement of the question, after the Imperial Parliament shall have passed an Act “providing that the annuities now payable to the several denominations of Christians now receiving the same should terminate at some specified time.”

It does not appear whether, after this, the proceeds of the Reserves would, according to their wishes, come to be divided amongst the various religious bodies according to their numbers, or be appropriated to secular education, or be devoted entirely to the construction of public works. It seems indeed evident that the parties now combined are divided on those subjects.

The question then naturally arises, what probability is there that the Church in Canada will be able to resist this attack?

First, then, there is the important fact, that the Reserves and Rectories are guaranteed by an Imperial Act, and therefore cannot be diverted from their present appropriation in opposition to the views of the Imperial Parliament. Some amongst us may suppose that this difficulty will be speedily removed by annexation; but we believe all well informed persons are fully satisfied that that was a cry aroused by temporary circumstances, and that the idea is now postponed indefinitely. Now, although there is too much reason to fear that if the Provincial Legislature were at all unanimous in proposing the confiscation of the Church lands, the present English administration might be disposed to listen favorably to the proposal, especially if they saw no danger likely to arise at home in consequence;—yet as there is not that unanimity, and especially if they see that such a concession would endanger their position in England, there can be no doubt that they would delay giving the countenance of the Government to such a measure, even if they did not wholly refuse it. And, even if the administration did countenance it, the daily increasing strength of the religious principle in England, and the sympathy of

British Churchmen for the Church in the colonies, shown by their pecuniary contributions daily raised in aid of it, as well as by other circumstances, would in all probability prevent any change from being effected.

Secondly : there is the certainty that the Canadian Executive are divided on the subject. Their most influential member, Mr. La Fontaine, is opposed to the present scheme of interference, and to every thing like a confiscation of the Reserves. Others, although they desire that the subject should undergo another arrangement, are opposed to the spoliation of the *Rectories*,—conceiving that (whatever may be thought of the Reserves in general) they, at least, stand on the same ground as all other property, and that to confiscate them would unsettle all rights of property. As therefore the Administration represents the great body of the Radicals of Canada, it is to be presumed that, although they support in a great degree the resolutions of Mr. Price, so that they have been carried in the House of Assembly by a *bare* majority, they will be divided on the subject of the ultimate settlement of the question ; and therefore unless the promoters of spoliation are reinforced by some of the party in opposition, it seems unlikely that they can carry any measure of that character, for the Imperial Government will scarcely listen to a *bare* majority of *one* House of the Colonial Legislature. Now the only two sets of people from whom they can expect support are those *soi-disant* Conservatives who may think to gain popularity or to secure quietness by advocating spoliation, and the party of Mr. Papineau. The latter (although going with them upon this question) is but small ; and all the Conservatives of any weight or influence oppose any interference with the rights of property.

Thirdly : there are very clear indications of a division of the *soi-disant religious* parties who desire a change. An Association was formed a short time since in Toronto, in opposition to the Clergy Reserves, headed by the Scotch Free Church party, but we are informed that owing to the difference of views in its members (some of whom are favorable to religious endowments, whilst others are opposed to them) the Association is broken up.

But, fourthly, perhaps the strongest reliance, humanly speaking, is placed on the hope that the French Canadians, when they come fully to understand the bearings of the question, will oppose any interference in the settlement of the Clergy Reserves,—as dangerous to the Church property in Lower Canada. It would naturally appear to them that the same

spirit which desires to interfere with our endowments, would ultimately desire to interfere with theirs likewise. Some of them have declared very positively and strongly against interference, and the greater part have voted against it at present; and with regard to the rest, they will soon understand that the object of the leading agitators is not, as it really was for the most part in former days, to obtain a share of the Reserves, but to confiscate them altogether; and many of that party have openly avowed the wish to extend the principle to all State endowments in both portions of the Province. It is therefore no longer problematical that the confiscation of the Church property in Upper Canada would be only the prelude to the desire for a similar spoliation in Lower Canada.

It has moreover hitherto been an established persuasion that all the endowments of the Roman Church in Lower Canada were guaranteed to their Clergy by the Treaty of Cession between Great Britain and France. But it now begins to be observed, as we have made evident in the beginning of this article, that the tithes, and at least a portion of the Church lands, are no more inalienable than the Reserves of Upper Canada; that both may equally be otherwise disposed of by the Legislative Council and Assembly, supposing their Act to be assented to by the sovereign. The only condition beyond this, is, that the Crown cannot assent to such an Act, until after it has been laid before both Houses of the Imperial Parliament for the space of thirty days; nor if either House address the Crown against it. But if the confiscation of the Clergy Reserves should receive the Royal assent, it is not likely that either Parliament or the Crown would interfere to prevent a similar treatment of the Church property of the Romanists of Lower Canada, at least so far as it has not arisen from private endowment. Their only chance of support against such spoliation would be from those persons whose rights they would perhaps have assisted to destroy.

It is moreover to be observed, that Lower Canada is now gradually filling up with a Protestant population, who are approaching every day nearer in numbers to those of the Roman Church. And even of Romanists themselves, some are undoubtedly becoming disaffected to the claims of the Clergy. The latter therefore will daily need support in defense of their claims; and that support they could never receive from Protestants, except on the ground of respect for vested rights and for the dedication of property to the service of God; and there are few from whom they could expect support on such grounds, excepting in those bodies who at this moment are

sustained in part by the Clergy Reserves. These combined circumstances will therefore in all probability ensure the ultimate resistance of the majority of the French Canadians to any infringement of the Imperial Act, by which the Reserves are settled.

But that this resistance may become effectual, it is absolutely necessary that Churchmen themselves should take a different view of the subject from that which at present many appear disposed to take. Not only are many Churchmen always disposed to give up any thing merely to attain place, and therewith wealth or power ; but many, without any view whatever to self-interest, are (as we have already pointed out) disposed to sacrifice both the Reserves and the Rectories merely to avoid further contention ; and if these persons continue in the same mind, there can be little doubt that both will be sacrificed, at some not very distant period. It is therefore with pleasure that we understand that an Association has been recently formed in Toronto, in part for the defense of Church property, and generally for the temporal defense of the Church, and that one of its objects is to endeavor to revive more correct notions on this subject amongst Churchmen themselves. Much as the American Church has been benefitted by the single endowment of Trinity Church in New York, we shall be glad to find that the Canadian Church has been able to preserve her present endowments ; and we therefore hail the formation of this Association as the sign of the turn of the tide ; as the sign that Churchmen in Canada are taking a sounder view of their duty ; as another important step towards bringing back Canada more and more to union, and truth, and steadfastness, in that branch of the Reformed Catholic Church which is still established there.

ART. III.—SERMONS FOR SERVANTS.

"Plain Sermons for Servants. By REV. T. T. CASTLEMAN, Rector of Trinity Church, Staunton, Va., and other Ministers of the Episcopal Church. Written and Published by request of the RIGHT REV. WM. MEADE, D. D., and the Convocation of Central Virginia. Philadelphia: King & Baird, Publishers. Alexandria: Bell & Entwisle, 1851."

WE have not been in the habit of reviewing Sermons, unless in our brief "Book Notices." Not that we undervalue so useful a department of clerical labor and Christian literature. For we are entirely aware that, as nothing can be more needful than the oral announcement of the truths of the Gospel by those set apart for this purpose; so the diffusion of those truths in printed sermons must be a most effectual means for their extension, and for impressing them upon many who else could never hear of them. The form too, in which they are usually presented, though it be not always with the logical consecutiveness of a system of divinity, nor in the technical terms of scholastic theology, does doubtless result in more practical good than do all the learned treatises in the libraries of Christendom.

Accordingly, we have not failed to avow in our April number of last year,* our high estimation of the influence of preaching, and our opinion of what should be its characteristics. And in illustration of some of the views therein expressed, it gives us pleasure to be able to refer our readers to the volume before us. It comes with the "*imprimatur*" of a Bishop, and is the joint production of several Presbyters. Some of the sermons in it had been previously in print in the "Southern Churchman," and are now gathered with others at the instance, it would seem, of Bishop Meade of Virginia, in pursuance of a design, which he tells us in the preface, "has long been fondly cherished," "to prepare a volume of simple sermons for servants." "These," he adds, "are for the use of families, to be read especially on Sabbath evenings, by the master, mistress, or other member of the same." And he gives it as his belief that they are "far more likely to meet the wants of Christian

masters and servants than any thing which has yet been presented by himself or others." Nevertheless, that they may not be tried by too unequal a test, he apprizes us that "he has read them in the spirit in which he hopes others will read them—not to criticise each sentence, either as to its style or precise theological bearing, but to see whether the great truths of our holy religion are zealously and faithfully applied to the hearts and consciences of those to whom they are addressed." In this deprecation of rigid criticism we cordially concur, and with this qualification would fain extend his commendation, and with it the volume, beyond the limits of his diocese, and especially into the Southern portions of our Church in these United States.

We like these sermons. They suit our taste more nearly than many we often meet with. We abstain indeed from instituting any such comparison as the Bishop has suggested; but we may say that we know of no sermons more likely to do good to the class of people, whose welfare this Rev. Father and these Brethren have so much at heart—and we say this the more safely, because there have been hitherto so few to compete for the meed of praise in this province of sermonizing. Nor are there likely to be many, where the laurels, in estimation of the "literati" may be scarcely worth the winning, nor can be won without perhaps the sacrifice of graces of diction. Indeed, we know of only one of our clergy who, in "these latter days," has gone before, in this peculiar path of Christian love. We mean the Rev. Brother whose "praise was in all the Churches," as Bishop elect of Cape-Palmas, by the General Convention of 1844, but whose "*nolo episcopari*," has been the occasion of continuing him in a parish where his labors are chiefly among servants. His little volume, like its retiring author, has not been heard of much beyond the diocese, in one of whose most secluded, but populous and wealthy parishes, he has, with a constancy rare in these days of "clerical changes," been pursuing, ever since his ordination, for more than nineteen years, "the even tenor of his way." But his teachings, "*viva voce*" and "*litterá scriptá*," have been and are imposing upon many an humble soul a debt of gratitude to him, which will be fully known, not till he and they stand face to face before the throne of God.

After this pioneer, though probably unaware of his having gone before them, and therefore without any intention of treading in his footsteps, certainly with no thought of copying from him, the writers of this volume have followed up his work efficiently, and given us another storehouse, from which to draw

a good supply of wholesome food. It is served up by them with admirable adaptation to the need of those for whom they have prepared it—homely fare, indeed, as homely often as their own “corn hominy,” but therefore only the better suited to their palates and their digestion; neither is it to be despised by any whose tastes are not vitiated by the “made dishes” of too artificial a fashion of spiritual cookery.

That which we most admire in these sermons, is their freshness. We may not say this equally of all of them. For, as their sources are diverse, so do they differ in this and other respects. Some of them betray perhaps rather too much of the finish of the closet. “*Olent lucernam*,”—they breathe the atmosphere of the Theological Seminary—we say not whether of the “General” or of any “Diocesan;” but of the monastic, scholastic mode of treatment, which is almost inevitably engendered within such institutions; where young men study theology much as when one acquires a knowledge of botany from a “*hortus siccus*,” and therefore too often exhibit “dried specimens” of it, instead of the bright coloring and sweet perfumes of living nature. But most of these sermons present us with just this freshness and richness; and hence our admiration of them. They are from practical men, manifestly so, as we see from frequent and pleasant indications, sometimes tempting us to a quiet smile, not of aught else than good nature, nor ever unapproving. For we are never more aware that the words and phrases selected are the very best, than just when they are somewhat quaint; nor that the illustrations are to the point, than precisely when they are out of the beaten track.

Thus the language, we remark, is refreshingly free from Johnsonian magniloquence—no “*sesquipedalia verba* ;” but is, for the most part, “good old English undefiled, genuine Anglo Saxon;” or if now and then slightly provincial, no doubt therefore only the more appropriate, because the more intelligible—yet even when most simple, rarely of a sort to grate on “ears polite.” It is the phraseology of men of good sense and education speaking to inferiors, not descending to the use of terms which may be colloquial only in the mutual intercourse of those inferiors, but avoiding no less carefully whatever would be above their comprehension.

These sermons strike us as singularly happy, also, in keeping to the “*juste milieu*” of neither presuming too largely upon the amount of knowledge in the possession of those to whom they are addressed, nor offending them by implying on their part too much of ignorance or puerility. The allusions are seldom remote, the illustrations not farfetched, but, like those,

of our Blessed Lord, culled commonly from herbs which "familiar by our pathway grow." They are from the sights and sounds, the employments and implements, in general, of rural life, spiritualizing them sometimes in ways which the fastidious might say are beneath the dignity of the subject, but which will scarcely be found fault with by any, who remember His use of the "bushel," the "bed," the "candlestick," the "fan," and other "vessels" which, however men may think are "to dishonor," He has shown may be made meet for the Master's use, and subservient to the highest ends of spiritual good. Indeed, we welcome in these sermons the excellence not now so frequent as of old, of converse more with nature than with the stereotyped and often worn-out thoughts of others. We fancy the writers going out "to meditate in the field at eventide," looking "through nature up to nature's God," finding

" — tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in every thing,"

and returning from their excursions fraught with food "sweeter than honey or the honey comb," to give out to their people things not only old, but new from the treasures which they had gathered fresh from "every opening flower."

This volume reminds us of one, which came over to us, years ago, from England, and was much admired, and justly so, for some of the same good qualities—(we mean Hare's *Sermons to a Country Congregation*.)* Their author was a highly educated man, of fine natural parts, quite capable of being a "popular preacher" in the great metropolis, or of enchaining his audience in one of the churches of his own Alma Mater. But he "chose rather" to forego this intellectual "fellowship of kindred minds," and to consecrate himself for Christ's sake to the service of a set of unlettered agriculturists. He gave his whole heart and soul and all his energies, during the few years of his ministry, to the work of bringing the Gospel in its simplicity to the level of their intellects, and to the habits of their daily lives; and he has left, as a legacy to them, a volume, which, next to the discourses of our Lord Himself, may, we think, be studied with advantage by those of our clergy, who are similarly located, and are not "too old to change." He establishes in it by the best of proofs his own position, not original with him, but not therefore the less commendable, that "the Bible is the poor man's book, and especially the book of those who plough and reap and tend flocks—of those

* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1839.

who have watched the growth of plants, and daily see the sun rise and set, and are led to mark the clouds as they journey across the sky ; these are the sights in the midst of which," says he to his people, " you have grown up ; and these are the very images which the Bible is wont to use for giving us a sense of spiritual things," (p. 228,) and seldom have these images been looked at with an eye more single, or these things set forth more clearly, than by this exemplary pastor. His book abounds with the happiest pictures of the external world—sometimes mere touches of his graphic pencil, sometimes only etchings, and then again finished drawings—interspersed throughout his grave didactics as liberally as are the wood cuts now in "illustrated" volumes. They would fill a portfolio with sketches more beautiful than of any mere artist, for they are brightened by beams from the Sun of Righteousness. Our younger clergy might make selections from them for their commonplace books, and find them well worth the trouble of transcribing. In some localities there may be no need of his periphrasis for thermometer as "the glass that measures heat," (p. 192 :) but his definition of wisdom as "seeing with the eye of the soul," (p. 462,) can be inapposite nowhere. Some may think that he descends to too homely a similitude in saying that the Saviour "skimmed off, as it were, the cream of the law of Moses," (p. 285,) and others may object to his likening worldly pleasures, in contrast with spiritual, to "a cup of muddy ditch water compared to the richest wine," (p. 30 :) or may be even shocked at his speaking of the sinner as "perched on the dung-hill of his vices, clapping his wings in self-applause, and fancying himself a much grander creature than the poor Christian, who all the while is soaring on high like a lark, and mounting on his way to heaven," (p. 29 :) but to his own people there could not have been more expressive imagery.

But the purpose, for which we are now referring to him, might be exemplified as well by his more elaborate paintings, where he groups his images into comprehensive sentences ; saying, for instance, (p. 178,) "our religion may not unfitly be compared to a great tree ; of which the doctrines are the roots, and uprightness is the trunk, and godly deeds and all the ministries of love are the outspreading branches, and piety is the heaven-ward pointing head,"—or as when, to show to what a "pitch of excellence an irreligious man may attain," he asks, "and what does it amount to ? To harmlessness, which is the virtue of the sheep ; to industry, which is the virtue of the ant ; to prudence, which is the virtue of the bee ; to friendliness and generosity, strong traces of which may be found in

the half-human dog," (p. 201.) Again, he expands his idea into ramifications, on the model of the same objects in nature, often over an entire sermon. Witness the one entitled "Principles above rules, or wheat is better than bread," where, in the true spirit of his Master's sermon on the mount, he takes one of the commonest of the things of household use, and with exquisite skill so employs it for the highest of ends as to place an essential and somewhat abstract truth more within the reach of his humblest hearers—and that too in its application to themselves—than if he had discoursed to them for weeks in the propositions and with the proofs of "philosophy," "so called," whether mental or moral.

But we must turn from this instructive volume—only we are free to say that, in a course of reading, for a quarter of a century, somewhat discursively, it has not been often our lot to fall in with a volume more suggestive than this of our English brother, nor with more in it of the "seeds of thought." Not, indeed, that we would equal it to the works of the "great masters," as Butler, Barrow, South, Pearson, nor as a specimen of eloquence would we place it on a level with our modern Melville. The author himself would not aspire to such a distinction. In his homely way he doubtless would say that, as the root is indispensable to the tree, so are the labors of those who go down deep into the soil of the human heart and lay the foundation of truth on the basis of solid argumentations, indispensable to the subsequent erection of the superstructure of the Christian edifice.

But it is time to turn from the production of our worthy English friend, to the still more unpretending volume of our brethren of Maryland, Virginia, and Kentucky. In fact, it is by the resemblance between these volumes that, in setting out to review the one, we have been led to make perhaps too extended mention of the other. In its general characteristics this new work is of the same school of "landscape painting." Its strokes are often in broader contrasts of light and shade, but with more of harmony and unity in the general effect of its pictures. One does not perhaps meet here with touches as exquisite as in the other volume—no such transfer of minuter beauties from the field of outward nature, nor traces of so wide a range over its varied expanse. But the objects thence selected are for the most part as appropriate, and in compensation for any deficiency in this respect, these brethren "expatiate free o'er all the scene of man," and illustrate their positions with anecdotes in general very apposite. Sometimes, indeed, we have our doubts as to the propriety of introducing

"a good old servant woman" in the person of "Aunt Mary," to enlighten "a number of ministers" on the meaning of a text of Scripture, (p. 23.) And yet more do we question the spiritual benefit to "a sprightly servant girl," of her mistress not only suffering, but encouraging her to illustrate the sinfulness of "worldly conformity," by the instance of "Miss Eliza up on the floor dancing just as gay as the others who were not members of the Church," (p. 405.) Not that we would advocate such dancing, but we do apprehend that censoriousness and spiritual pride may thus be fostered in inferiors. Again, we submit whether with a race so prone as are the ignorant in general, and Southern servants in particular, to superstition, it is well to relate "dreams," (pp. 123, 313, 340,) though it be without expressing or countenancing confidence in such "baseless fabrics." We are glad to see in one of these Sermons, by a different author, his hearers are warned against "dreams and visions that they may deceive us," (p. 230 :) but we should have preferred a yet more explicit caution against one of the most delusive of the devices of Satan with these people.

One other qualification, and we confess a more serious one, to our satisfaction with this volume, arises from the looseness of its language respecting certain of the ordinances and usages of our Church—particularly the Sacraments. We miss them in connection where we might well have expected to find them, as at least *among* the means of grace. For instance, in answer to the Great Question, "what must I do to be saved?" (sermon XII.) and in the directions to the Sinner Beginning a Religious Life, (sermon XXI.) and in the description of "The Refreshing Grace of the Gospel," (sermon XXXV.) It is true that in a sermon on Confirmation, and in two others on the Scriptures, these several rites are introduced into a position more nearly such as we would assign them. But we are constrained to say that we should have liked to see them wrought in more thoroughly with the warp and woof of the other sermons. Not that we are ultra "Sacramentarians," in the now current sense of that term. But we do hold with Ananias, (Acts xxii, 16,) and with the Apostle of the Circumcision, (1 Peter iii, 21,) and the Uncircumcision, (Gal. iii, 27,) and with sundry other "ancient authors," and with our Lord himself, (Mark xvi. 16,) that in the sealing of the sinner's forgiveness, in the bestowal on him of a title to the blessings of the covenant of grace, and in the training of him thereby for heaven, the sacraments have their peculiar and appointed functions, from which they may not be displaced without impairing the integrity of the Christian system. Neither have we been in

the habit of holding that it is in Confirmation, or in the Lord's Supper, that we join the Church, (pp, 187, 402, et al.) but that another door of entrance has been open ever since the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii, 41, 47.)

Bishop Meade, indeed, informs us in the preface, that "in these miscellaneous discourses, which have been furnished without concert, nothing more has been attempted than to set forth the operations of God's spirit by the instrumentality of the Word," in changing the hearts and reforming the lives of sinners. We may not, therefore, look here for completeness, "*terem atque rotundum*." But we see not why there should not have been a due position assigned to the "instrumentality" also of the sacraments.

Notwithstanding, however, this main omission, we may safely, and we do cordially, express our admiration of the spirit of piety pervading these sermons. They point out the way of salvation earnestly to inquiring souls, and press them to enter. They warn them faithfully and with much discrimination and discretion of impending perils and besetting temptations; and they help on the feeble and the doubting with truly pastoral tenderness. Particularly we would commend the fervor and unction of the sermon on "God's Wondrous Love to Sinners;" the judicious counsels of the one on "The Sinner Beginning a Religious Life;" the sobriety of that on "How the Christian grows in Grace;" the similitude so well sustained in the one entitled "The Christian like a Tree by the Waterside;" the tale so simply told, and so feelingly, in that on the "Parable of the Prodigal Son;" the solemnity of that on "All of us must give account to God," and the exultation of that on "The Faithful Christian wearing a Crown." Nor in that on "Outward Religion not enough to fit a man for Heaven," would we abate in any degree the energy of the disparagement, except in so far as it may be thought to involve in disrepute the "inward grace" of the Lord's own ordinances, and may not be guarded sufficiently against this abuse by counteracting statements, there or elsewhere. So perhaps it is in the habitual teaching of these worthy brethren.

There is another light in which we must speak of these sermons. They are indications of a work, which has long been in progress, "not with observation," but in the seclusion of many an inland town, by many a sunny hillside, and on many a cotton plantation and rice-field, throughout our southern country, but which is only now beginning to emerge to the vision of the "religious world." "*Prior sermo quam liber*,

prior sensus quam stylus." So it must be in the ordinary course of events; and so it has been. "Sermons for Servants," like other sermons, are preached, usually, before they are printed. And the printing of some of them we may regard as only one of the manifestations of what has long been going on with a silent step and a "still small voice," unheard amid the jarring elements of this world's excitement, nor perhaps much regarded among some of the ecclesiastical phenomena of this age.

Could we take our reader with us in a tour of observation, possibly we might show him enough to satisfy him that southern masters and southern clergymen are not altogether unmindful of the weighty charge which, in the providence of God, is upon their conscience and their purses. We might go, for instance, from parish to parish, in town and country, on the sea-board and in the interior. And at the Lord's Supper one might see the "African brethren" kneeling to partake of the same bread and from the same cup, whence the "Caucasians" are fed. On occasions of Confirmation, and the administration of Holy Baptism, sable faces are seen mingled with the sons and heirs of the "aristocracy" and the "chivalry." If our good friend would also go with us to the homes of these "Southern gentry," and be present at family prayers, at the sound of the little bell which summons the household, he might see the men servants and the maid servants gathering together in their accustomed places, and hear the voices of black and white, of owner and slave, mingled in melody, not as sweet, perhaps, as that of the "Swedish nightingale," yet possibly as fresh from the heart. And then after the precious truths of God's word are read and explained in simple language, and with direct application to the respective responsibilities, privileges, and relations of the persons present, he might behold all kneeling before their common Father, and might believe in the existence of a tie of spiritual brotherhood, though in positions socially so widely separate.

We propose now to take the reader with us on another excursion; to the plantation of one of these "feudal barons"—say on a Saturday afternoon. When it is time to retire for the night, he will find, in a room fitted up as a private chapel, assembled the house-servants, and the field-servants, all coming to close their day and week of labor in union of devotion with their owners. On the next morning he will find the Reverend Pastor has come to meet these humble members of his flock; not at the parish church, for that is too far off. The master has therefore erected a building, plain but

neat, not perhaps "ecclesiologically" faultless, but decidedly "church-like." And as we draw near, we shall hear the "sacred song," or the holy hymn, from stentorian lungs, singing with a heartiness, which might jar upon the nerves of "the choir in one of our fashionable churches," but which sounds probably as melodiously in the ear of the Lord. As we go in, and the service begins, we know that our friend has not often been where the responses were more general and distinct, the postures more reverent, or the attention apparently more riveted to the services. We doubt, at all events, whether he has been used to such outward and visible signs of inward and we trust spiritual emotion, as now are manifested in the scenes before him. After the service, the pastor examines them on the Church Catechism, the Selections of Psalms, the Chants and Hymns, the Confession, the Collects and sundry other portions of the Prayer Book, with repetitions of texts from Scripture, in which they have been carefully taught by a pious master or mistress. And our visitor will carry away the conviction that he has seldom, if ever, heard from white children answers more to the purpose, indicating more clearly not merely retentive memories, but distinct perception of the essentials of the Gospel. Nor need he be surprised to learn that this good work has been going on, three times a week, for seventeen years, through the coöperation of master and mistress, of fathers and mothers, under the pastor's eye and direction; nor that in consequence, there are out of an aggregate of two hundred and fifty negroes, sixty communicants "in good standing."

This is no "fancy sketch." "We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen," and we could tell of scores of similar instances—of houses of worship erected by owners on plantations, at their own expense, for the accommodation of all their people—of pastors going to them, in the week and on Sundays, by night and by day, in winter and through the miasmata of mid summer, at the risk often of life, and never without exhausting fatigue, to teach the children, to prepare the adults for the ordinances of the Church, to convert the impenitent, and to "edify the body of Christ." We may add, that the salaries of these ministers are sometimes from a single purse, oftener by joint effort of neighboring planters, and generally over and above what they contribute towards the maintenance of ministrations in the Parish church—the brother, who has immediate charge of the colored people, being specially engaged for this purpose, though in due subordination to the

Rector, as his assistant minister, or missionary. In one or other of these capacities our Southern clergy, we are persuaded, are "enduring hardness" every whit as wearying as are the labors of their worthy brethren in Pagan lands, and with results at least as cheering to the heart of the Christian.

Another "country parson" we could name, who is the Rector of a parish which stretches over thirty miles in length, and numbers within its corporate limits at least five thousand slaves. Of these he has under his charge about two thousand on ten plantations. During the winter and autumn, he visits all of them once a fortnight, traveling nearly one hundred miles, holding service for them on two plantations each Sunday, and on the other six, on evenings in the week. Even in summer he contrives to keep up his intercourse with them, though not so frequently. Besides the parish church and a chapel of ease for white persons, there are within his cure five other places of worship on the plantations, and also five rooms set apart for him to use in meeting his colored parishioners. The number present at these several places varies, of course, with the size of the plantations, and is from sixty to one hundred and twenty. Of these there are on the list of communicants the names of two hundred and thirty-one, and within the sixteen years of their minister's labors among them, he has baptized three hundred and seven adults and one thousand three hundred and twelve children, and the Bishop has confirmed two hundred and twenty-four.

From parochial reports, we find that in another parish there have been, within the last ten years, three hundred and thirty-three baptisms of colored adults, and two hundred and twenty-four of colored children, three hundred and one confirmations, and are now three hundred and thirty-six communicants of this class of people; and that in another, within six years, one hundred and forty-one baptisms of adults and sixty-eight of children, one hundred and thirty-three confirmations, and are now one hundred and two communicants.

In the diocese with which these presbyters are connected, there is not a single congregation without at least a few colored communicants, and in nineteen out of the fifty-three parishes there are more of this class than of the whites at the communion, and more of them also baptized, year by year. In the chief city of this diocese, out of a colored population of about twenty thousand, there are at least two thousand in attendance upon our churches; about three hundred and fifty of

them are communicants, and nearly nine hundred in our Sunday schools.*

These "few sheep," we are aware, look like a very "little flock" beside the great multitude, who are out of the pale of our Church; nor, if it were in our power to come at the statistics of all our Southern dioceses, would the disproportion, we fear, be much less. Far be it from us to lose sight of the fact that brethren of other Christian names have gathered and are gathering great numbers of these within their respective societies. The returns they make to their authorities do not enable us to say how many there are, as they do not commonly discriminate the colored from the white. The Methodists, we notice, report in the Southern branch of their now divided household one hundred and four missionaries in charge of one hundred and fourteen missions to colored people, of whom thirty-four thousand one hundred and ninety-two are communicants, and fifteen thousand nine hundred and seventy-seven are in their Sunday schools. The Baptists, it is believed, have at least as many under their influence, and the Presbyterians have not failed of their part in this work. They all, we are verily persuaded, have been "blessed of the Lord," although the system of the Church is, as we conceive, unequalled in its adaptation to the real wants of the slaves of the South.

Were we to extend our inquiries to Northern communities, where these people, theoretically "free and equal" to their white fellow citizens, are, nevertheless, socially inferior, we know not that we should meet with a more encouraging state of things. For we understand that in the next to the largest of those cities, where sympathy with Southern slaves has seemed to be a pervading sentiment, there are not in all of the congregations of white persons of our Church more than fifty

* As an illustration of what is being done in another diocese than that alluded to above, we append the following extract from the late Address of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Green to the Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi.—*Ed. Ch. Rev.*

"I passed up the Yazoo river to the plantation of Mr. Geo. S. Yerger, where I had engaged to preach on the 19th. I was highly gratified to find here a neat and comfortable rustic church, with bell and tower and chancel, and every other becoming appurtenance of the House of God. A Lay Reader, Wm. P. Scott, calls all the servants of the plantation together every Sunday and gives them such instruction as is most likely to prove profitable to them. On the forenoon of the 20th, I preached to a full house of blacks, together with the whites of the family. Never did I address a more interested or apparently more devout congregation. I baptized *one* colored adult, and confirmed *three*. It was a beautiful sight thus to see the master worshipping in the midst of his slaves, and showing, by the attention bestowed upon them, that he felt his responsibility for their spiritual welfare."

colored usually present ; nor in the two churches, built for and used by these people, more than about one hundred and fifty communicants ; while in the sum total of the population they amount to at least twenty-three thousand. We have glanced at these facts not ostentatiously, but because we believe it ought to be more widely known, what the Christians in the South are really doing for the spiritual good of their servants. Whilst others are using the language of uncharitableness and abuse, and even of instigation, they are quietly doing their own work in the fear of God. In no part of our country is more real Scriptural good being done to the colored race, than to that portion of them which we have been describing.

But it is time to return to the volume of sermons before us. Heads of families, as Bishop Meade suggests, have long been in want of some such volume, not only for "Sabbath evenings," after the members of the household have had the privilege of going for at least a part of the day to the House of Prayer, but for "rainy Sundays," when none of them have been able to find their way to the distant church, and on Sundays too when the pastor, present at some other of his numerous places of worship, is constrained to pass them by. At such times, the Master, as their lay reader, often at a loss for sermons, is obliged either to dismiss them without a "word of exhortation," or to assume more than is altogether desirable of the office of a preacher. Nor need any person, however sensitive on the subject of "incendiary pamphlets," be unwilling to place these sermons in the hands of Southern servants ; for these writers certainly do not err in this direction. Their positions on this point are at least as strong as the most earnest advocate of "the peculiar institution" can desire,—sometimes stronger than its judicious supporters will perhaps assent to. On this point we have some things to say for which we have now no room. But we have been surprised at opinions entertained respecting the temporal privileges of servants. And in respect to their spiritual interests also, they are equally misunderstood.

We know that in the South, "liberty of conscience" and "the right of private judgment" are habitually respected even in slaves, and that when these are fairly pleaded and can reasonably be believed to exist, masters do defer to them generally with truly Protestant liberality. So much so, that, in cities especially, where circumstances allow of a larger latitude, though servants, while under age, are taken with the other children of the family to the same church with their owners, they are left, when grown up, to "choose for them-

selves ;" subject, of course, to the control of a sound discretion. Nor, while the Southern clergy, after the example of the Apostles, (Eph vi, 5 ; Col. iii, 22 ; 1 Tim. vi, 1 ; Tit. ii, 9 ; 1 Pet. ii, 18,) enjoin obedience, is there the least scruple in teaching that the law of God has set limits beyond which such obedience would "cease to be a virtue," as in cases of authority exerted to enforce infringement of any of the Ten Commandments.

It is high time that in the Northern portions of our country, at all events within our own household of faith, the brethren should beware of harboring such hard thoughts, and erroneous opinions, as have been becoming of late years in certain quarters seemingly more rife and virulent against slaveholders and their pastors. We rejoice to know, that amidst the rending in sunder of the other great religious denominations of the country, our widespread and growing communion has never been agitated by this subject. The Church is beginning to be looked upon by patriots and Christian Statesmen, as one of the few conservative elements left. Still we need to know each other better, that we may, as brethren in Christ, love each other more, and guard against those prejudices which have been fostered and kept alive around us by the intermeddling and mendacious interference of certain fanatics,—busy-bodies, whose religion seems to consist in forgetting the injunction to be quiet and mind their own business. As conductors of a Periodical, which is to utter the shibboleth of no sect or party, in the State or the Church, but whose voice, truly catholic and Christian, we desire may be heard throughout the length and breadth of our land, we wish to do more than disclaim all sympathy with such harsh imputations and such uncalled for interference. We do not believe that friends, who, when we meet on common grounds in our General Convention and elsewhere, are so happily "of one heart and of one soul," can be nevertheless on this one subject so widely apart as some say that they are ; or that those in particular, who there give evidence of being not entirely without the "milk of human kindness," do not carry that noble and generous hearted feeling with them to their homes. Neither can we suppose that, confessedly large as is the authority of owners over their slaves, Christian ministers are either exerting no influence towards its due regulation, or so faithless as not to remonstrate, if need be, against its abuse. Least of all are we willing to admit that where so much concern is shown for the spiritual good of slaves, there can be a general disregard of their temporal well-being. On the contrary, we hold that from the

inherent constitution of that human nature, which is the common inheritance of both master and slave, there must, even where it is unsanctified, spring up between them a fellow-feeling of social relationship; and that from their habits of familiar intercourse from childhood, there cannot but be attachments arising, liable indeed to perversion, yet capable of right direction; and, if so, replete with mutual benefit, because leading to numberless daily acts of mutual kindness. Especially must this be the case when, as is apparent from the preceding statements, there has grown up, and is continually increasing, in the communion of the Church, such a Christian fellowship between these two classes of society. Nay, we believe that in respect to the brightest and holiest examples of Christian character, of meekness, of gentleness, of kindness, and of forbearance, such may be found among the warm and generous hearted spirits of the sunny South. While they are known in certain latitudes, only by horrible incidents, often, we suppose, manufactured for the occasion, to grace the pages of some incendiary newspaper, or to fan the feverish, overwrought excitement of the crowded assembly, yet no note is taken of those genial influences which are deeply moving Christian hearts at the South, and which, in the Providence of God, are accomplishing incalculable good.

One thing is certain. Whatever may be the condition of society in the region which we have been describing, it certainly cannot be benefitted by the deplorably injudicious intermeddling of those who are forever finding fault with evils of which they evidently know so little; of which the greater part are imaginary, others are mere exceptions, and greatly exaggerated, and all are equally out of the reach, unless of aggravation, of these would-be reformers and restless agitators. We do look for the happiest results from the perseverance of our Southern clergymen and pious laymen in their "labor of love;" from the reading and preaching of such sermons as these for servants; from the catechizing and visiting, and the numberless other modes of influence legitimately put forth by pastors, and heartily encouraged by their parishioners, for evangelizing the slaves of our Southern States. Nor, lastly, can we, or would we, conceal from ourselves or from our readers the conviction, that in order to this good work going on, as all well-wishers of the good of all most desire, it must be undisturbed, and those who are personally engaged in it be left unmolested. Else, and we speak earnestly and confidently, not only will there be a restlessness and irritation most unpropitious to the

imparting and the receiving of the truths of the Gospel, but a longing and a yearning for social tranquillity and stability, which, if not to be met with within, will be sought for out of, existing political connections. There is a point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue. Nor in such extremity can it be doubted that, as in all cases hitherto, ties remote will be severed for the sake of those more intimate ; owners will cling to servants and servants to owners, especially if they be Christian ; pastors will make common cause with those among whom their lot is cast, and to whom they are attached by the most endearing associations ; and those portions of our country, whose interests and affections are in this matter in unison, will hold together, though at the cost of cutting loose from others with whom, if it be not for this necessity, they would fain remain as at present.

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OBEDIENCE TO LAW AND PRIVATE JUDGMENT.

ART. IV.—*An Oration delivered on the Public Square at New Haven, at the request of the Citizens, July 4, 1851. By Hiram Ketchum, Esq., of New York.*

FAITH and delusion are, in all men, difficult of explanation, and almost never subject to the rule of reason and judgment. There seems to be inherent in the very constitution of humanity a love of mystery, a necessity, so to speak, of believing something beyond the bounds of sight. Faith and hope seem, in some sense, the elements upon which we feed, by which we live. And when we reach that point in the scale of certainty where sight is able to compass all our objects of contemplation, hope begins to falter, and the heart sinks, and the spirit dies. We long to feel, and, by the eye of faith, to see, that there is something beyond the bounds of sense; that there is a world of love and beauty, where the sorrows and the disappointments of this wearisome life cannot enter, and where the clouds, the storms, and the shadows of this cold, comfortless world are forever shut out.

And since, in the rationalistic tendencies of this our day of knowledge and light, there has been effectually eradicated, from the popular mind, every vestige of religious mystery, and in the march of advancing reason, men have come to ridicule the sublime mysteries of the Church, and to call upon their religious teachers to reverse the rule of the inspired Apostles, and to walk by sight and not by faith, it is not perhaps to be regarded as matter of surprise, that the popular mind should cling with great tenacity to whatever of the marvelous it is able to feel out in other directions. Hence the strange absurdity, in the public mind, of retaining its hold upon not a few of the ancient superstitions of the Druids, and upon some which trace their origin far back into the dim twilight of Roman fable. We have our *dies fasti et nefasti*; our new moons and our full moons; our flight of birds, only less ludicrous than those of the Roman Augur, before the assembling the *Comitia*; our horror at the howling of the harmless house dog, or the tick of the death watch; at the spilling of salt upon the table, or wine upon the dress, and a hundred others of the Roman *Dira*; and still we are bold in our assertions of the utter inefficacy of all the sacraments of

the Christian Church, of the fallacy of belief, in special providences, or in spiritual influences of any kind unless through some mesmeric media, indeed, of almost every thing which the Church, in her purest days, held most sacred. And men who shiver at the tick of a bug, or the howl of a dog, and faint at the buzz of a fly, or the chirp of a bird, most impudently and blasphemously denounce all believers, in the reality of the influences of the Holy Ghost operating through the media of the Church of Christ, or in direct answer to the united prayers of the faithful.

It is indeed obvious enough, that, as a general thing, in our day, there is no just appreciation of the words of our blessed Lord to His disciples, by which He signified His communion in a mysterious manner with the company of His faithful followers. "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now." "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will and it shall be done unto you." The great inquiry now is, as in the days of His incarnation upon the earth, "How is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us and not unto the world?" Men have sufficient faith in mysteries, even the grossest impositions, the most barefaced frauds, in spirit-rappings, in communication with the spirits of the departed, both the righteous and the wicked. But in the sublime verities of the Christian Church, there not only is no abiding, practical faith, but there is, in place of it, the affectation of disbelief; of certainty almost, that the deep and inscrutable mysteries of our holy faith, are little better than mere pretense. Men profess to believe in the indispensable necessity of a kind of regeneration, a sort of intellectual or moral renovation, in order to salvation. But they scoff at the idea that the Holy Spirit operates in connection with the ordinances of God, as in the Sacraments of Baptism and the Holy Eucharist.

It is not, however, our purpose, at the present time, to dwell upon these topics, fruitful as they are with food for deep and painful reflection. It were more a thankless than a difficult office to show that these things are, in a great degree, the natural offspring of our present systems of thought and action. The ancient landmarks are removed. The great cry, at the present day, is to see or to hear some new thing: who will show us any good? And we have said thus much in vindication of, and as introductory to, some strictures, which we propose, in all humility and teachableness of spirit, to pass upon the new test of obedience, which has sprung up among us within the last few months. It is this: that one is bound to

obey those laws only which square fully with his own conscience. And this, we believe, is put forth in all soberness and sincerity, as an unanswerable test of the duty of obedience. Now, while we feel and know that it is unsound and rotten at the core, we ought not to forget that it is at the same time altogether consistent with the general teaching and the general practice upon this subject. The fault is not essentially with those who, in all simplicity and singleness of heart, take public teachers at their word, and reduce their absurd theories to practice. For this new test of obedience is nothing more than reducing to practice those claims, of the right of private judgment, of the right of resistance to rulers, and of the right of revolution, which was always claimed, in theory at least, and, so far as could be, was carried out into practical operation by the English Puritans. And because the English people found the establishment of such a spirit of rebellion, and, at the same time, of personal tyranny unendurable, it created the only real necessity which ever existed, for them to emigrate.

We have certainly no disposition to characterize the Puritan shibboleth, of the *absolute* right of private judgment, *in all things*, more severely than it deserves. We, of the Church, know, by sad experience, that it is easy to call hard names without much cause. And we would not willingly render evil for evil, or railing for railing. But we must insist that their philosophy (and their faith is nothing more than a school of philosophy, believing only that for which they can find sufficient foundation in the judgment of sound reason) does *involve* the germ of both *tyranny* and *anarchy*, and that the people are now but *evolving* in practice, the *principle* which had hitherto of late remained, to a great extent, perhaps, *latent*.

It has always been regarded, and justly too, we think, one of the grossest instances of tyranny upon record, in the history of the British sovereigns, that they claimed, and for successive centuries exercised, the right of dispensing at will with the general laws of the realm, whenever in their judgment (or by the rule of their conscience) it became necessary, or expedient, or convenient; each, in the vocabulary of tyrants, whether kings or people, equivalent terms. This power of dispensing with the laws, at pleasure, by the English sovereigns has been so long disused, that it strikes us as novel and incredible that it should not only have been claimed as one of the legitimate functions of the crown, but submitted to by every subject for centuries, without so much as a murmur. But the proof of the thing is no less satisfactory than that of any fact

which we do not daily witness. We could refer to fifty books where the matter is discussed, many of which are named, in Mr. Grange's note to Lord Coke's First Institute of the Laws of England, Book 1, Ch. V, 120 d. This claim of prerogative, expressly provided against in the Settlement Act, or Bill of Rights, 1, W. and M., Session 2, Ch. 2, Sec. 12. Hume evidently inclines to regard this as among the legitimate prerogatives of the British crown. This was, in the main perhaps, confined to the penal laws of the realm, in which it was supposed the sovereign had a more direct interest than the people. And this power to dispense with a general law, by the will of the sovereign, was in numerous instances recognized by the courts in Westminster Hall; even in the case of laws regarding the police of the countries, where any such exercise of the royal prerogative was in express terms prohibited in the statute itself! But all this was done upon the generally recognized principle, that the king was the fountain of all power and authority. That was one absurd premise of civil government. And it ought not perhaps to be thought wonderful, that we are now fast verging to an extreme in an opposite direction.

The first principle of Puritanism, makes the individual as completely arbitrary, and above all control of any earthly tribunal, as the British sovereigns had claimed to be. This was very well illustrated in the public trial and execution of King Charles, which was, in fact, one of the most awful farces, one of the most blasphemous mockeries, ever transacted under the formal solemnities of a lynch court. It was, in fact, far worse than the most informal trials and executions of real cut-throats and assassins, which are now transpiring in California, and where the very justice of the proceeding cannot but excite our admiration of the enthusiastic sense of right by which it is prompted. But the trial, condemnation, and execution of King Charles had not, in the judgment of any unbiassed mind, any one redeeming feature. It was a mere arbitrary exercise of brute force, in defiance of all the established forms of the constitution, for the mere purpose of gaining a partisan end. And the same solemn farce, in less awful forms perhaps, was many times repeated upon this side the Atlantic in the trial of witches, of Churchmen, and of heretics, and of those suspected to be guilty of crimes committed in the heart only.

And all this, and a thousand other acts of the basest tyranny which Puritanism has perpetrated, under the broad shadow of the law of conscience and liberty, is no doubt defensible upon

the largest extension of the right of private judgment in *all things*. But it is nothing more than transferring, first, to the mass of the people, the mere mob, and, finally, to every individual member of the mass, the right to dispense, at will, with all the general laws of the State; a right which has been so long claimed and exercised by the English sovereigns, when their power was the most despotic. And it requires no farther argument, one would suppose, to convince rational minds, that this, practically, involves all the evils of tyranny on the one hand, and ultimate anarchy upon the other; and that it is fairly deducible from those principles of the Puritans for which they have so long been held up as the glorious apostles of liberty in both hemispheres. And when we recollect, in how short a period back, hundreds of the most staid and sober of these Puritan orators, upon this side of the Atlantic, have boasted that the Pilgrim Fathers of New England came to these shores to plant a Church without a Bishop, i. e., where there should be neither authority or obedience, to found a State where every man should enjoy, full liberty of conscience to do as he chose, and the absolute right of private judgment in all things; and now that the honest yeomanry of the country are taking them at their word, and just applying some of these tests to certain obnoxious acts of national legislation; to hear these same orators who have gained their high posts of official responsibility, by preaching these same doctrines all their lives, now begin to raise a most lugubrious lament over the degeneracy of the times, and sound the alarm far and wide, that the very national existence is in danger, and call upon all lovers of the nation to rouse themselves to the rescue, and to exterminate the very doctrines which they have all their lives long so sedulously inculcated! When we see this we confess that we have not always felt, perhaps, that sense of commiseration which so doleful a condition ought to commend.

But we are not disposed to dwell upon the teachings which have led to these results, or to vindicate the claim, that all government, must, in some sense, abridge the liberty of the citizen; or to point to the Church as the only true expositor of the perfect relations of government and liberty, of authority and obedience. We come at once to a consideration, of the right of private judgment, and liberty of conscience, and obedience to law.

It is not to be denied, that the last few years of the history of civil government has presented a new phase. Revolutions, now have become as common and almost as noiseless, on the

Other side of the Atlantic, as the accession of a new sovereign, or the change of the cabinet ministry. In the last five years, we have seen one of the wealthiest, as well as one of the most populous, countries of Europe, which, in spite of revolution after revolution, had maintained its monarchy and its aristocracy for a thousand years, with no sudden or marked changes, but such as the general advancement of the race demanded, now suddenly, and almost by popular acclamation, abolish the entire fabric of its ancient constitution, and in two weeks put in its place a popular government, in principle surely less liberal than our own, which has so long been a byword and a jest among the advocates of hereditary government in the old world. In the same period, the other kingdoms of the European continent, from the feeblest to the most powerful, have literally been compelled to make concessions, which even at the beginning of the present century would have been considered, and, in practice, would have proved, to have compromised their very existence. And, no doubt the facility and dispatch with which these things are now accomplished there will, almost of necessity, have its influence upon our own shores. It therefore strikes us with less surprise, that we now hear the right to change constitutions, and to abrogate law, claimed not as an indispensable function of the body politic, but as the absolute and undeniable right of every citizen. And while we freely admit, that we think the advocates of the right of private judgment in all things, would find it difficult to agree upon a definition of this, their shibboleth, which should exclude this new test of obligation to obey the law, we, as frankly and unhesitatingly, declare our entire and unqualified conviction, that such a claim is not only subversive of all political government, but of all authority, everywhere.

We do not suppose that the advocates of the right of private judgment in all things, and of the right to act freely upon one's own convictions of obligation and duty, ever expected to have their favorite theory, brought, so flatly, and so directly, to the test of the *reductio ad absurdum*, by any serious attempt to carry into practical operation their ingenious speculations. And this shows, in no very enviable light, the favorite practice of demagogues, of preaching one thing to the people, and requiring them to practice another! And we rejoice now that the honest, simple-hearted, hoodwinked people, are beginning to take them at their word. The truth is, the people have always been the dupes of the politicians, the instruments through whom, unwittingly to themselves, vaulting ambition should securely seat itself in posts of honor and profit. They

have been told that they were the sovereigns, so long and so literally, that they now begin seriously to believe there is no limit to their authority, not only in their collective, but in their individual capacity. And for one, so far as the politicians are concerned, the political leaders, the mere demagogues, (and all popular leaders are more or less so,) we would not care if they should be brought to the test of their own preaching. They would be called to render an account of their stewardship, which they would find no easy task. The people, when made fully conscious of being made the dupes of sycophants, are not easily pacified.

We certainly should not be disposed to question any man's right of private judgment, in matters exclusively of a private nature, however absurd and foolish we might deem the exercise of it, in the particular case. If one chooses to exercise the right of giving some novel interpretation to a familiar text of Scripture, in order to countenance the thousand irregularities committed, in all times, under the guise of the Christian name, and to teach men so, and is prepared to incur the hazard of such a course, we certainly should not be prepared here to question the right to do so. In other words, we know of no earthly tribunal which could call one to account for doing so. Or again, if one chooses to maintain the grossest absurdities, even to the denying the uniformity of the physical laws of the universe, and to deny all the most obvious natural truths, or if one should assume to demonstrate natural, or mathematical impossibilities, we surely should not think it worthy of wasting words, in denial of the abstract right to do so. Nor would we undertake to convince such an one of his error. We should esteem the attempt scarcely less absurd than the delusion itself.

And if, indeed, the advocates of the "higher law," as it is sometimes pompously denominated, could command no authority from the past history of the race, so that the thing could fairly be maintained, to be in itself simply and absolutely absurd, we might be content to leave it to cure itself, by its own intrinsic folly and madness. But it is but too true, as we have before shown, we trust, that the thing finds too much countenance, among the vapid speculations of the more erratic and eccentric of the advocates of liberal principles, everywhere, for the last three hundred years. And while we feel, and know, that the thing is, in practice, flatly and absolutely absurd, and impracticable, and therefore feel fully justified in declaring that it is vicious and unsound in its principle, we are at the same time frank to confess, that we, with our short-

sighted telescope, are not able to see very closely, where it is possible to define, in words, the just limit between the duty of obedience to the law, and the right of resistance to the authority of civil government. In short, we do not well comprehend, how this right of putting down the existing government by force, can ever be fully justified by a Christian man, except upon a score of the most direful, though most imminent, and the most irresistible necessity. And even then, we are not fully prepared to say, that the thing receives much countenance from the inspired teaching of the Church. Some few texts there are, possibly, which, by an ingenious periphrasis, may be made to bear such a construction, and which the advocates of revolution and rebellion, everywhere, in all ages, have been quick and shrewd, in turning to account in their own vindication. While, on the other hand, the whole volume of the Testament of our Blessed Lord, is overflowing with the most stringent commands, to "Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates." "Honor the king as supreme." "Obey them that have the rule over you." And, although we certainly would not be understood, as teaching any such rule of obedience to the civil law, or the civil magistrate, for the times will not justify any such thing, men are incapable of comprehending or receiving any such language, unless it were vindicated by some new and undoubted miracle. Still, we must frankly confess, that it has always seemed to us, that the advocates of forcible resistance to the law, or to its ministers, could command but small support from either the example, or the teaching, of our Blessed Lord and His disciples, or those of the holy Apostles, or of any of the early Christians. "Put up thy sword into the sheath; the cup which my Father hath given me shall I not drink it?" is their almost uniform language. *Semper, ubique, ab omnibus*, applies with great truth to their teaching of the duty of obedience, simple, unqualified obedience to the demands of the civil law. "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's."

But this question is not in any just sense involved in the pretensions put forth by the advocates of the higher law. Their claim, if we rightly comprehend their meaning, is that no man owes any obedience to any law, or constitution, which, in his conscience, he feels to be contrary to the law of God, *himself being the judge!* This, we think, states the question fairly, and so far as we comprehend it, fully. Did we not find this sentiment in the mouths of so many sober citizens, and read it in so many otherwise grave and dignified public journals, we should be inclined to regard it as mere *badinage*,

as nothing better than an ingenious caricature. But there is no room for any such construction. The thing exists to a very great extent, we may safely say, to an alarming extent, in every section of the country, at the South as well as at the North. There does not seem to be any just sense of obligation to the government anywhere, any longer than we feel that it fairly answers its ends, or that it is useful, and profitable, and comfortable to us, and our friends!

The people have been so long told, that they themselves are the only powers to whom public officers are amenable, and by whom they hold office, from day to day, as mere tenants, at sufferance, that they have come to believe, and to receive, and act upon it in its most literal interpretation. The magistrate is not indeed, formally deposed by the mob, or the law superseded by a new enactment in the court of judge Lynch, but, even more expeditiously, is the authority of both set at defiance by the mere volition of the citizen. This is assumed to be done for cause indeed, as are almost all anomalies. At the South, because the national legislation is regarded as unequal and oppressive; and at the North, because it is in conflict with the popular definition of individual right. Now it is certainly not easy to convince such men of error, who are so readily, and so decidedly, convinced of the infallibility of their own conclusions.

No doubt the people are, in some sense, the fountain of all authority and law, and have the power and the right to supersede all appointments, and to repeal all laws in the mode presented in the organic law of the State. But they have not, on that account, any more right to resist the law or the magistrate, than in the most despotic monarchies. The people have no more right to resist the law, because they were the instruments of its creation, than parents have to take the life of their children, because they were instrumental in their birth and education. Life, and the sanctions of the law, and the civil rights of the citizen, depend upon higher and more stable foundations than the fluctuations of the popular will. They trace back their ultimate dependence, to the great Father of lights, with Whom is no variableness, Who, amid all the transitions of this uncertain world, is the only stable foundation of life and liberty.

We can comprehend well enough, in theory, that there must be some limit to the exercise of all merely human authority. One is not, of course, bound to regard impossible commands, come from any source they may. Neither is one bound by any command of an inferior law, which obviously conflicts with a superior law. But the conflict must be one of so ob-

vious a character, that no two sane minds could differ in regard to it. It must be such as to strike all men alike. So that the denial of the conflict, would be sufficient to convict one of absurdity, of insanity, even. In doubtful cases, we are always to yield to the commands, until relieved by the interference of the superior tribunal. In looking at the teaching of the Saviour and His apostles, one can but conclude the rule there established would require something even more than this. The turning the other cheek also to the smiter, the whole frame work indeed of the morality of the sermon upon the mount; in short, the life, and death, of our blessed Lord, in all their leading incidents, seem very much like passive obedience to the will of the civil magistrate. But we do not expect any such perfect lesson to be carried out into full practice by a generation of men, not one in five of whom, are even nominally Christian. We freely admit the right of resistance to impossible, or unlawful, commands. And we should not be inclined here to question the right of resistance to tyrants. But we protest, against any such rare *exception*, being made the *rule* of obedience, or, in any other mode, subverting all obligation to submit to the municipal law. If the right of resistance to tyrants, is to be so construed, as to allow every man to become his own judge, when the *law* becomes a *tyrant*, then, indeed, is all free government the idlest of day dreams.

The law of authority, come from what source it may, must be obeyed in all doubtful cases, until repealed or superseded in the constitutional mode. The peace of the world, the peace of all civil society, of all domestic intercourse, upon which all the glory, all the comfort, and all the happiness of existence depend, is based, in its very principle, upon yielding our own judgments, our own opinions, our own rights, so to speak. In short, all these blessings ultimately trace back their own growth, and history, to the much despised and homely duty, of Obedience. We care not whether it be called passive obedience or active obedience, moral obedience or civil obedience, political, social, domestic, or personal obedience; Obedience it is, and such it ever must be, and ever will be, at all times and in all places, and upon all subjects, where peace, concord, harmony, and law prevail. Obedience the most willing, the most perfect, the most unquestioning exists, no doubt, within the celestial paradise of God and the Lamb, before whom principalities and powers, kingdoms and dominions, fall down and worship, and the elders cast their crowns, saying, thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power. And without obedience, even there, that most excellent gift

of charity could not enter, and the angel of peace must forever take his flight into the regions of outer space.

There is, in fact, but one only place in the wide universe, where this spirit of obedience, of loving, willing submission to all superior law, is thoroughly excluded, and where the unmitigated reign of terror prevails; and there, no doubt, the right and the exercise of private judgment in all things, the carrying out of a certain "higher law," is practically more perfect than anywhere else. We have, certainly, no disposition to speak in any terms of disrespect, of what in these days is so much lauded by every one, under the high-sounding denomination of liberty. But we must beg to dissent from some of the popular definitions of the thing. The right, to regulate one's own thoughts and motions, to go in and to come out at will, to sit under one's own vine and fig tree, to walk, to run, to rise, to sit, to rest, and to get weary, in one's own time and manner, are among the many invaluable and unquestionable rights of personal liberty and private judgment. And so, indeed, in all matters of mere private concern, and indeed in all matters, public or private, one must be allowed to have his own views and to accomplish his own purposes, in his own way, if he do not thereby unjustly interfere with the rights of others. But beyond this, perfect liberty is impossible, and what is more satisfactory to know, is most undesirable.

In social life, our very comfort requires the consciousness of having yielded something to others, of having submitted ourselves, lovingly, and meekly, to the law, the law of nature, the law of duty, the law of the land, THE LAW OF OBEDIENCE. The contrary course, would convert this our earth into a den of thieves, an earthly pandemonium, where every one should hotly and madly pursue his own personal good, in spite of all law of human sympathy and love.*

We should deprecate, as much as any one, any unnecessary abridgment of the just rights of the citizen. All should study, no doubt, to reconcile all differences of opinion, and all conflict of rights, consistently with the claims of all parties, so

* We are reminded here of the Hibernian's definition of American liberty. He had just come before a police magistrate for some practical applications of his own sense of his new liberty, and did not fail to develop his principles in his defense.

"And, please your honor, isn't this a land of liberty, where you may do as you like, and bate every man who refuses to do as you bate him? And so, indeed, your serene highness will please to dismiss me, that I may go about my own concerns." But his honor did not precisely comprehend this ingenious definition of civil liberty. And scarcely less absurd are the pretensions of the advocates of the higher law of conscience.

far as the thing is practicable. And unless we have studied the history and the promise of these times to little purpose, the issue is now coming towards its final determination, what are in truth, and of necessity, the just and fair limits of the essential right of private judgment in things of public concern; in short, in all things, where the rights of others are concerned. No sane man, questions the right to exercise one's own judgment and reason, within certain reasonable limits. That is, indeed, indispensable to the right understanding of all our relative obligations, and equally, to their reasonable performance. But, to the existence and harmony of social life, it is also essential, that private rights and opinions should yield, upon all matters where there is just ground for difference, and there is no common arbiter; and where such an umpire does exist, that its decisions should be religiously acquiesced in. If this were not so, there must come a speedy end of all government and authority.

Government is, indeed, in its simplest form, a mere compact of the citizens, a *quasi* partnership, subject, of course, to very different limitations and conditions, and dissoluble only upon very different terms, from ordinary compacts, according to its different powers and ends. But, in the main, it is regarded as nothing more in one sense than a compact among the citizens. This must be received with some qualification, perhaps. It is then of the first importance, *in limine*, to comprehend fully the terms of the compact, and the duty of obedience to its laws. As it is expected to be perpetual in its durations, it cannot be dissolved in any of the ordinary modes by which mere contracts are rescinded, or partnerships terminated. There is no superior tribunal by which the compact can be dissolved. Nor can it be terminated by the vote of the majority. The minority have rights, upon the protection and continuance of which, they may insist. And, if the majority cannot abolish the compact, how idle the thought that any member of the body may, at will, set its laws at defiance. For, if one may do it, so may all, and if one law may be disregarded, so may all its laws. If this were so, governments would become the most idle of all the make believe sports of children, the merest *jeu d'enfant*.

So, too, while it is not in the power of any portion of the people to supersede the compact by which government exists; neither, can any one who violates the laws of the compact, be justly released from the penalty due to the offense, except in the mode provided in the organic law of the State. This function, of pardoning offenses, is more commonly vested in the

Executive power to meet the exigencies of detail, which no general laws are adequate fully to adjust. Hence, those who refuse to aid the government in enforcing the law, or who encourage the citizen in violating its sanctions, or who combine to defeat, or to obstruct the due administration of justice, are scarcely less culpable than the open and avowed traitor, and, can prefer no claim to indulgence, or forgiveness, on the ground that they acted conscientiously.

This obligation, to obey the laws, is equally binding upon all the citizens, whether they have, in fact, any formal and express voice in making them, or not. It is scarcely possible, for all to participate in the functions of the administrative government. Children, before they come to years of discretion and responsibility, must, of necessity, be represented by those into whose hands they fall for the time of their tutelage, whether parents, or guardians. And, in regard to females too, of all ages, the same rule has been adopted, not from any supposed want of capacity to act for themselves in the affairs of government, but from the inconvenience, in many cases, which would attend their assuming upon themselves these public functions. And it may be esteemed, perhaps, that no unimportant portion of the reason, or ground, upon which the rights of one half the community have been merged in the other, so to speak, and only allowed to be expressed, or to be vindicated through them, is the absolute necessity which exists for some such combination and unity of interest between the sexes, in order to maintain the relation of families consistent with a tolerable degree of quiet, and a comfortable good understanding. One, but imperfectly acquainted in those delicate relations, upon which the perfect peace and comfort of families depend, must perceive, at once, the utter absurdity of calling upon both the husband and the wife to bear an active part in the operations of an elective government. We estimate but lightly the wisdom of those persons, who have undertaken to vindicate the claims of woman to an equal participation in political rights and public office, with the other sex, whatever we may think of their generosity or chivalry.

The truth is, that Christianity has done all which has been done, or which it is possible to do, towards ameliorating and elevating the condition of woman. She must, from her very sex and condition, and from the necessary tendency of the present laws of nature, by which the race of man is continued upon the earth, be, in some degree, dependent. By the very law of consequence, it is inevitable, that her delicacy, her greater refinement, her feebleness, and the peculiar sufferings

to which she is physically subjected, should beget a corresponding necessity for support, for retirement, and for being, to some extent, so far as her political rights are put in exercise, merged in her husband. So that nature, reason, and inspiration, in regard to the proper relation between the sexes, will be found perfectly to harmonize. And we are far from believing, that those men who are the most forward, the most ostentatious, in making public parade of their horror, on account of the seemingly subordinate rank, in political life, in which woman moves, would be always sure to show themselves the most generous and the least self-seeking in their more intimate relations with the sex. And, surely, we have some suspicions that those among the gentler sex who seem to be so ambitious for political promotion, are not the ones best fitted for the more noble and worthy offices of the sex. They are, as a general thing, those who have in a measure, from habit and education, unsexed themselves, and who are therefore less liable, on that account, to be occupied in more fitting relations.

But to return from this digression. It is a consideration of cardinal importance, that the compact by which government is constituted, justly claims a higher sanction than that of a mere compact among men. The Almighty hath said: "By me kings reign and princes decree justice." Governors and magistrates are, in a sense, the servants of the people; but in a higher, a far nobler sense, they are God's ministers, selected for their several stations, to become a terror to the evil doer, and a praise to him that doeth well. It is because all governments are, in the strictest sense, a divine institution, a scheme designed by an all-wise Providence for the discipline of man, that it is not competent for the community at large to forgive offenses against the State. That is a matter in which, properly speaking, they have no concern. Those punishments are designed for the correction of the offender, for his spiritual health, and for his soul's salvation, it may be. And the minister of the law, in executing them, is acting under a higher commission than any which the people could confer.

It is this low view of the punishment inflicted by the civil law, which has induced so many well meaning persons, and so large a portion of the press, to look upon Capital Punishment with such abhorrence. Treating the executioner as the mere agent of the people, they come to look upon the whole proceeding, as of no higher dignity than a mere lynching! and thus very naturally come to view it in the light of an unauthorized, or at best, a very unnecessary homicide! But when it is considered, that God is Himself the Author of all punish-

ment, which is in any sense retributory, even in this life, a public execution becomes, in the apprehension of an enlightened Christian man, a very awful and sublime indication of the offended Majesty of Heaven. And, we trust that the religious sense of the community, is fast bringing them back to this view of the subject, from which the social and radical theories of the reformers of the laws of God and man, had, for a time, unconsciously perhaps, withdrawn them.

The present writer is fully sensible, that many of his views may seem somewhat old-fashioned, and not a little "behind the times." But it has appeared to him, that the chief source of the absurd illusions of our modern fanatics, might be found in this unreasonable, most ludicrous sense of responsibility. They seem to feel themselves responsible, literally, for all the evil in the world, unless they put forth the most strenuous efforts towards its redress, however hopeless may be its accomplishment.

We also have our own opinion upon the subject which is now, especially, distracting the public mind. We are fully convinced of "the bad faith" of perpetually harping upon an institution, which is the creature of individual States, and them alone. If anybody, however, claims *the right* to do this, or "to bay the moon," or do any other foolish or ludicrous thing, we shall not stop to argue the point with him. Our main object in these remarks, has been to speak out, through these pages, our own deep conviction of the necessity of inculcating a sense of the obligations to obey the Law.

We will not close without expressing our thanks to Mr. KETCHUM for the Oration which we have placed at the head of this Article. It is a noble, eloquent production, worthy of the occasion, and of the character of a CHRISTIAN STATESMAN.

ART. V.—THE DIVINE RULE OF THE CHURCH'S
LEGISLATION.

The Church of Christ is a *Divine Institution*. This, its name denotes, and from the Word of God, and all sound reasoning, the position is conceded beyond dispute.

In its Divine appointment, as recorded in the New Testament, the Church is also represented as a *universal* family, and as *one* body. These ideas of Catholicity and Unity, are necessarily involved, furthermore, in the very nature of the Institution. As a consequent of the universal Redemption of the Son of God, and intended to receive and convey the blessings of that Redemption, it must embrace in its design the whole race of the redeemed. And, as appointed by its single Divine Author, for a single and invariable purpose, and applicable to a single race, whose spiritual necessities are always and everywhere the same;—having one Head—Christ; having one subject—man; and having one end—salvation; its unity follows essentially from its existence. And thus, from the nature of the Institution, as well as from the inspired statements concerning it, the “One Catholic and Apostolic Church” becomes a fundamental article in the Creed of Christians.

This One Catholic Church on earth is a *Visible Society*, as the Scriptures constantly assert, and as the nineteenth Article of Religion, embodying these assertions, declares: “The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christ’s ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.”

As a *Visible Society* whose duties are to “preach,” not only to its own members, but to the unevangelized world, “the pure word of God,” and also to “duly minister the sacraments,” (in which duties the necessity of a system of Ecclesiastical Discipline, in its full sense, as involving the rites and ceremonies of worship and the administration of Church government, is distinctly embraced,) as such a visible society it must have *officers and laws*, and, of course, a *principle of Legislation*. The Church is, in its nature, as well as in the Scriptures, a legislative body.

As a visible society of *Divine Institution*, its officers must be (not of man, but) *Divinely ordained*, and its *principle of*

legislation must also be *Divinely declared and sanctioned*, and these Divine institutions will be, of course, consistent with the Catholicity and Unity of the Church.

We propose now to confine ourselves to a single topic suggested in the course of the preceding induction—to inquire after that principle of Ecclesiastical Legislation, which has the sanction of God—the Church's Author.

What is the Divine Rule of the Church's Legislation?

As a *Divine Rule*, we shall look for it in the *inspired volume*. We shall find it just where we ought to look, where we should expect to meet with it, where the first occasion for its announcement arose, in the narrative of the first legislation of the Infant Church. And, tracing the history of that first legislation, we will introduce to our readers the Rule sought for, in the very words of the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

The Book of the Acts of the Apostles, is the earliest Ecclesiastical History, having reference to the age immediately following the Ascension of our Lord, and the Pentecostal descent of the Holy Ghost, and extending through some thirty years, nearly to the era of the destruction of Jerusalem. Of this book, the *fifteenth chapter* is the record of the first General Council or Convention of the Christian Church, which occurred in about the midst of this period, in the year 52, some nineteen years after the Apostles had gone forth under the commission of Christ, with the gifts and authority of the Holy Ghost, to publish the Gospel, and establish Churches in all the world.

The occasion of this First Council may be briefly stated. Extensively, throughout Judea and in many and widely-separated territories of the Gentiles, the gospel had been preached and Christian Churches founded. With signs, and wonders, and divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, God had borne His ministers witness, and had multiplied, over many nations, the disciples of His Son. But, according to the invariable working of God's permissive providence, tares sprang up with the wheat; and contentions arose, to weaken the love, and cloud the faith, and distract the energies, of the primitive converts. Judaizing teachers amongst the Gentiles had said: "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved;" and even in the Mother-Church of Jerusalem, most favored of all with divine prophecies and illuminations, there "arose up certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying: That it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses." Everywhere, these Judaizers sought to unite the ceremonials of the Ancient Dispensation, as essentials with the grand doctrines and the

authorized sacraments and customs of the New, and thus to circumscribe and degrade the evangelical liberty of the Christian believers. In Antioch of Syria, this unhappy controversy was especially vehement, insomuch that even Paul and Barnabas "had no small dissension and disputation with them." At length it was determined that these eminent men, "with certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question." Accordingly, having come to Jerusalem, this delegation of the Asiatic Churches declared their business, and reasoned with the zealous, but unenlightened men, who opposed them.

Thus, in due time, the Council was convened, James, the Lord's brother, the Apostle or Bishop of Jerusalem, presiding, by right of the seniority of his Church; by right of his consanguinity to the Saviour according to the flesh; by right of his own prominent position, from his memorable personal worthiness of character in the College of the Apostles; and especially by right of his chief official prerogatives in the Diocese where the Council was holden.

Let this fact, we incidentally remind our readers, although it be familiar, be looked at as an important and unanswerable testimony in the great modern controversy, (no, not modern, for it is a controversy which has been waged for more than twelve hundred years,) the great controversy with Romanism, that in the earliest Christian Council, in the life-time of the Apostles, James, the Bishop of Jerusalem presided with authority, while Peter, for whom his imaginary successors have claimed so much, was but as any other apostolic member of the assembly. What a fatal objection does this plain fact in the Sacred History oppose, not only to the dangerous and wicked claim of a *supremacy of power*, but also to the inconsiderate, though amiable, but no less false concession of a *primacy of order* on the part of the apostle Peter, or of his successors, (if such they be in the Sec of Rome,) in the government of the Christian Church!

In the course of the deliberations of the Council, there was, as the sacred narrative informs us, "much disputing," until the experience and inspired wisdom of Peter and Barnabas and Paul were unitedly urged in behalf of the liberty of the Gentile Converts. Unanimity was then attained, and the sentence or judgment of the Council was pronounced by the Apostle James. Epistles (decretals, both authentic and genuine,) embodying this decision, were immediately made out, and sent by chosen messengers to the Churches of Christ. This final action can best be told in the words of the Historian of the Acts.

"Then pleased it the apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas: namely, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren. And they wrote letters by them after this manner: The Apostles, and Elders and brethren, send greeting unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia. Forasmuch as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law: to whom we gave no such commandment, it seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen men unto you, with our beloved Barnabas and Paul; men that have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For *it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things*; That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Fare ye well."—(Acts xv, 22–29.)

In detailing the proceedings of this first Council, whose final decision was authorized by the Spirit of Inspiration, we have found, explicitly announced, the principle of the Church's legislation in the apostolical age. This principle is stated in the decree: "*it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burden than necessary things.*" Here is the primitive, the perpetual, rule of the Church's legislation—"NO GREATER BURDEN THAN NECESSARY THINGS." It is a rule, proved divine, made obligatory by the Blessed Spirit of God; for, says the Record, "*It seemed good to the Holy Ghost.*" It is a rule recommended by the cheerful practice of holy apostolic men: for, said they at Jerusalem, "*it seemed good to us.*" Inspired by the Holy Ghost, approved by apostolic men, it is a rule of perpetual obligation, and always to be commended and observed—"NO GREATER BURDEN THAN NECESSARY THINGS."

We affirm, and will endeavor to illustrate succinctly, that this rule has always been operative, through the entire history of the Christian Church, not only in the days of the apostles, but in all the ages that have succeeded them to the present; and from this fact, as well as from the inspired reasonableness of the rule itself, we infer, that, as it always has been, so it always will be, and must be, the great governing principle of legislation in the One Catholic Church. And hence we would

urge this rule as the obligatory guide to be ever followed by our own branch of Christ's Holy Church.

That this rule was acted upon in the period which immediately followed our Lord's Ascension, is manifest from a very slight and rapid reading of the Acts, and of the several Epistles; and a more careful reading will exhibit the rule more evidently. There was a distinction conceded between things necessary or essential, and things not necessary or comparatively non essential; and there was, as to these latter, a very great liberty allowed, without any violation of the unity and communion of the early believers. The doctrinal discussions amongst the Galatians, the diverse practices of the Corinthians and Colossians, the various views concerning holy times and days, concerning meats and drinks, the peculiar character of the practical and moral precepts and of the liturgical directions, through most of the epistles, illustrate the comparative freedom of opinion and practice in the age of the New Testament writers. There were certain great truths—facts in the Gospel economy—insisted upon; there were certain "customs of the Churches of God" established; there were certain fundamental ordinances vital in the constitution of the visible Church; and other matters were left to be harmonized by the spirit of mutual love, and concession, and toleration, and by the sense and propriety and order in the sanctified body. "Be not again entangled in the yoke of bondage. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. As free and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness. Ye have been called unto liberty, only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Let all things be done decently and in order. Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints. Let all your things be done with charity." In these passages, and such as these, we learn the spirit of the apostolic age. Here was the ample permission of Christian liberty—here was the uniting constraint of Christian love, blending beautifully together in the perfect and sweet fellowship of the Apostolic Church in the period of its infant purity.

It is impossible, within the narrow limits of a single article, whose range is as wide as ours, to do more than hint, in the most general manner, at the application of the rule illustrated

in the age of the New Testament writers. We can only remind our readers, that then the guiding principle was, "no greater burden than necessary things."

Passing onward into the history of succeeding centuries, we observe everywhere the application of the same rule. The definitions of the General Councils, extending through many hundreds of years, to take a single instance, exemplify it. The simplicity of the first Symbols or Creeds remained untouched by each Council, except in those particulars where heresies already developed made fuller definitions important. Only actual errors were condemned, and truth was protected against none but actual assailants. There was, so to speak, no law-making in advance—no hunting after matter for new statutes—no thorough systematizing of the philosophy of religion; and the scheme of dogmatic theology, as far as it was evolved, grew up slowly, article by article, as the fabric of many Councils and of many centuries. Indeed, when contrasting the Acts of one of the ancient General Councils, in which all parts of the Christian world were really represented, with the doings of one of our modern and merely local Conventions, the student is disposed to wonder that so little was done—that a few paragraphs will hold the results of such important, and sometimes protracted, deliberations. The chief labors of each one of the four Ecumenical Councils of the primitive Church were expressible in a single word, and four words comprise the results (weighty words they were and weighty results) of them all, as the learned Hooker, in one passage of his celebrated summary, has stated: "Against these (heresies) there have been four most famous ancient General Councils: the Council of Nice, to define against Arians; against Apollinarians, the Council of Constantinople; the Council of Ephesus against Nestorians; against Eutychians, the Chalcedon Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indivisibly, distinctly*; the first, applied to his being God; and the second, to his being man; the third, to his being of both One; and the fourth, to his still continuing in that One both; we may fully, by way of abridgment, comprise whatsoever antiquity hath at large handled, either in declaration of Christian belief, or in refutation of the aforesaid heresies. Within the compass of which four heads, I may truly affirm, that all heresies which touch but the person of Jesus Christ. (whether they have risen in these latter days, or in any age heretofore,) may be with great facility brought to confine themselves."—(Eccl. Pol. Book V, § 54.) In those first six centuries of the Primitive Church, it seemed to be

the effort of the Church's legislators to do, not as much, but as little, as possible, to do no more than they were really obliged to do. They never forgot the Rule of the Holy Ghost and of the Apostles—a Rule, embodied, in the course of this period, and well remembered and revered, in that striking and oft-repeated maxim: “in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas—in things essential, unity, in things doubtful or non-essential, liberty, in all things, charity.”

In reference to the period here alluded to, it will be sufficient to adduce the testimony of the learned Bingham. He states, that the unity of the Church consisted chiefly in two elements—a *unity of faith*, and a *unity of obedience*. Writing of the former, he remarks: “As there was a unity of faith necessary to be maintained in certain fundamental articles, in order to make a man a Christian, so these articles were always to be found in the Church's Creeds, the profession of which was esteemed keeping the unity of the faith; and deviating in any point from them was deemed a breach of that one faith, and a virtual departing from the unity of the Church.” Writing of the latter, he continues: “As to the other points of obedience to the laws and institutions of Christ, which were reckoned fundamental and essential to the being of a Christian, and the unity of the Church, they were generally summed up in those short forms of ‘renouncing the devil and his service and his works, and covenanting with Christ to live by the rules of his Gospel.’ . . . As long as they did these things,” he asserts, “they could never fall; nothing could separate them from his Church, or from the love of God in Christ Jesus.” He states, that the ancients acknowledged a difference between things necessary to the being of the Church, and things necessary to its well-being—that the former could in no case be dispensed with, but that many circumstances might permit a dispensing with the latter—that, in things ritual and circumstantial, each local Church was free, and that in many matters of opinion, and even of doctrine, entire freedom was the privilege of the individual members of the Church. “There are some questions,” he says, “in which, without any detriment to the faith that makes us Christians, we may safely be ignorant of the truth, or suspend our opinion, or conjecture what is false, by human suspicion and infirmity. This consideration made St. Austin profess in his modesty: ‘That there were more things in Scripture which he knew not, than what he did know;’ and if men should fiercely dispute about such things, and condemn one another for their ignorance or error concerning them, there would be

no end of schisms and divisions in the Church; therefore, in such questions, every man was at liberty to abound in his own sense, only observing this rule of peace, not to impose his own opinions magisterially upon others, nor urge his own sentiments as necessary doctrines, or articles of faith, in such points, where either the Scripture was silent, or left every man the liberty of opining." And in reference to the whole plan of the ancient Churches, he displays a lovely picture of their unity, and the causes of it, as follows: "The Primitive Church was exceeding happy in these two things; 1. That no Church then ever assumed to herself an authority of imposing upon her members any things unlawful, or contrary to the Word of God, either in faith or practice, *as necessary terms of communion*. They required no belief of any articles of faith, as necessary to salvation, but *such as were contained in their common creeds, and founded upon the infallible authority of Scripture*. They inserted nothing into the public forms of worship repugnant to the Word of God, or intrenching upon any Divine rule given in Scripture about the object or matter or manner of adoration. . . . And this was the *second thing* to be admired in the economy of the ancient Church, that the people never had any dispute with their superiors about matters of this kind, (things external and circumstantial;) but left all indifferent things, and things of expediency, decency, circumstance, and form, to the judgment and choice of their governors, or persons invested with authority to determine such matters; readily complying with the innocent customs of the Church, and all the rules of public order, and never dividing into sects and parties upon the account of rites and ceremonies, though differently practised in different Churches."—(Christian Antiquities, Book 16, *passim*.)

Beautiful picture of a more beautiful reality! Rich was the music of the Virgin Bride, in the day of her young espousals, while she waited so faithfully, so joyously, for her Lord, and sang the praises of her Beloved. And thrilling with her soul's first trust, though plaintive were her vesper strains, as her light declined, and the sun, that had shone for her so clearly, became obscured in the clouding west, ere the shadows fell of the long drear darkness of error, superstition, and tyranny. Who shall blame the Christian scholar, if he delights to retire occasionally from the harsh discords that vex him in the active duties of an opinionated and schismatic age, to the still shades of study and contemplation, where he may listen, for a brief and happy hour, to some lingering harmonies, that

float up, through the sad intervening night, from those far-off evening hymns of the one worship of that ancient Church? But the night is passing, and a new dawn is spreading, and the Bride waking to consciousness, gives her first thoughts to her ever dear Lord, and prepares, with fresh devotion, to celebrate the Name to her so precious—the “name which is above every name.” May her matin-psalms be pure, like the music of the olden day, in this new morning of the Church's light!

Our review must of course be very general, and our illustrations must be rather suggestive to those in a measure familiar with the history of the Church, than complete for the instruction of those who have not read upon the subject. Enough has been suggested to show that, through the several centuries of the Primitive Church, this Rule of Legislation was operative: “no greater burden than necessary things.”

Ages of ignorance and corruption shut up these happy scenes in a distant past—a historical past, seeming, in its truth, like the very Dreamland of the Poet. A spiritual despotism was gradually rising upon the ruin of Christian liberty and doctrine. Yet, even in these dark ages, it appeared impossible to take away from the legislation of the Church the influence of a Rule, which had been, as it were, dove-tailed into its very constitution. And it is a remarkable fact, that, notwithstanding the long-continued and persevering efforts of the Papal power, to conform the Church's doctrines and discipline to the progressing and generally-received corruptions, it was not until the Session of the Provincial Council of Trent, *in the middle of the sixteenth century, that the complete system of the present Church of Rome was finally established by ecclesiastical legislation*; it was not until that late time, that the existing errors, in regard to the Inspiration of the Apocrypha; the authority of Tradition; the authenticity of the Vulgate; the Church's power of Interpreting the Scriptures; the peculiar nature of Justification and of Original Sin; the obligation of the Seven Sacraments; Transubstantiation; the efficacy of Penance and of Extreme Unction; the Celibacy of the Clergy; the worship of saints and relics and images; the theory of Indulgences; the existence of Purgatory; and such like, were made the topics of a final authoritative canon law, and settled as terms of communion; and the system of Rome stood forth at last completely defined, in contrast with the system of the Catholic Church. In this remarkable fact—that these oppressive decrees, enforced by canons of anathema, were for so many ages delayed even here—is a striking proof of the power, under the most unfavorable circumstances,

of that Protective and Righteous Rule which at first "seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to the Apostles."

There is another illustration, which we could not excuse ourselves for omitting—in those old Churches of the East, which, for long centuries, have been struggling alone, with Mohammedanism and the Papacy without, and utter ignorance and formalism within—and which only of late, as it were, have become partially known to us. With all their popular errors, their legislation has been comparatively sound, and their formularies of doctrine and worship, in many cases locked up from both priests and people in a forgotten tongue, yet venerated, breathe much of the free and holy spirit of earlier and purer and happier times; and the terms of communion in their baptismal offices correspond surprisingly with those which have existed in all the pure Churches of Christendom. They, too, for ages have felt the protecting power of this universal Rule.

Little time remains for a reference to our own branch of the One Catholic Church—the Anglo-Catholic branch. In our remarks under this head, we shall comprehend, in one view, the Churches of both England and America. And, for this reason, that the doctrine, discipline, and worship of both are substantially the same; the American Church being changed from the English, only so far as is rendered necessary by the difference in form and character of the civil governments under which they live, and by the different relations of the two Churches to these civil governments. This fact is formally stated in the Preface to the American Book of Common Prayer: "this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship; or further than local circumstances require." The difference is chiefly in the mode of legislation, and of administering ecclesiastical government; and the American Church is all the gainer by the change. While the English Church, in its trammels as an establishment, has yet recognized the models of antiquity, and has endeavored to bring into concurrence, in her legislation, the three primitive elements of the legislative power—"the apostles, and elders, and brethren,"—in the combined action of her Convocations, Parliament, and Throne, (alas, that of late years her Parliament and Throne—the "brethren," the lay element—have practically annulled her Convocations, and thus suppressed the voice of the "elders," while her "apostles," in the House of Lords, are allowed a place too subordinate in the legislation of the Church!) the American Church, freed from all

trammels of the State, has resumed her purely spiritual character, and, in her Conventions, both Diocesan and General, where her Bishops and Clergy and Laity have their fair and well-adjusted representation, has gone back to the most ancient models, and legislates in the mode, the perfect counterpart of the earliest apostolic Councils. And, while the English Establishment still burdens the English Dioceses with the Metropolitan system, and mingles secular offices with the spiritual, so that it is hard to separate them, and encumbers the Discipline of the Church with forms and penalties so onerous as oftentimes to nullify her Discipline entirely, the American Church has returned at once to the simplicity and independence of the ancient Diocesan system, and exercises her discipline, without delay or hindrance, as her necessities and the purity, or defense or extension of God's truth may at any time demand.

Now the system of the American Church, which, with the exceptions above referred to, is, as has been said, substantially the same with the English, furnishes numerous and delightful illustrations of the Rule we are considering, with which every one of our institutions is framed in strict and beautiful accordance. To the whole "doctrine, discipline, and worship" of the Church, the Clergy, in their several orders, although not compelled to declare an implicit belief, in the same sense in which the Baptismal Creed is acknowledged, are required to "promise conformity;" and thus uniformity, in the devotions of the sanctuary, and in the preaching of the Word, is secured. While to all, both Clergy and Laity, the affirmations and promises in the baptismal offices furnish the common and only terms of communion. In these the vows of the soul's entire dedication to Christ are the only tests of spiritual qualification required, and the comprehensive clauses of the Apostles' Creed, interpreted, of course, by the other standards of the Church, are the only tests of doctrine to be intellectually believed and *ex animo* confessed. The distinction between *articles of faith*, and *standards of doctrine*, is fully recognized, as it always has been, and should be. *Articles of faith*, are terms of communion, and are to be confined to such truths as are fundamentally essential to holiness and salvation. *Standards of doctrine*, are guides on all the subjects of religious truth and duty, a great part of which, although necessary to full Christian edification, are not indispensable to holiness and salvation, and cannot therefore be required as terms of communion. Thus, while the Creed presents to us the "Articles of our belief or faith," our doctrinal terms of communion, the various ritual and liturgical Services, the Articles of Re-

ligion, the Homilies, and the Pulpit, present to us our standards of doctrine, and instruct us in the complete truth of Christianity. Thus, with few laws, but by many influences, affecting us naturally and pleasantly, we are edified together, and strengthened in one body. Metaphysical determinations are forbidden to divide us; and definitions in the Philosophy of Religion, which have produced such convulsions in some denominations of professed Christians, are not allowed, in our system, to usurp the place of religion itself. And thus are we held together, and thus are we prospered, under the control of that inspired and apostolic rule: "no greater burden than necessary things."

The principle, to which attention has been called, is of very great importance. *Absolutely*, all truths are necessary or essential; but there is a difference in the *relative* value of truths. All truths are of absolute importance in the peculiar place they occupy in the system with which they are directly connected; but they are of greater or less relative value as associated with other systems. Thus a geometrical proposition, although absolutely a truth of God, and of vital importance in connection with its own system of truths, is relatively of no value in a system of religion; and a truth of religion would be of no value in the system to which such a proposition belongs. Indeed, in the very same system there is a different relative value to its several truths. Thus, in the case supposed, a scholium, although true, is relatively of less value than the proposition with which it is connected, and an ordinary single theorem is less important in the whole geometrical system than a fundamental axiom. And so, in the system of religion itself, some truths are fundamental, and many others are only consequential or associated. Thus, a positive ordinance of the Gospel—a sacrament, for example,—whose efficacy depends, so far as the man is concerned, upon his implicit obedience, and, so far as the ordinance is concerned, upon the grace which God, without giving reasons, has seen fit to connect with it, such an ordinance is a fundamental fact in religion; and, admitting its absolute importance, we are at unity upon a fundamental truth, while our particular view of the "*modus operandi*" of this ordinance is but our human opinion, and, even if it should be a truth, is of comparatively little importance. Thus, the doctrine of the sinner's salvation only through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, is a divine fundamental truth, in receiving which we are at unity; but we may differ as to the philosophical *rationale* of the doctrine, as, for instance, whether, according to one philosophy,

the application of these merits is dependent upon an original election, unconditional of faith or obedience ; or, according to another, upon an election contingent upon faith and works foreknown ; or, upon an election dependent upon the seals of a covenant Church relationship ; we may differ, we repeat, for, whatever be our philosophy, it is but a human opinion, and, even if truth, is comparatively unimportant. So, in regard to the fundamental doctrines of the agency of the Holy Ghost, and of human agency, and the explanations of these doctrines. And so, in the whole circle of religious truths, we are to discriminate between truths necessary, and opinions, and even truths comparatively unimportant. This habit of discrimination, we have seen, was operant in the early Church ; it struggled, and was influential for the protection of the Redeemer's flock, even in days the darkest and most despotic ; it has never been lost from the legislation of the body of Christ ; and it has everywhere exerted its due control in all the arrangements and institutions of the Church with which we are at this day in communion. God endorses it : "no greater burden than necessary things."

The rule of legislation which we have been endeavoring to illustrate, is the true and the only principle of the Church's Unity and Catholicity—the only principle by which the whole world can be made one Church. And, just as a Church departs from it, does she become exclusive and separative in her character ; and, just as a Church abides by it, does she hold forth the evidence of her true and scriptural Catholicity. And, just as a private Christian departs from its spirit, in his ecclesiastical relations to his brethren, does he become schismatic and sectarian in his character, and, as he abides by it, does he prove himself a Catholic Christian.

There are two great obstacles—practical obstacles—to the due operation of this Divine Rule, the one proceeding from a bad motive, the other from a good motive.

The former of these obstacles is the inordinate love of power—the spirit of persecution. It belongs to no sect, or religion, or people. It comes out of the depravity of the selfish heart. It has raged from the beginning of the world, when the first persecutor slew his brother in the field, in all nations, and under all forms of religion. It threw its victims into the lions' den in Babylon of old ; and for three weary centuries it strode through the Empire of Pagan Rome, while the followers of the Son of God knew never one hour of repose. And, in every period since, where wicked men, loving power, have wielded power, it has done its work of distress and death.

No system is responsible for it, except so far as its institutions may cultivate the unsanctified passion from which it springs. Its rule is the entire submission in all things of the opinions and practices of the weaker to the oppressive will of the stronger. It knows nothing of the spirit of liberality, and forbearance, and tender charity which flows out from that Divine Rule: "no greater burden than necessary things."

The other of these obstacles, alluded to as proceeding from a good motive, is an undue and unregulated conscientiousness. This has frequently assumed the aspect even of the spirit of persecution; and from it have been produced some of the most painful strifes and divisions, which the Church has mourned. Men feel their responsibility for the extension and protection of what they deem the truth of God; but they have not learned the point at which their personal responsibility terminates. Thus they become meddlesome, and uncharitable, impatient and denunciatory; and thus they interfere with and thwart one another, at the expense of those laws of order, which, while they assign duties to the several members of the body, guarantee corresponding rights, and entitle to appropriate protection. In the Church of God, each has his peculiar function and sphere; and, while each is bound to exert a lawful and coöperative influence upon others, he has a personal responsibility, which cannot be divided with another. "Bear ye *one another's burdens*, and so fulfill the law of Christ," is a part of the Scriptural precept; and the other part is: "but let every man prove *his own work*, and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: for every man shall *bear his own burden*."

Important as it has been to understand the scope of the Rule of the Church's Legislation, and in reference to discussions of the last few years, in several portions of our country, it is becoming daily more and more important to do so, as new questions will arise for discussion and settlement, in the progress of our rapidly increasing Zion. Let this rule guide us in our various Diocesan Conventions, let it be carried into our more general Councils; let it control the spirit, through the whole communion of the Church, in which brother shall judge of brother.

We have but glanced at a few topics in an extensive and most important subject. We should be glad, did space permit, to pursue our subject into a further, perhaps more hazardous, field of inquiry,—to ask, whether, while the Church's system is really so comprehensive and liberal, in the best sense of these terms, its practical operation is corresponding;—whether,

while in theory so nobly Catholic, she is equally so in her action ;—whether the elastic capabilities of her system, which fit her for embracing a world, are thoroughly developed, and faithfully exercised ;—or, whether there may not be a law of opinion, unwritten, indeed, but efficient upon too many minds within her fold, at variance with her primitive principles, and conflicting with the Divine Rule in her constitution, and restricting her, as far as its influence goes, to the narrow agency of a sect, when she might, and ought to be, doing, throughout all our borders, the grand work of the One Catholic Church of the land. But these, and others associated with them, are questions which we may not answer now, which it would be perhaps rash to attempt to answer at any time.

The spirit of the Inspired Rule here presented, like that of all the Christian precepts, is the *spirit of love*. As the Church shall cultivate this spirit more earnestly, she will realize more thankfully the value of the Rule which God has given for her guidance, and she will learn to apply it, more powerfully and successfully in her vast work, until the wandering children of men shall be at length “fetched home to the Lord’s flock, and made one fold under one Shepherd.” Such will be the effect of the spirit of love. Thus sang the soul of poetry, and thus advised the mind of wisdom, in the words of the great Cudworth, in his sermon preached before the House of Commons, two hundred years ago, (in 1647,) in a day of religious conflicts as turbulent as our own. No words, with which we could conclude these remarks, would be more appropriate to our subject, nor more admirably adapted to the wants of the present age: “O divine love! the sweet harmony of souls! the music of angels! the joy of God’s own heart! the very darling of His bosom! the source of true happiness! the pure quintessence of heaven! that which reconciles the jarring principles of the world, and makes them all chime together! that which melts men’s hearts into one another! . . . Let us express this sweet harmonious affection in these jarring times: that so, if it be possible, we may tune the world into better music. Especially, in matters of religion, let us strive with all meekness to instruct and convince one another. Let us endeavor to promote the Gospel of peace, the dove-like Gospel, with a dove-like spirit. . . . Let us take heed we do not sometimes call *that* zeal for God and his Gospel, which is nothing else but our own tempestuous and stormy passion. True zeal is a sweet, heavenly, and gentle flame, which maketh us active for God, but always within the sphere of love. It never calls for fire from heaven to consume those that differ a

little from us in their apprehensions. It is like that kind of lightning (which the philosophers speak of) that melts the sword within, but singeth not the scabbard : it strives to save the soul, but hurteth not the body. True zeal is a loving thing, and makes us always active to edification, and not to destruction. . . . I will therefore shut up this with that of the Apostle ; ‘ Let us keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.’ Let this soft and silken *knot of love tie our hearts together, though our heads and apprehensions cannot meet*, as indeed they never will, but always stand at some distance off from one another.”

The want of a clear apprehension of the principle presented in the above paper was, we think, strikingly, and painfully manifested in a late Ecclesiastical trial at Boston. Aside from a want of acquaintance with the technicalities and forms of law, (which are always necessary safeguards,) there seemed to be no accurate discrimination between questions of Doctrine and questions of Faith. The whole subject of Church legislation must more engage the study of our clergy and laity. The part which the latter are allowed, and rightly allowed, to take in the government of the American Church, renders it proper that they should not only be intelligent men, but *Christian* men, a security not as yet formally attained.

Ed.

ART. VI.—EXEGETICAL REMARKS ON JEPHTHAH'S VOW.

Judges xi, 29–31, 34–40.

DID Jephthah, a celebrated ruler of the Jews in the times of the Judges, offer up his daughter a burnt sacrifice to Jehovah, in conformity with a rash vow uttered by him previously to his engaging in battle with the Ammonites? The affirmative of this question was held by the early Jewish writers generally, including the celebrated historian Josephus; and also by most of the early Christian writers. Among the moderns also we find not a few who have embraced the same view. Painters and Poets, moreover, have united to impress the stamp of infallible certainty on this interpretation. But if Jephthah caused his innocent and affectionate daughter to be put to death in the manner and for the reason here supposed, then it is the first and only instance of human sacrifice offered upon the altar of Jehovah, to be found recorded on the pages of the sacred Scriptures. On the supposition that it actually took place, the fact of its being spread upon the sacred record, is not a matter of surprise, because with equal impartiality the sacred writers describe the wrong as well as the right actions of good men. There is no attempt on their part to conceal the faults, and even the crimes, of those whom, on the whole, they regard as worthy of praise and of imitation. But that so gross an act of cruel and bloody superstition, so repugnant to the letter and spirit of the entire Mosaic economy, and so revolting to all the natural feelings of the human heart, should have been permitted to pass without a single intimation of disapprobation or expression of merited rebuke and condemnation, on the part of the inspired writer, is surely a circumstance which may well occasion surprise. It may, at least, justify the suspicion that the narrative has not been always rightly understood, and that the interpretation, to which allusion has been made, is not the true exposition. The account which the author of the Book of Judges has given us of this transaction, is so brief, and our knowledge of the manners, customs, and opinions, which prevailed at the time of its occurrence, is so limited and imperfect, that an explanation of every particular circumstance relating to it, which will be entirely satisfactory to every mind, can hardly be expected, at this remote period. It is believed, however, that weighty reasons may be

offered in support of the opinion that *Jephthah's daughter was not immolated on the altar of Jehovah, but devoted to his special and exclusive service, in a perpetual virginity.* On any other supposition, we do not see how the conduct of Jephthah can be reconciled with the declaration of the inspired historian, that he was at that very time under the influence of the Spirit of God, (v. 29,) or with the unqualified eulogium pronounced upon him by the Great Apostle to the Gentiles, (Heb. xi, 32,) in which he associates *his* name with the names of David, of Samuel, and of the Prophets, and whom he celebrates as one of those Old Testament worthies who had obtained a good report in consequence of their faith in God; or with the tenor of the Mosaic Law in relation to human sacrifices.

I. Let us examine the terms in which the vow of Jephthah is expressed. "And Jephthah vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands, then it shall be that *whatsoever* cometh forth from the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." (Ver. 30, 31.) The Hebrew pronoun אֲשֶׁר (*asher*) answering to the word 'whatsoever,' in our English version, is of all genders, and of the same form in both numbers. The Latin vulgate, and likewise the Septuagint Greek version, have limited it to either the masculine or feminine gender, by rendering it in this place 'whosoever,' of the common gender, instead of the neuter 'whatsoever.' This circumstance has probably had some influence in giving currency to the notion of the human sacrifice. Following the authority of these two ancient versions, some commentators have rendered the passage thus: '*whosoever* cometh forth from the doors of my house,' etc. But the form of expression in the original does not require such a rendering, that in our common version being equally literal and proper. Indeed, our authorized translation would seem to be entitled to the preference, on the ground that it gives to the vow the same general and indefinite character by which it is distinguished in the original. It does not limit it specifically and exclusively to human beings, neither does it exclude them. It does not transcend the appropriate province of a version. The same course is pursued by Josephus. He makes Jephthah promise to offer whatsoever living creature should first meet him; and he adds, that the vow, as thus understood, was executed: "he sacrificed his daughter as a burnt-offering; presenting such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God."

The Hebrew particle ו (vav,) translated *and* in our English Bible, (v. 31,) is commonly, no doubt, a *copulative* conjunction, but sometimes the sense evidently requires that it should be rendered *disjunctively*. This will be manifest from an examination of the following passages. Deut. xvii, 9: "Thou shalt go to the priest *or* to the judge." Ex. xxi, 17: "And he that curseth his father *or* his mother." Jere. xiii, 23: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin? *or* the leopard his spots?" Ps. cxliii, 7: "Hide not thy face from me, *or* (i. e. *otherwise*) I shall be like those who sink into the pit." In like manner the Greek particle καί is several times used in a disjunctive sense in the New Testament. Matt. xii, 37: "By thy words thou shalt be justified, *or* by thy words thou shalt be condemned." Some Greek manuscripts here read η, instead of καί, but this is no doubt a gloss. It shows, however, in what sense the particle καί was here understood by the transcribers. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the two conjunctions are frequently interchanged in the New Testament. Philip. iv, 16: "For even in Thessalonica, ye sent *once or twice* (απαξ καί δις) to my necessity." Compare also Tit. iii, 10. Among Latin writers also, the conjunction *et* is frequently used for *aut* or *vel*. The analogy of language, therefore, as well as the undoubted usage of the Hebrew tongue, justifies the rendering we have suggested in the passage before us. It will then read thus: "It shall be that whatsoever cometh out of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall (either) be Jehovah's, *or* I will offer it for a burnt-offering." This is the rendering given in the margin of our English Bible. The celebrated Jewish Rabbi, David Kimchi, who flourished in the twelfth century, first proposed and advocated this mode of rendering the particle. And it is attended with this decided advantage, that it gives to Jephthah an alternative, which, by the other mode of rendering, is precluded. It allows him to act as the exigency of the case might require. We do not, however, insist upon this method of rendering the passage. If the common rendering be the true one, still it would not follow that Jephthah had any thought of a *human* victim, when he made the vow. He doubtless had around his dwelling a farm stocked with bullocks, sheep, goats, and other domestic animals, suitable for sacrifice by the Mosaic law, which daily wandered at large about his grounds. On going forth against the enemies of his country and his God, he made, under the promptings of pious and patriotic feelings, (what he had an undoubted right to do, and what was very frequently done in those ancient times,) a vol-

untary and conditional promise, which we apprehend he designed to perform in strict accordance with the provisions of the Mosaic ritual. In making this vow, may we not reasonably suppose him to have imagined, that on his return victorious, he might meet his drove of cattle, his flock of sheep, or his herd of goats; and that his intention was, to present a hecatomb of these animals as a grateful oblation to God? Indeed is it not nearly certain that his mind was directed to such animals as the law prescribed or permitted to be sacrificed as a burnt-offering, and not to *unclean animals*, much less to a *human being*? "I will offer it a holocaust;" (Heb. *זֶלֶה* (*olah*); Sept. *ἑορτασθη.*) Now the animals immolated at a holocaust were by law restricted to bullocks of three years old, goats and lambs of one year old, turtle doves and young pigeons—all of course ceremonially *clean*. Now let us suppose, as Grotius well remarks, that an ass or a dog had first met Jephthah, would it have been proper for him to sacrifice it as a whole burnt-offering to the Lord? Would such an offering have been acceptable to Jehovah? Surely not; much less proper, then, and much less acceptable, had it been a *human being*. The event, however, was very different from what he had anticipated. He was met on his return by a group of damsels, with his only daughter at their head. Over her companions he could have no control whatever, and *she* could not be slain in sacrifice, without a gross violation of the divine law. What then was he to do? How could he extricate himself from the difficulty into which he had become involved, without violating his solemn promise on the one hand, and, on the other, without transgressing the laws of God and of humanity? Was he to perform a vow to the *very letter*, which, in the first instance, was entirely voluntary, and required of him by no divine precept, and which, expressed as it was without proper qualification, the event proved to have been exceedingly rash and inconsiderate? Or might he not perform it in accordance with its *spirit*, and with the original intent and meaning, and thus discharge the obligation which rests upon his conscience, in a manner far more acceptable to the Deity, than a literal compliance with it could possibly have been? We should think he might, had an animal proper for an holocaust first presented itself, or even a whole herd of clean animals; unquestionably he would and ought to have sacrificed that animal or that herd, in conformity with his original intention. But, inasmuch as this was not the case, and as no law, human or divine, required or even permitted him to immolate his daughter, he was at liberty to avail himself of any method pointed out by the law, by which to save

her from a fate, to which she had become exposed, innocently and unsuspectingly on her part, and undesignedly and inconsiderately on the part of her parent. He was left to choose between redeeming his daughter by the payment of a ransom, and consecrating her to Jehovah, by devoting her a perpetual virgin to his special and exclusive service. He determined, as we understand it, upon the latter course. Accordingly, the historian remarks, that "he did to her according to his vow which he had vowed, (i. e. according to the *spirit*, if not the letter of it,) and she knew not a man," i. e. she continued during the remainder of her life in a state of perpetual virginity.

II. If we examine *the nature of the vow itself*, which was made by Jephthah, we shall be convinced that it did not require the sacrifice of his daughter. There existed among the Hebrews two distinct kinds of vows, one denominated נדר (*nedher*,) the other חרם (*cherem*.) between which there was a marked and important difference. The former was a vow by which not only property of various descriptions, (e. g. money, lands, houses, and animals, clean and unclean,) but also servants, children, and the person himself who made the vow, might be consecrated to God. Animals proper for sacrifice, which were thus devoted, were to be slain; but those which, by the Mosaic law, were excluded from the altar, were to be sold according to the valuation of the priest. They could be redeemed, however, by the additional payment of a fifth part of the valuation. Human beings devoted by this vow, either became servants in the tabernacle, and afterwards in the temple, or were redeemed. In the latter case, the estimated price for their redemption varied according to the age and sex of the person; but for an adult female it was fixed at thirty shekels of silver, (Lev. xxvii, 1-24.) But the vow *cherem*, from חרם (*charam*.) Hiph. conj. to *consecrate*, to *devote irrevocably unto God*, to *devote to destruction*, had respect to something devoted to Jehovah, *without the possibility of redemption*. This vow commonly had reference to an enemy, and whenever this was the case, it implied utter destruction; and it was deemed sacrilegious in a conquering army to appropriate to their own use, or benefit, any of the spoils of victory which had been thus previously devoted, (Joshua vi, 17-19; vii, 1-24.) By this vow cities, fields, animals, and human beings were sometimes set apart to Jehovah. The seven nations of Canaan generally, and the inhabitants of Jericho in particular, in consequence of their extreme wickedness, were thus devoted to destruction. During the administration of Moses, we find a similar vow uttered against the king of Atad, (Num. xxi, 1-3.) If an Israel-

itish city introduced the worship of strange gods, it was devoted by this vow to destruction, and never permitted to be rebuilt, (Deut. xiii, 16-18.) The vow *cherem* was designed in its operation to bear only upon the wicked, who were thereby made an example to others. Now Jephthah's vow was of the former, and not of the latter class. The word *nedher* occurs twice in the course of the history, (verses 30, 39,) but the term *cherem* is nowhere expressed or implied. We infer, therefore, that in the vow itself, which Jephthah uttered, there was nothing which made it requisite for him to sacrifice his daughter.

III. The supposition of an actual sacrifice in the instance under consideration, fastens a stigma upon the whole Jewish nation, which is not warranted by the history of that people. When Saul rashly brought his estimable son Jonathan under the vow *cherem*, the curse of utter destruction, the people, prompted by the feelings of humanity and of religion, very properly interposed, and rescued him from the unjust and cruel fate to which his rash father had consigned him; for Jonathan had committed no crime for which he deserved to die. Saul himself, indeed, was more worthy of punishment for making a vow, which, in violation of the Mosaic laws, as well as of the principles of humanity, might expose his own friends and the bravest defenders of the nation and country, to a cruel and ignominious death. In the case before us, then, if we suppose that Jephthah actually immolated his daughter, especially when the nature of the vow he uttered did not require or warrant it, we thereby attach the imputation of gross inhumanity, injustice, and irreligion to the whole Hebrew nation, for not interposing between an innocent and helpless female, who had merely obeyed the promptings of filial affection, and her rash and presumptuous father. This imputation we think is repelled by the well-known history and character of the nation.

IV. The supposition of an actual immolation in this case, is inconsistent with the whole tenor and spirit of the Mosaic law. Some distinguished biblical critics, in order to justify the supposed conduct of Jephthah, have endeavored to prove from Leviticus xxvii, 28, 29, that human sacrifices were allowed by the Hebrew ritual. In refutation of this position, we remark, 1st, that the Hebrew word translated *devoted thing*, in the passage to which the appeal is here made, is *cherem*, and not *nedher*. Explain it therefore as you please, it has no application to the case of Jephthah. In the former part of the chapter, Moses prescribes rules with regard to persons or things consecrated by the latter vow, where it is expressly stated that every thing may be redeemed ex-

cept clean beasts, proper for sacrifice. But in verses 28 and 29, there is a transition to the peculiar vow, *cherem*, which, as we have already remarked, was irrevocable, and admitted of no redemption of the devoted or accursed thing. These verses, therefore, according to Le Clerc, Rosenmueller, and the best biblical critics, have exclusive reference to the enemies of the Jewish republic, and consequently do not sanction the idea that human sacrifices were allowable under the Mosaic economy, or that such were ever offered on the altar of the Lord. 2d. Admitting that this passage is obscure, and its meaning somewhat doubtful, the acknowledged principles of interpretation require us to compare obscure, doubtful, and ambiguous passages of Scripture, with those, the meaning of which is clear and determinate, and to explain the former in accordance with the latter. Accordingly we should explain the passage above referred to, in conformity with the general tenor of the Mosaic institutions, and especially with those precepts which appertain to the same or a kindred subject. What then is the general tenor and spirit of the Jewish law? That law is everywhere characterized by mildness and humanity. In these respects it far surpasses the wisest institutions and ethical precepts of the heathen world, and will not suffer by a comparison with many codes that are in force at the present day among Christian nations. One important design of this law was to preserve the Hebrews from those errors, vices, and cruelties which disgraced and degraded idolatrous nations. Now among the heathen customs, from the practice of which Jehovah deterred the Hebrews by the denunciation of severe punishment, was the immolation of human victims upon the sacred altar, especially of children slain by the hands of their parents, (Deut. xii, 29-31.) Moreover, the royal psalmist and the inspired prophets, who, we may reasonably presume, well understood the import and design of the Mosaic law, repeatedly, and in the strongest terms, express their utter abhorrence of, and indignation at, the wickedness and exceeding criminality of the Jews in violating the commands of Jehovah relative to this subject. (Compare Psalm cvi, 37, 38; Isaiah lvii, 5; Jeremiah vii, 31, xix, 5.) From an examination of these passages it is plain that the Jews could not have committed a greater error than to imagine that Jehovah would or could be propitiated by the infliction of cruelty or injustice upon others, or by the sacrifice of innocent persons upon altars consecrated to Him. All the precepts of the Mosaic law: all the solemn admonitions of the prophets: in fine, the whole tenor and spirit of the *Old Testament*, no less

than of the *New*, coincide in enforcing the sentiment, that human sacrifices are cruel, iniquitous, and unavailing. Accordingly, Josephus, while he adopts the opinion that Jephthah really sacrificed his daughter, at the same time admits, that in doing this, "he offered such an oblation as was neither conformable to the law, nor acceptable to God; not considering what opinions the hearers would have of such a practice." (Jewish Antiq. B. 5, c. 7, 5, 10.) Jahn also says, (Hebrew Commonwealth,) that Jephthah, in slaying his daughter in conformity with his vow, (i. e. the vow *cherem*,) violated at least the *spirit* of the Mosaic laws. 3d. Further, if human sacrifices had been allowed under the Mosaic law, as is alleged, would not some vestiges of such a barbarous practice be found in the annals of the Hebrew nation? Had the immolation of human victims been required or permitted, is it not a reasonable presumption that those who presented an offering of such superior dignity and value, would have been regarded by the Deity as highly meritorious? Might we not expect to find, on every occasion of public calamity and distress, the princes and rulers of the nation presenting to Jehovah such an oblation as, from its intrinsic excellence, would be most likely to prove acceptable and efficacious, either for averting his anger or conciliating his favor? We know that on such occasions this was frequently done by other nations, and that the altars of idolatry smoked with human victims. Might we not presume that the same custom would have prevailed among the Hebrews, especially as they were during the earlier periods of their history, so very prone to fall into the idolatrous practices of their heathen neighbors? But where can a propitiatory offering of this kind be found recorded on the pages of their history? Since, therefore, human sacrifices were neither practised nor approved of by the Jews, except in times of extreme degeneracy, and *then* such victims were offered by them, not upon the altar of Jehovah, but upon idolatrous altars; since they were neither enjoined nor allowed by the Mosaic ritual, and since the Supreme Being everywhere threatens severe and condign punishment against those who should presume to offer such victims to Him; can it be credited that Jephthah, a distinguished Judge and Ruler in Israel, upon whom, we are expressly told, the Spirit of Jehovah rested, (Judges xi, 29.) and whose faith or trust in God is honorably mentioned by the Apostle St. Paul, committed without one word of rebuke, condemnation, or protestation, from any quarter, a crime so abhorrent to the feelings of human nature, as the sacrifice of an innocent, beloved, and only daughter?

In reply to this, however, it has been said, that the reprehensible conduct of Jephthah in this instance, is attributable to his *ignorance of the law*. So says Scott, Schulz, and others. We would not undertake to affirm how much knowledge Jephthah possessed of the Mosaic precepts; but such gross and palpable ignorance of them, and especially of the command in the Decalogue, "thou shalt not kill," as is here imputed to him, does not seem to comport very well with his elevated station, his high reputation for piety, the nature of his public duties, or the period when this transaction is alledged to have taken place. Besides, is it credible, that such a palpable offense against the laws of God and of humanity, arising, too, from a cause which, instead of mitigating or palliating the sin, evidently must have enhanced its criminality, would have been passed over in silence by David and the prophets, when alluding to a less aggravated case of transgression, committed by the Hebrews at a subsequent period of their history, or by St. Paul, when he ranked Jephthah among those of whom the world was not worthy? But even supposing *him* to have been thus grossly ignorant of the law under which he lived, were the high priest and all the inferior priests in the nation equally ignorant of it? And when the execution of the vow was postponed for two months, and great lamentation was made during all that time by the people, in consequence of the misfortune which had befallen the innocent maiden, was there no person in all Israel, whose acquaintance with the law, or whose pious feelings would have led him to interpose? May we not believe that the Jewish ruler would have joyfully received the slightest intimation from any source, that the step which he was about to take, was not in accordance with the declared will of Jehovah? But it may be said again, that this was a period of general and extreme darkness; and that idolatry, with all its bloody and inhuman rites, very generally prevailed. It is, indeed, true that, previously to this time, idolatry had very extensively prevailed among the Israelites; but it is also true, that the particular period when this vow was made, was one of singular reformation; and we are expressly informed that the people had put away the strange gods from among them, and had returned to the service of Jehovah, (c. x, 16.)

V. Finally, on the supposition that Jephthah's vow required the sacrifice of his daughter's life, who could have been found to commit the bloody deed? We cannot imagine that it would have been done by the High Priest, or by any regular member of the priesthood. For, notwithstanding the deplorable lax-

ness, ignorance, and degeneracy, which, no doubt, prevailed at that time, it is incredible that any officiating priest would for a moment have tolerated, under any pretext whatever, in the place of the expressed and implied prohibitions of the Mosaic law, the oblation of a human sacrifice. Shall we conclude, then, that the act was committed by Jephthah? This would have been equally a violation of the Levitical law, which required that every offering should be made by the hand of the priest alone, and at the place where stood the tabernacle and the altar.

The conclusion to which we are brought by the preceding considerations, is, that Jephthah did not offer his daughter in sacrifice, but devoted or consecrated her to the service of Jehovah in the tabernacle. To this opinion, however, several objections have been urged, which require a brief examination.

Obj. 1. It has been said, if Jephthah was not absolutely required by the tenor of his vow, to immolate his daughter, why did he not avail himself of the right to redeem her, instead of devoting her to the exclusive service of Jehovah in a state of perpetual celibacy?

To this objection, our reply must be based upon conjecture, because the historian has not assigned the reason of Jephthah's conduct; and if our conjectures should be incorrect, or fail satisfactorily to remove the difficulty, this circumstance will not in the least affect the conclusion to which we have already arrived. Some have supposed that Jephthah's conduct was owing to his ignorance of the Mosaic law, or of that provision in it, which admitted of a redemption by the payment of a specified sum. But this supposition is unsupported by evidence, and in itself highly improbable. Others, with more probability, have attributed his conduct to the influence of superstition. He may have imagined that to redeem his daughter for the trifling sum of thirty shekels of silver, after such signal success, instead of giving her up to the service of the Sanctuary, would, under the circumstances, imply in him an inadequate sense of the Divine goodness, in crowning his arms with victory. It is probable, however, that when he made the vow, he had no thought of a redemption. He may have feared, therefore, that he should incur the Divine displeasure by exonerating himself in such a way from the fulfillment of the vow, according to his original intention. He may have chosen rather to resign his daughter into the hands of the priesthood, to be exclusively employed in sacred duties, however painful the separation may have been to his paternal feelings, than to seem, by availing himself of a

saving clause in the statute, to have virtually violated his religious obligations, and lightly regarded the Divine mercies towards his nation. He might have felt also the force of the consideration arising from the influence which his example might have upon others. Taking into consideration his elevated and conspicuous station as a public man and judge in Israel, he may have apprehended that the redemption of his daughter would produce a bad effect upon the nation at large, by leading the people to regard all vows, whether of a civil or religious nature, as of small importance, and the violation of them as a very venial offense. Some, or all of these considerations, may have had weight in determining Jephthah not to avail himself, in this instance, of the privilege of redemption granted him by the law.

Obj. 2. It has been alledged that it was not customary among the Hebrews to appoint virgins to any office of religion.

In reply to this it is admitted, that the Priests and Levites were exclusively employed in the public administration of sacred things. Still there were other humbler and more private services connected with the tabernacle and temple, but not specifically referred to in the Mosaic ritual, which could be and were performed by persons, who neither belonged to the Priesthood nor to the tribe of Levi. Gibeonites, for instance, were hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God. (Joshua ix, 27.) The persons denominated in the book of Ezra, *Nethinim*, or *consecrated ones*, were servants in the tabernacle or temple, and performed various inferior offices in and about the sanctuary. The prophet Samuel, before his birth, was dedicated by his pious mother to the service of God, according to the vow *nedher*, and, afterwards, not being redeemed by his parents, he was employed about the Sanctuary long before he had attained the age prescribed for the Levites or the Priests to enter upon the duties of their office. Women, if not redeemed, would find employment in grinding or pounding the corn, of which the sacred loaves were made, in baking the bread, spinning, weaving, and making up the sacred vestments for the priests, or in some other similar occupation connected with the services and rites of religion. Why may we not suppose that in some such way the Gibeonitish women and the wives of the *Nethinim* were employed? It is true that we can refer to no statute which required perpetual celibacy in those who were thus consecrated to God. Still it is highly probable that this was expected of unmarried or widowed females, in order that they might not be encumbered with the concerns of domestic life, by which

they would be rendered incompetent to discharge, with entire devotedness, the sacred duties devolving upon them.

Obj. 3. The excessive grief of Jephthah, the voluntary seclusion of his daughter for the period of two months from society, and the annual lamentation of the Hebrew women on her account, cannot be satisfactorily accounted for on any other supposition than that of her untimely and violent death.

1. A sufficient cause for Jephthah's grief, it is believed, may be found in the fact of his daughter's continuing during the remainder of her life in a state of separation from him, and in a condition of celibacy. So great was the deference and respect paid by the Hebrews to parents, and the gift of children was esteemed so great a blessing among all ancient nations, that those females who died childless, or who lived without the prospect of offspring, were regarded as peculiarly unfortunate, and as proper objects of commiseration. The Greek tragedians frequently allude to this circumstance. Among the Hebrews in particular, celibacy was esteemed a very great reproach; for, besides that they thought that none could live a single life without great danger of sin, each one indulged the hope that from his family the promised Messiah, the seed of the woman that should bruise the serpent's head, would spring.

2. If Jephthah's daughter had been doomed to an untimely death, is it not remarkable that she should request permission of her father to retire to the mountains for the purpose of lamenting in solitude her *virginity* simply, and not her approaching immolation? Was the loss of life nothing, that she should bewail only her celibacy? Being for the space of two months at liberty to go where she pleased, if at the expiration of that time, she knew that she was to bleed upon the altar—having the tragical scene constantly in her thoughts, as the fatal day drew nearer and nearer—would she not have been tempted to make her escape? Would not her companions have advised and assisted her flight? She returned, however, at the appointed time, to her father, *who did to her according to his vow*. But if this had consisted in laying her a victim upon the altar of burnt-offering, after thus alluding to her death, would the historian have gravely added the words, *and she knew not a man*? Is it not manifest that in this clause there is a distinct reference to the accomplishment of the vow, and that it had its fulfillment in her continuing to the end of her days in a state of celibacy, devoted to the service of religion and secluded from the common cares and enjoyments of this world?

3. The last particular in this objection is founded on the

supposition that the Hebrew women annually assembled at the grave of Jephthah's daughter for the purpose of bewailing her untimely death. But this supposition does not appear to be well-founded. The word translated in v. 40, to *lament*, תִּנָּה (*tinnah*), occurs in this particular form (Conj. Piel.) only in one other place in the Hebrew Bible, (Judges v, 11,) where it is rendered in our English version "*to rehearse*." Schleusner, in his Lexicon of the Septuagint, understands the corresponding Greek word Σπηνειν, in this place, in the sense of *confabulation*, to *converse with*. Analogous to this, the Hebrew word is rendered in the margin of our English Bible *to talk with*. Houbigant translates it *to comfort*. Gesenius (Heb. Lex.) and Maurer (Com. in Judges v, 11) give it the signification of *to celebrate*, *to praise*, which is probably its true meaning. There does not appear, therefore, to be anything in the original from which we should infer that the daughters of Israel assembled annually at the tomb of Jephthah's daughter, in order to bewail her death; but it rather favors the opinion, that they spent four days annually at the Sanctuary, conversing with her, comforting her and celebrating her praise. Besides, (as has been well remarked,) "no custom of celebrating the dead, after the funeral obsequies were performed, ever prevailed among the Jews. By representing them as *unclean*, and pronouncing every person defiled who approached or touched a corpse, the Mosaic law inspired the Jews with a kind or horror for the dead. Of course it could not have been a custom with their daughters, to make annual visits to the grave of Jephthah's daughter, or of lamenting over her. We are constrained, therefore, to understand those visits as made to her while she was yet living in a state of retirement and seclusion from the world." This custom, doubtless, continued only during the life of Jephthah's daughter, as we find no reference whatever to it afterwards.

ART. VII.—WILBERFORCE'S THEORY AND PANTHEISM.

IN previous numbers of the Church Review, we have expressed our own opinion of Archdeacon Wilberforce's work on the Incarnation. The historical portions of that work, showing the process by which the Church successively defined the early faith against heresies touching our Blessed Lord's Divinity, have seemed to us to be admirable. The style of the work, we have thought obscure, only in its thought, not in its language. We protested, however, in the very outset, against "a certain theory" of the author; and as we have had occasion, have not hesitated, from time to time, to state some of the objections to which, as it seems to us, that "theory" is exposed. In our last number we said of that "theory," that we believed "its primary and radical evil" to be "its essential pantheism." For expressing that opinion, several writers, and especially in the "Gospel Messenger" and the "Churchman," have courteously called upon us to define what we mean. Now we beg to assure these writers that we claim no infallibility. We are possibly mistaken. Nor do we profess any unusual share of sagacity; and should have spoken, both previously, and now, with much less confidence, were we not sure of being sustained in our opinion, by gentlemen whose thorough learning and sound Churchmanship cannot be questioned.

The feature in Wilberforce's theory which seems to us exposed to the charge of pantheism, and which, we believe, to have been borrowed (unconsciously we presume) from German philosophy, is that, in which he attempts to explain the *manner*, the *modus operandi*, both of the *depravity*, and the *regeneration*, and *renovation* of humanity. The facts that the First Adam, and the Second Adam, sustain certain corresponding relations to the human family, are not only important; they are fundamental in all sound Church teaching. Nor do we find fault with Wilberforce, for his views as to the extent, or ultimate effect of those relations. But we do object to the method, the nature of the process, by which he attempts to account for the manner in which the whole work of ruin and recovery is effected. The explanation which Wilberforce adopts, does seem to us, "*essentially pantheistic*." This is not its only difficulty; and relatively and *practically* in its bearing upon other doctrines, as Regeneration, Justification, and the Christian Life, the Atonement, and the offices of

the Holy Ghost, perhaps not its worst. These, however, we may present hereafter in a distinct article. What we are now concerned with, is the *pantheistic* character of Wilberforce's peculiar theory.

German pantheism discards the idea that God is a Divine *Person*, possessed of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, all whose acts proceed from choice or volition, and are intended to promote wise and beneficent ends. On the contrary, it considers God as being merely a great *first cause, developing itself* agreeably to its own inherent laws, and flowing out in acts of creation, sustentation, regulation, and control of all that exists. Every thing is God, and God is every thing. The distinction between specific and numeric unity is lost. There are no individuals; all is unity. Now Archdeacon Wilberforce recognizes precisely such a great first principle or cause, as explaining the manner in which sin is propagated to all men from Adam, the root and head of the human family; and likewise as explaining the manner in which the Divine Mediator redeems and saves fallen men. While he carefully protests against the self-evident logical consequences of such a principle, still he seems, unconsciously, to confound specific and numerical unity. He has in his mind, the perpetual idea, running through his whole book, of a "*collective nature*," a "*unity of type*," an "*actual whole*," an "*entity*," an "*organization*," which has an actual existence, and which must now be brought into contact with, or be "*joined to His body natural which was slain*." According to his view, the propagation of sin from Adam to his posterity, was the physical effect of natural generation, or an unavoidable natural consequence, of the physical connection between the first man and his posterity. The numerical is lost in the specific unity. And to rescue fallen men, God the Son united himself to a human body, or to depraved human nature; and, as soon as these two natures came into contact with each other, an efflux, influence, or virtue, flowed from the divine nature into the human, which completely renovated and sanctified the *body* or the *human nature* of the Mediator; and, moreover, *so filled that human nature with redeeming and sanctifying grace, as to make it a fountain* from which streams of grace flow forth for the salvation of all other men. And, therefore, now, whenever and wherever, through the intervention of the sacraments, a *connection* is formed between Christ's body, or human nature, and the human nature of the sons of Adam, a virtue issues from the former, that is, the human nature of Christ, and flows into the latter, sanctifying it and redeeming it from its fallen state. All is *efflux*, the natural de-

velopment of a primary *cause*, and requires not the existence of a *Personal God* to devise and to execute the glorious work.

The following are specimens of Wilberforce's language :

"The doctrine of our Lord's incarnation is, that He has made this manhood the instrument whereby the work of mediation between God and man is effected ; and *this work has not been completed or brought to a standstill*. That which was finished upon the cross was the immolation of the victim, but not its efficacy. Our Lord's manhood has a living, not merely a recorded, power ; *it is still the victim which is presented on behalf of the whole Church in our eucharistic office* ; it is still "the way, the truth, and the life," for the communication of all spiritual blessings. Now, it is the circumstance that spiritual influence comes to us, not through the secret converse of one mind with another, *but through the extension of our Lord's sanctified humanity, which leads to the employment of external ordinances of grace*. That God, who is a Spirit, should hold converse with our spirits, is the natural law of their being ; but that our Lord's humanity should influence ours is a process which is wholly supernatural."—(*Wilberforce's late Charge*.)

"It is the perpetual *extension of our Lord's humanity to the consecrating principle of ours*, on which all His public ordinances, His priests and sacraments, are dependent."—(*Ibid*.)

"The Church, of course, supposes it (the validity of Baptism) to result from that reality of union with Christ's manhood, whereby those who are heirs of Adam's sinfulness become heirs of grace."—(*Doctrine of the Incarnation*, p. 336.)

"Let it be remembered that this manhood is the true seed of the renewed race, and that through spiritual presence *it bestows its life-giving power* on all the members of His mystic body."—(*Ibid*, p. 269.)

"The importance of sacraments rests on the Incarnation of Christ, and on their being the means through which His man's nature is communicated to His brethren."—(*Ibid*, p. 313.)

"It is through that union of His man's nature with ours, which is compacted through the sacraments of His grace, that the Head of the body is identified with its members."—(*Ibid*, p. 315.)

"For men are joined to His natural body which was slain, in His body mystical which is sanctified."—(*Ibid*, p. 272.)

A more full and exact statement of what modern German pantheism really is, with copious illustrations, and an examination of passages, or extracts, from Wilberforce, showing in what respects these seem to harmonize with this new school of German philosophy, (with which Wilberforce shows an intimate acquaintance,) rather than with the early Fathers, might be a valuable labor, and necessary, perhaps, to vindicate our position. The early Fathers, in their un-technical and strongly figurative style, in the warmth and vigor of their faith and love, were accustomed to speak of the unity, the almost identity, of Christians with Christ, as members of His mystical Body, the Church. Hence it is easy enough to find in their writings, language, even stronger than any thing which Wilberforce has written. But the *literally* confounding Christ's risen and ascended human body, with His mystical Body on earth, the Church ; the making the "extension of our Lord's sanctified humanity" *literally* the principle of our regeneration, (with the necessary doctrinal consequences ;) moreover, the

theory that "our Lord's manhood" "is still *the victim* which is presented on behalf of the whole Church in our eucharistic office," and "the fact that the Church is Christ's body;" the contradiction, or the worse than contradiction, of thus confounding "*the victim which is presented*," with "*the whole Church for which it is presented*"—such a theory as this the Fathers were ignorant of. For it is impossible to free the theory of Wilberforce from the worse than absurdity, of making the "members of Christ's body" themselves the victims offered for their own sins. He says "when He joins His members to Himself, *they are really*, though by immaterial and spiritual influence, engrafted into His *purified humanity*." (P. 254.) "*A real*, and not merely a metaphorical *conjunction* must be designed, when we read, Ye are the body of Christ and members in particular." (P. 244.) And yet he contends that our Lord's *manhood*, into which Christians are "really engrafted" by a "real conjunction," "is still the victim which is *presented* on behalf of the whole Church." This merging the glories of the Cross, (which has been the symbol of Faith and Hope in all ages of the Church,) in the glories of the *manger*: this losing sight of the Atonement, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Pentecostal Gift, in such a view of the Incarnation, had, we believe, its inception in the dreamy pantheistic transcendentalism of German philosophy. Such a theory would revolutionize all our theology; expunge from the Prayer Book an important part of the Litany, and the Baptismal office; and stultify the devotions of the Church in every age.

We had expected to present in this number of the Review a connected view of the difficulties of Wilberforce's theory, as it comes into conflict, at various points, with the doctrinal system everywhere recognized and taught by the Church. Such a work is in preparation, and may perhaps yet appear. But we will not avoid saying here, that the cardinal practical error in this theory, as it seems to us, is in its idea of what the first elementary principle of the Christian life is. Take for granted, as Wilberforce does, that "*the supernatural efficacy of the manhood of Christ is the principle of regeneration*," and he is obliged to conclude that, in his own language, "*the soul's regeneration, like the body's growth, is of course a protracted process*;" the distinction between Regeneration, Sanctification, and Justification ceases to exist; that alone ground of Justification which the Church teaches, to wit, the Righteousness of Christ reckoned to us by Faith, is denied; and though it be not the error of Rome, the *righteousness of*

infusion, it has the same objection that it is a *righteousness inherent*; and is even worse than the Romish theory, as the *righteousness of effusion from Christ's humanity* practically denies the doctrine of "the HOLY GHOST the LORD and GIVER of Life," which the Romish theory formally admits. That Wilberforce's theory is open to these objections, is certain, if there is any meaning in language. That these errors trench the first principles of the Christian Faith, is undeniable. That they have had their origin in the source to which we have imputed them, we still believe. And though they may seem palpable, and real, and effective, in this sensuous, faithless age, and therefore to be received, they cannot but prove disastrous to the life and power of the Church.

In making this brief exposition of what we mean by "the essential pantheism," of the peculiar feature of Wilberforce's theory, we are fully aware of the numerous passages in his work which seem to bear, and which do bear, directly against such a construction. We do not suppose that Wilberforce is a pantheist. Far enough from it. Neither does he, expressly, or impliedly, mean to lose sight of or deny the existence and agency of the Holy Ghost. Far enough from that also. But, in trying to explain, what never yet has been explained, the exact process, the *modus operandi* of the transmission of human depravity; and the exact process, the *modus operandi* of the recovery, he has adopted a theory which, besides other most serious objections, has seemed to us to have that, which has been here briefly presented.

NOTE.—We commence on the opposite page, and occupying the Department of "AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY," the republication of an important work—Humphrey's "HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS." This History, now exceedingly rare, covering the first twenty-seven years of the Society's operations, and drawn up by its early Secretary from authentic documents, will be read with interest. It gives the details of the early planting of the Church in the American Colonies. It will appear, without alteration or abridgement, in three or four successive numbers of the Church Review. A full Table of Contents will also be appended.

We ought to say, that we are indebted for a copy of this volume, to the Rev. T. W. Coit, D. D., Professor in Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, and also that the reprinting of the work has the entire approbation of the Rev. Dr. Hawks, for whose kindness in furnishing matter for the Department of Ecclesiastical History, we are under such large obligation.

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
INCORPORATED SOCIETY
FOR THE
PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL
IN
FOREIGN PARTS.
CONTAINING THEIR
FOUNDATION, PROCEEDINGS, AND THE SUCCESS OF THEIR MISSIONARIES
IN THE BRITISH COLONIES, TO THE YEAR 1728.

By DAVID HUMPHREYS, D.D.,
SECRETARY TO THE HONORABLE SOCIETY.

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THE PREFACE.

THE design of the following Treatise, is to inform the public of the transactions of the Society for Propagating the Gospel ; their establishment, labors and success. This account is compiled from papers, transmitted to the Society, by governors of colonies, or persons of note abroad ; or from congregations of people, and the missionaries in the plantations. These are commonly referred to, or cited in the body of the Treatise, and the original papers may be still seen, being now in the Society's custody ; nor doth there appear any reason to question their veracity, and sufficient exactness in all material points. Some short accounts of the Society's proceedings, have been annually printed ; but as these could give the reader but a very imperfect idea of the whole progress in this work, it hath been now thought convenient to give a general view of the Society's labors ; because so great and so religious a design, seemed only to want its being better understood, in order to its being more encouraged.

The end proposed is of the highest importance ; the propagation of the Christian faith, and the salvation of men's souls. And the serious reader must be much affected with the endeavors of the Society, towards planting religion and virtue, and the due ordering the life and manners of a numerous people spread over exceeding large countries ; especially when it is remembered, that the principles implanted in the present people will influence future generations ; and though the present age is greatly indebted to this Society, their posterity will be exceedingly more so.

It is hoped the reader, upon perusing the following papers, will find cause to be much pleased with the unexpected success of so great a work. Especially if it is considered, that this Society hath no public income or revenue. This good work was at first supported by the voluntary subscriptions of the members of the Society, and hath been ever since carried on by their contributions, and the casual donations of many other worthy persons. The support of this design must, therefore, be ascribed wholly to that good Providence, which hath influenced such religious and honorable persons to become unforeseen patrons, and many of them (through their concealment of their names) unknown benefactors to this Charity.

The same good Providence hath brought down upon it the peculiar favor of our princes. Queen Mary, by her bounty, gave the chief occasion to the rise of this Society, King William established it, Queen Anne encouraged it, and his late Majesty, King George, supported it ; for when the Society's fund was almost exhausted, an humble representation of this matter, from the Society, was laid before his late Majesty, of happy memory, by his Grace the present Archbishop of Canterbury.

the most worthy president of this Society ; and his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant his royal letters for a public collection, to enable the Society to carry on so pious a work. The Society have still increasing views of success in their labors, through the favor and protection of his Majesty, now happily reigning, from his known zeal for the Protestant religion, and royal care for the colonies, so considerable a branch of the British monarchy.

It is necessary to remark here, that no notice is taken in the following account of the late General Codrington's noble bequest to the Society, of two plantations in the island of Barbadoes, producing a very considerable yearly income ; because that estate is not applicable to the general uses of the Society, such as the supporting of missionaries, catechists and school-masters ; but is appropriated to particular uses, mentioned in the late General Codrington's will. The only intent of the following Treatise is to acquaint the public with the Society's endeavors towards settling religion in the colonies on the Continent of America. Whereas in the management of the plantations bequeathed by General Codrington, they act only as trustees ; they have already made a considerable progress in the design directed by the General's will, and hope in due time to complete it ; and it may then be proper to give the public a particular account of it.

THE CHARTER.

WILLIAM THE THIRD, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

I. Whereas we are credibly informed, that in many of our plantations, colonies and factories beyond the seas, belonging to our kingdom of England, the provision for ministers is very mean, and many others of our said plantations, colonies and factories, are wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers and the public worship of God; and for lack of support and maintenance for such, many of our loving subjects do want the administration of God's Word and sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to atheism and infidelity; and also for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct our said loving subjects in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and Jesuits are the more encouraged to pervert and draw over our said loving subjects to popish superstition and idolatry.

II. And, whereas, we think it our duty, as much as in us lies, to promote the glory of God by the instruction of our people in the Christian religion; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a sufficient maintenance be provided for an orthodox clergy to live amongst them, and that such other provision be made as may be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts.

III. And, whereas, we have been well assured, that if we would be graciously pleased to erect and settle a Corporation for the receiving, managing and disposing of the charity of our loving subjects, divers persons would be induced to extend their charity to the uses and purposes aforesaid.

IV. Know ye, therefore, that we have, for the considerations aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on the said charitable purposes, of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, willed, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, constitute, declare and grant, that the most Reverend Fathers in God, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and John, Lord Archbishop of York; the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Henry, Lord Bishop of London, William, Lord Bishop of Worcester, our Lord Almoner, Simon, Lord Bishop of Ely, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Rochester, Dean of Westminster; and the Lords Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lord Almoner and Dean of Westminster for the time being; Edward, Lord Bishop of Gloucester, John, Lord Bishop of Chichester, Nicholas, Lord Bishop of Chester, Richard, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, Humphrey, Lord Bishop of Bangor, John Montague, Doctor of Divinity, Clerk of our Closet, William Sherlock, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of St. Paul's, William Stanley, Doctor of Divinity, Arch-Deacon of London, and the Clerk

of the Closet, of us, our heirs and successors ; the Dean of St. Paul's and Arch-Deacon of London for the time being ; the two Regius and two Margaret Professors of Divinity of both our Universities, for the time being ; Thomas, Earl of Thanet, Thomas, Lord Viscount Weymouth, Francis, Lord Guilford, William, Lord Digby, Sir Thomas Cookes, of Bently, Sir Richard Bulkley, Sir John Philipps, and Sir Arthur Owen, Baronets ; Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Sir William Prichard, Sir William Russell, Sir Edmund Turner, Sir William Hustler, Sir John Charadin, and Sir Richard Blackmore, Knights ; John Hook, Esq., Serjeant at Law, George Hooper, Doctor of Divinity, Dean of Canterbury, Geo. Booth, Doctor of Divinity, Arch-Deacon of Durham, Sir Geo. Wheeler, Prebendary of Durham, William Beveridge, Doctor of Divinity, Arch-Deacon of Colchester, Sir William Dawes, Baronet, Thomas Manningham, Edward Gee, Thomas Lynford, Nathaniel Resbury, Offspring Blackhall, George Stanhope, William Hayley, and Richard Willis, Doctors of Divinity, and our Chaplains in Ordinary ; John Mapletoft, Zacheus Isham, John Davis, William Lancaster, Humphrey Hodey, Richard Lucas, John Evans, Thomas Bray, John Gascarth, White Kennett, Lilly Butler, Josiah Woodward, Doctors in Divinity ; Gideon Harvey, and Frederick Slare, Doctors of Physic ; Rowland Cotton, Thomas Fervois, Maynard Colchester, James Vernon, Jr., Joseph Neal, Grey Nevil, Thomas Clerk, Peter King, — Rock, John Comins, William Melmoth, Thomas Bromfield, John Reynolds, Dutton Seaman, Whitlock Bulstrode, Samuel Brewster, John Chamberlain, Richard King and Daniel Nicholl, Esqrs. ; Benjamin Lawdell, John Trimmer, Charles Toriano and John Hodges, Merchants ; William Fleetwood, William Whitfield and Samuel Bradford, Masters of Arts, and our Chaplains in Ordinary ; Thomas Little, Batchelor in Divinity ; Thomas Stamo, Henry Altham, William Lloyd, Henry Shute, Thomas Frank, and William Mecken, Clerks, and their successors ; to be elected in manner as hereafter directed, be, and shall for ever hereafter be, and by virtue of these presents, shall be one body politic and corporate, in deed, and in name, by the name of *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* ; and them and their successors by the same name, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, really and fully make, ordain, constitute and declare one body politic and corporate in deed and in name.

V. And that by the same name, they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession.

VI. And that they and their successors, by that name, shall and may, for ever hereafter, be persons able and capable in the law to purchase, have, take, receive, and enjoy to them and their successors, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, advowsons, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, and other hereditaments whatsoever, of whatsoever nature, kind and quality they be, in fee and in perpetuity, not exceeding the yearly value of two thousand pounds, beyond reprisals ; and also estates for lives and for years, and all other manner of goods, chattels, and things whatsoever of what name, nature, quality, or value,

soever they be, for the better support and maintenance of an orthodox clergy in foreign parts, and other the uses aforesaid; and to give, grant, let and demise the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels, and things whatsoever aforesaid, by lease or leases, for term of years, in possession at the time of granting thereof, and not in reversion, not exceeding the term of one and thirty years, from the time of granting thereof; on which, in case no fine be taken, shall be reserved the full value; and in case a fine be taken, shall be reserved at least a moiety of the full value, that the same shall reasonably and *bona fide* be worth at the time of such demise.

VII. And that by the name aforesaid, they shall, and may be able to plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all courts and places whatsoever, and before whatsoever judges, justices, or other officers, of us, our heirs and successors, in all and singular actions, plaints, pleas, matters and demands, of what kind, nature or quality soever they be; and to act and do all other matters and things, in as ample manner and form as any other our liege subjects of this our realm of England, being persons able and capable in the law, or any other body corporate or politic within this our realm of England, can, or may have, purchase, receive, possess, take, enjoy, grant, set, let, demise, plead and be impleaded, answer, and be answered unto, defend and be defended, do, permit, and execute.

VIII. And that the said Society for ever hereafter, shall and may have a common seal, to serve for the causes and business of them and their successors; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors to change, break, alter, and make new the said seal from time to time, and at their pleasure, as they shall think best.

IX. And for the better execution of the purposes aforesaid, we do give and grant to the said *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and their successors, that they and their successors for ever, shall, upon the third Friday in February yearly, meet at some convenient place, to be appointed by the said Society, or the major part of them, who shall be present at any general meeting, between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning; and that they, or the major part of such of them that shall then be present, shall choose one President, one or more Vice-President or Vice-Presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other officers, ministers and servants, as shall be thought convenient to serve in the said offices for the year ensuing; and that the said President, and Vice-Presidents, and all officers, then elected, shall, before they act in their respective offices, take an oath, to be to them administered by the President, or in his absence, by one of the Vice-Presidents of the year preceding, who are hereby authorized to administer the same, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places during the said year.

X. And our further will and pleasure is, that the first President of the said Society, shall be Thomas, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; and that

the said President shall, within thirty days after the passing of this Charter, cause summons to be issued to the several members of the said Society herein particularly mentioned, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint; and that they, or the major part of such of them as shall then be present, shall proceed to the election of one or more Vice-President or Vice-Presidents, one or more Treasurer or Treasurers, two or more Auditors, one Secretary, and such other officers, ministers, and servants, as to them shall seem meet; which said officers, from the time of their election into their respective offices, shall continue therein until the third Friday in February, which shall be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and one, and from thenceforwards until others shall be chosen into their places in manner aforesaid.

XI. And that if it should happen, that any of the persons at any time chosen into any of the said offices shall die, or on any account be removed from such office at any time between the said yearly days of election, that in such case it shall be lawful for the surviving and continuing President, or any one of the Vice-Presidents, to issue summons to the several members of the body corporate, to meet at the usual place of the annual meeting of the said Society, at such time as shall be specified in the said summons; and that such members of the said body corporate who shall meet upon such summons, or the major part of them, shall and may choose an officer or officers into the room or place of such person or persons, so dead or removed, as to them shall seem meet.

XII. And we do further grant unto the said *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and their successors, that they and their successors shall and may, on the third Friday in every month yearly, for ever hereafter, and oftener, if occasion requires, meet at some convenient place to be appointed for that purpose, to transact the business of the said Society; and shall and may at any meeting on such third Friday in the month, elect such persons to be members of the said corporation, as they or the major part of them then present, shall think beneficial to the charitable designs of the said corporation.

XIII. And our will and pleasure is, that no act done in any assembly of the said Society, shall be effectual and valid, unless the President, or some one of the Vice-Presidents, and seven other members of the said company, at the least, be present, and the major part of them consenting thereunto.

XIV. And we further will, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do ordain and grant unto the said *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and their successors, that they or their successors, or the major part of them who shall be present at the first and second meeting of the said Society, or at any meeting on the third Friday in the months of November, February, May and August, yearly for ever, and at no other meetings of the said Society, shall, and may consult, determine, constitute, ordain, and make any constitutions, laws, ordinances and statutes whatsoever; as also to execute leases for years as aforesaid, which to them, or the major part of them

then present, shall seem reasonable, profitable, or requisite, for touching or concerning the good estate, rule, order, and government of the said corporation, and the more effectual promoting the said charitable design; all which laws, ordinances and constitutions, so to be made, ordained and established, as aforesaid, we will, command and ordain by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, to be from time to time, and at all times hereafter, kept and performed in all things, as the same ought to be, on the penalties and amerciaments in the same to be imposed and limited, so as the same laws, constitutions, ordinances, penalties, and amerciaments, be reasonable and not repugnant, or contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England.

XV. And we do likewise grant unto the said *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, and their successors, that they and their successors, or the major part of such of them as shall be present at any meeting of the said Society, shall have power from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to depute such persons as they shall think fit to take subscriptions, and to gather and collect such monies as shall be by any person or persons contributed for the purposes aforesaid.

XVI. And shall and may remove and displace such deputies as often as they shall see cause so to do, and to cause public notification to be made of this Charter, and the powers thereby granted, in such manner as they shall think most conducive to the furtherance of the said charity.

XVII. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said Society shall yearly and every year, give an account in writing to our Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the great seal of England, for the time being, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, or any two of them, of the several sum or sums of money by them received and laid out by virtue of these presents, or any authority hereby given, and of the management and disposition of the revenues and charities aforesaid.

And lastly, our pleasure is, that these our letters patents, or the inrollment thereof, shall be good, firm, valid, and effectual in the law, according to our royal intentions herein before declared. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the sixteenth day of June, in the thirteenth year of our reign.

Per Breve de Privato Sigillo,

COCKS.

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
INCORPORATED SOCIETY, &c.

CHAPTER I.

The Occasions of the First Rise of this Society.

THE British Colonies upon the Continent of America, were all settled first by private adventurers, under grants from the Crown, with small numbers of families. It was, therefore, not to be expected that the proper provision, either in the religious or civil concerns of the inhabitants, could be at first made. Indeed if a colony had been planted immediately by the State here, it is not to be questioned but proper care had been taken that both should have been duly regulated. But as the first private adventurers labored under great difficulties at their settling, and under many uncertainties, what the event would be; this, though not a sufficient reason, may yet be an excuse, for their not making the proper provision in this case. A trial was first to be made, of what advantage these settlements would prove, either to the adventurers, or nation, before either would engage themselves in farther expense.

Another misfortune which greatly hindered any uniform and public worship of God being settled, was this: the natives of this kingdom of Great Britain, who removed thither, were of many kinds of denominations; most of them dissenting from the Church of England, and disagreeing as much from each other, in their sentiments of religion and Church government, as from their mother nation and Church. Besides, a further difficulty arose soon, from the conflux of people of several nations of Europe, of various sects and divisions settling in these plantations, which occasioned a still greater diversity of opinions. It is, therefore, not to be wondered, that the people were not earnest to settle any establishment when so few agreed upon any particular form.

But in a small process of time, when these settlements were fixed, and the colonies established, beyond the fear of any ordinary force, which might destroy them; they began not only to see, but very sensibly to feel their wants. Indeed the first planters, those of the British nation especially, as coming from a country blessed with the purest religion and truest liberty, retained some remembrance of both, and lived through the force of that, in those wild parts, among savages and woods, in human civility and decency, though I cannot say in

Christian order ; but their children (the generation after them) who had not themselves seen what their fathers had, were but weakly affected with what they might hear from their parents, of the primitive Christian worship, and the ordinances of the Gospel. Some whole colonies lived without celebrating any public worship of Almighty God, without the use of the sacraments, without teachers of any kind, and, in a literal sense of the phrase, without God in the world.

2. In this dark state of things, the Providence of God raised up several eminent persons, who, observing this great calamity, became zealous to redress it ; strove to awaken the people into a sense of their wants, and contributed their assistance towards recovering their countrymen from this irreligion and darkness. Among the first we find the honorable Sir Leolyne Jenkins, in his last will and testament, proved the 9th of November, 1685, thus declares, that it was " too obvious that the persons in Holy Orders, employed in his Majesty's fleets at sea, and foreign plantations were too few for the charge and cure of souls arising in those fleets and plantations ; and, therefore, he provides, that two additional fellowships be new founded, and endowed at his cost and charges, in Jesus College, Oxford, on condition that the said two fellows, and their successors for ever, may be under an indispensable obligation to take upon them Holy Orders of priesthood, and afterwards that they go out to sea, in any of his Majesty's fleets, when they or any of them are thereto summoned, by the Lord High Admiral of England, and in case there be no use of their service at sea, to be called by the Lord Bishop of London, to go out into any of his Majesty's foreign plantations, there to take upon them the cure of souls, and exercise their ministerial function, reserving to them their full salaries, with the farther encouragement of twenty pounds a year a piece, while they are actually in either of the services aforesaid." This was truly a very wise and good act ; but the reader will presently reflect, that two persons, though wholly employed in the plantations, could not take a proper care of a very small part of a people dispersed over so great a Continent. However, this worthy person gave a noble testimony of the piety and necessity of this work, and his example hath no doubt excited the zeal of many others, to advance and carry on so Christian an undertaking.

3. The next great patron and promoter of this design, was the honorable Robert Boyle, Esq., not more distinguished for his noble extraction than eminent piety, and universal learning ; he had been appointed by King Charles the Second, the first Governor of a company incorporated by his Majesty, in the year 1661, *For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Heathen Natives of New England, and the Parts adjacent in America.* But this design was too narrow, as confined to the conversion of the heathen natives of New England, and the parts adjacent, and could by no means answer the wants of all the foreign plantations, and all the heathen nations adjacent. However, this gave that excellent person an occasion to see the design in general, was unquestionably pious, charitable, and necessary ; and agreeably hereto, he did, by a codicil to his last will, settle an annual salary, for some learn-

ed divine or preaching minister for ever, to preach eight sermons in the year, for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels ; and doth require that the said preachers shall be assisting to all companies, and encouraging them in any undertaking for *Propagating the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts*. This recommendation of the design to Posterity, was a still nobler legacy, being such surely, as cannot fail to procure it many more, from those who shall be endued with the same Christian spirit, that noble person was.

4. Some few years after these honorable gentlemen had given their testimony to the piety of this design, it received the greater sanction of royal favor from their late Majesties King Charles the Second, King William and Queen Mary. About the year 1679, the Bishop of London, (Dr. Compton,) upon an application to him from several of the inhabitants of Boston, in New England, petitioning that a Church should be allowed in that town, for the exercise of religion according to the Church of England ; made a representation of this matter to his Majesty King Charles the Second, and a Church was allowed to be erected ; and farther, in favor of this people, his late Majesty King William, was pleased to settle an annual bounty of one hundred pounds a year upon that Church, which is still continued. The Rev. Mr. Harris is now supported in it, as the Minister's assistant, by this allowance, with the addition of Sir Leoline Jenkins's fellowship in Jesus College in Oxford.

5. But this petition of many of the inhabitants of Boston, for a Church of England Minister about the year 1679, was attended presently with greater consequences. This, and the questioning of the Charter of the country which happened about that time, together with some other matters relating to the Colony, occasioned the religious state of those countries to be more strictly considered ; very soon after, Bishop Compton made enquiry how the foreign plantations were provided with clergymen, and found, upon search, that there were not above four ministers of the Church of England in that vast tract of North America, and only one or two of them regularly sent over. To remedy this sad defect, the Bishop made proposals to several of those places to supply them with clergymen ; and had generally encouragement to do so. The Bishop, farther to promote this good beginning, obtained of his Majesty, King Charles the Second, a bounty of twenty pounds to each minister or school-master, for his passage to the West Indies ; and instructions were given to the governors of the provinces, to permit none authoritatively to serve any cure of souls, or to teach school, but such as were licensed by the Bishop of London. And as a farther greater favor it was ordered, that from that time every minister should be one of the vestry of his respective parish. This provision for a regular clergy, licensed by the Bishop of London, did considerably forward the good work ; the people generally built Churches in all the Leeward Islands, and in Jamaica, that is, in those settlements which were rich and able to make provision for the support of their ministers ; but this good effect did not extend to the poorer plantations upon the Continent, several of which remained in an utter state of ignorance, and broke into various divisions of all sects and denominations.

6. To remedy this calamity another most signal instance of royal favor was shown to the plantations, by their Majesties King William and Queen Mary; a very noble design was laid, of erecting and endowing a College in Virginia, at Williamsburg, the capital of that country, for professors and students in Academical arts and sciences, for a continual seminary of learning and religion; a stately fabric was intended and partly raised for that purpose, a royal Charter was given, with ample immunities and privileges, and a public fund was allotted for the endowment of it, and a President appointed with an honorable salary, and the College, in honor of the founders, called William and Mary College. But soon after about half the intended pile was raised, before it was furnished with professors and students, or advanced itself above a grammar school, all that was built of the College was unfortunately destroyed by fire. Her late Majesty Queen Mary, of pious memory, showed so hearty a zeal and affection in promoting this work, it would be great negligence or ingratitude in a writer not to remark what a Bishop of our Church justly observes upon this occasion. "Her Majesty took particular methods to be well informed of the state of our plantations; and of those colonies that we have among the infidels. But it was no small grief to her to hear that they were but too generally a reproach to the religion by which they were named, I do not say which they professed, for many of them seem scarce to profess it, she gave a willing ear to a proposition that was made for erecting schools, and the founding of a college among them. She considered the whole scheme of it, and the endowment which was desired for it. It was a noble one, and was to rise out of some branches of the revenue, which made it liable to objections. But she took care to consider the whole thing so well, that she herself answered all objections, and espoused the matter with so affectionate a concern, that she prepared it for the king to settle it at his coming over; she knew how heartily he concurred in all designs of that nature; nor indeed could any thing inflame her more than the prospect of setting religion forward, especially where there were hopes of working upon infidels."

7. This act of Royal favor made Bishop Compton exert all his power to promote the work, and, therefore, for the more orderly settling all Church affairs in Virginia, he appointed the Rev. Mr. James Blair his Commissary there; and soon after appointed the Rev. Dr. Bray his Commissary in Maryland. Upon this occasion, Queen Mary again extended her royal bounty, and gave £200 a year during her life, to support missionaries. Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne, of Denmark, contributed liberally, several of the nobility, and many others of the clergy and gentry, did make such generous contributions towards carrying on this work, that several missionaries were sent and supported in the colonies. Dr. Bray, especially, was enabled to do many public services in Maryland, to settle and procure a support for several new ministers, to fix and furnish some parochial libraries, and to provide schoolmasters, very much to the advancement of religion in those parts; the particulars of which need not be repeated here, since the Rev. Doctor

hath himself given the public a very fair and satisfactory account of his proceedings.

8. While thus this good work was just kept alive by a few private persons, an incident happened which occasioned a Charter to be obtained, and the rise of this Society. Dr. Stanley, Archdeacon of London, now Dean of St. Asaph, who had been one of those who contributed, and usually stirred up others to promote this design, happening to recommend this charity to a late great Prelate's lady, as deserving her bounty for its support, he was told by the Bishop, that though his intentions were very commendable, and the work worthy all encouragement, yet the methods he used to carry it on, were not in law strictly justifiable, but that it was necessary to have a Charter to render the management of this charity safe and secure. The Doctor saw presently, upon reflecting, the objection was very just, but this difficulty did not make him cease from any further endeavors. He was very hearty in promoting this work, and therefore resolved to make application where he had hopes to get the difficulty removed. He acquainted Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton with the objection which had been started, upon which the Archbishop moved to think so Christian a work should be stopped, replied, with more than usual earnestness, *then we must have a Charter*; and soon after, he did so effectually represent the religious wants of the plantations to his Majesty, that a Royal Charter was granted, and this Society erected.

This truly was an action suitable to Archbishop Tenison's public spirit and honest zeal for the Protestant religion, and exceedingly becoming his high station and authority in the Church. The American colonies sure, can never without the greatest veneration and gratitude remember him, when they shall many ages hereafter, feel the happy effects of having the Christian religion planted among them, and reflect, how hearty and forward Archbishop Tenison appeared, to obtain that Charter which gave life and authority to so glorious an undertaking; nay, that his zeal and spirit did not rest here; he continued to promote and guide by his wise counsels, the affairs of the Society; he paid them an annual bounty of fifty pounds during his life, and at his death bequeathed them a thousand pounds towards the maintenance of the first Bishop that should be settled in America.

9. A Charter being thus obtained, the next endeavor was to carry their worthy designs into execution. Accordingly his Grace the Archbishop, as empowered by the Charter, caused summons to be issued for the members of the Corporation, to meet within the time limited; and several met at the place appointed, on the 27th of June, 1700, and chose proper officers for transacting their business. At following meetings they made divers rules and orders for their more regular proceeding in the administration of their trust, and subscribed among themselves near two hundred pounds, for defraying the charges of passing the Charter, making the common seal, and other necessary expenses. They also ordered five hundred copies of the Charter to be printed forthwith, and distributed among the members, to be showed by them to all

proper persons, the farther to notify the design they were engaged in, and to invite more persons of ability and piety to assist in carrying it on.

This step was but an opening of the matter to the public; the Society were diligent to consider of farther and more effectual ways and means, to obtain subscriptions and contributions, sufficient to enable them to bear the expense of sending many missionaries abroad. They immediately agreed that the best argument to mankind was example, and the most effectual means to engage others to contribute, was to lead the way themselves, by subscribing towards the support of the work. Accordingly, Archbishop Tenison, the President, the Vice-Presidents, all the Bishops and members then present, did subscribe a yearly sum to be paid to the Treasurer of the Society, for the public uses, according to a form of subscription drawn up for that purpose. Having now made this advance themselves, they gave out deputations under their common seal, to several of their members, and other persons of figure and interest in the counties of England and Wales, signifying their being constituted and appointed by the corporation to take subscriptions, and to receive all sums of money, which should be subscribed or advanced for the purposes mentioned in the Charter. And here it is to be gratefully acknowledged, that several worthy persons did, with a public spirit, take these deputations, to help on with a work so truly for the national interest, and the honor of common Christianity; and did by their example and instances, so influence several well disposed persons, that considerable remittances of benefactions to the corporation were soon made, which enabled them to enter on the work with success.

10. Particularly from the gentlemen and clergy of Lincolnshire, through the hands of the Rev. Mr. Adamson, Rector of Burton Coggles, and Mr. Evans, Rector of Ussingham; from the clergy of the Diocese of York, by the countenance of the Archbishop, and the care of his Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Deering; from the clergy and others in Northamptonshire, by the hands of the Rev. Dr. Reynolds, (now Lord Bishop of Lincoln,) Chancellor of the Diocese of Peterborough; from several Divines in Suffolk, transmitted to the Rev. Mr. Shute; from the gentry and clergy in Shropshire, returned by the Rev. Mr. Wroe, Warden of Manchester College; from a Society of Clergy in Devonshire; and especially from the gentry and others in or near Exeter, transmitted by the Rev. Mr. Richard King, which worthy gentleman, together with several of his friends, hath been a constant benefactor to this Society from its first rise, and hath upon many occasions very much promoted its interest. The Society received also several sums of money remitted by Sir Edmund Turner, and from other persons deputed by the Society in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, remitted by Sir John Philips, of Picton Castle in Pembrokeshire, Baronet, who had not only zealously promoted the design of this corporation, of which he was a member appointed by Charter, but also very much assisted several other religious societies, whereby the honor and interests of religion might be advanced, and the public good promoted.

Nor were there only such persons of piety and honor who appeared

openly in carrying on this great work, but even at first, and ever since, there have been several benefactors, who, with a too modest concealment of their names, have made great benefactions to the Society. I shall remark only through whose hands, and probably by whose influence, several benefactions just at the rise of the Society came. The chief of these were reported and paid to the corporation by Dr. Beveridge, afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, Dr. Sharpe, Archbishop of York, Dr. Wake, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and President of this Society; by the Rev. Mr. Gibson, now Bishop of London, the Rev. Mr. Waddington, now Bishop of Clichester, the Hon. Colonel Colchester, Sir William Drake, Sir Thomas Trollop, Sir Edward Seeward, Mr. Meux, Mr. Torriano, the Rev. Mr. Stubbs, now Archdeacon of St. Albans, the Rev. Mr. Shute, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Arthington, Mr. Hanky, Mr. Broughton. But the greatest benefaction soon after the establishment of the Society, was in the year 1702. Dr. Mapletoft reported to the Board, that a person who desired to be unknown, had sent him a present of one thousand pounds, and desired it might be laid out in land or rent charges, or otherwise for the use of the Society and their successors for ever, the name of the honored person being, by strict command, concealed till after the demise: Dr. Mapletoft then declared it, and his declaration is thus entered upon the Society's books, February 1, 1705, "Whereas the sum of one thousand pounds was sent as a benefaction to this Society, from an unknown person, by the hands of the Rev. Dr. John Mapletoft, the said Dr. Mapletoft doth now inform the Society, that the said unknown person is lately deceased; and that therefore he is now at liberty to impart her name and quality, which were before concealed by her own command; she was dame Jane Holman, the relict of Sir John Holman, of Weston in Northamptonshire, a lady of great humility, piety, and charity;" this donation, with an addition of near £300, was laid out by the Society, in purchase of land in Essex, now in the Society's possession.

CHAPTER II.

Enquiries made into the Religious State of the Colonies. The particular State of each Colony described.

THE Society thought they had now made a promising entrance into the discharge of the trust committed to them, and from the zeal of their members, and other corresponding gentlemen, had hopes of gaining a fund sufficient to make a first step in so great a work. They were acquainted with the general condition of the colonies with regard to religious affairs, but thought this knowledge not sufficient to proceed upon: they made enquiries of all proper persons, merchants, and others

here, and wrote to governors, congregations of people, and other persons of distinction in the plantations, for a more particular account of the state of religion in the American Colonies; that by such a distinct information, they might more suitably apply their help where it was most wanted and most desired.

And they received indeed from thence a more melancholy account than any their fears could suggest, several relations setting forth, that the very Indian darkness was not more gloomy and horrid, than that in which some of the English inhabitants of the colonies lived. Such as did truly verify this observation in the Charter: "Some colonies and plantations wholly destitute and unprovided of a maintenance for ministers, and the public worship of God, and for lack of such support and maintenance, many of the subjects of this realm want the administration of God's Word and sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity; and also for want of learned and orthodox ministers to instruct them in the principles of true religion, divers Romish priests and Jesuits are more encouraged to pervert and draw them over to popish superstition and idolatry." These words of the Charter do truly exhibit the reason, and set forth the necessity of the establishment of this Society; because as to the first remark, that "great numbers of the inhabitants were abandoned to atheism and infidelity," this will appear too plain from numerous instances in the following papers. How indeed could it be otherwise in those rude countries, and in these latter times, when it cannot with any degree of modesty be denied, but that a prevailing spirit of deism hath appeared, even here at home, setting at naught all revelation, treating every religion as alike imposture and fraud, and all the teachers of them as equally deceivers of mankind. And with regard to the other particular mentioned in the charter, that Jesuits might more easily seduce the people to popish superstition and idolatry, this is very evident; for, inasmuch as the people, through the want of clergy, were abandoned to atheism and infidelity, it is an easy step from atheism into popery; because whosoever hath no inward sense nor persuasion of the truth of any revelation, is open to take upon him the outward profession of popery at any time, as various interests and inclinations may sway him.

The Society, upon their first engaging in this work, presently perceived it consisted of three great branches, the care and instruction of our own people, settled in the colonies; the conversion of the Indian savages, and the conversion of the negroes. The English planters had the title to their first care, as brethren and countrymen, as having been once Christians, at least their parents. Besides, it would be ineffectual to begin with an attempt to convert the Indians and negroes, and to let our own people continue in their gross ignorance, or supine negligence of all the duties of Christianity: for both the former sorts of men, would necessarily take their first impressions concerning Christianity, from the English; and when they found them pay so little obedience to the laws of the Gospel, must either neglect it as an unprofitable labor, or hate it as a heavy imposition.

2. The Society began therefore with the English, and soon found there was more to be done among them, than they had as yet, any views of effecting. The reader shall here have a small sketch of the state and condition of each colony, formed from accounts, the governors and persons of the best note, sent over to the corporation: for surely, the mere relation of the state of these countries, must raise a very affecting reflection in a person of a serious spirit; when he observes such great numbers of people in the colonies, living without any ministration of the Gospel in many places. If he should only consider them as now, in their present condition; the people very numerous, the countries exceeding large, the climates healthy, the soils very rich, the rivers large and navigable hundreds of miles up into the main land, the harbors many, capacious, and safe: these are great natural advantages, and capable of vast improvements by industry. But if the reader should carry on his thoughts farther, and consider them as a thriving people, colonies which may grow up into powerful nations, and that from these small beginnings what a mighty English empire may one day flourish in those parts, can it seem an indifferent thing, a small matter, to any true believer, whether so great people (for such they may one day be) should be Christians or not?

3. I shall therefore give a summary view of the particular state of each colony, when the Society engaged in this work, beginning with the most southern colony on the continent: this is South Carolina, extending in length on the sea coast, three hundred miles; and into the main land near two hundred miles. It was granted by patent from the crown, in the year 1663, and settled soon after, containing in the year 1701, above seven thousand persons, besides negroes and Indians, and was divided into several parishes and towns. Yet though peopled at its first settlement with the natives of these kingdoms, there was, until the year 1701, no minister of the Church of England resident in this colony; though great numbers of the inhabitants were very desirous of having ministers of the Church of England; and with very few teachers of any other kind; neither had they any schools for the education of their children.

The next colony, North Carolina, extending on the sea-coast above one hundred miles, and into the land about one hundred, was divided into several townships, and peopled from England. It contained above five thousand inhabitants, besides negroes and Indians, in the year 1701, all living without any form of divine worship publicly performed, and without schools for the education of their children in the elements of learning and principles of religion.

In the year 1703, Mr. Henderson Walker, a gentleman of that country, describes the state of it thus to the Bishop of London: We have been settled near these fifty years in this place, and I may justly say, most part of twenty-one years on my own knowledge, without any minister of the Church of England, and before that time, according to all that appears to me, much worse; George Fox, some years ago,

came into these parts, and by a strange infatuation did infuse his Quaker principles into some small number of people.

Nay, in the year 1712, Mr. Gale, a gentleman of figure in that country, wrote to England to his father, that since he had been an inhabitant of that country, which was about eight years, religion continued in a very low ebb, and the little stock the settlers had carried over with them, was in danger of being totally lost, without speedy care of sending ministers. The country had been ever since it was settled by the English, without a minister residing, and all the children under eighteen years of age, (from the time the last minister was there,) continued unbaptized, many of which had been cut off in a massacre committed by the Tuscarow Indians. This account was by that gentleman's father here delivered to the Archbishop of York, (Dr. Sharpe.)

4. The next colony, Virginia, the most ancient of all in America, was in a much better condition; this had not only the advantage of being planted first, but also of being settled by a corporation or company of noblemen and merchants in London, who acted with a more public spirit and purse, than the few proprietaries and adventurers in the other plantations could: the first settlers here were for the most part members of the Church of England, and as soon as the colony was established beyond the fear of common calamities, they began to provide for their souls as Christians, as well as to take care of their temporal concerns as merchants; accordingly in the year 1712, the whole country was laid out into forty-nine parishes or townships, and an act of assembly made, fixing a salary upon the minister of each parish. A church was built of timber, brick, or stone in each parish, and many other chapels of ease, all decently adorned for the celebration of public divine service. For some years at first, they wanted a great many ministers for vacant places; but have, since Dr. Bray's being appointed Commissary there, had church matters put in a more orderly method. A regular clergy, with the advantages of some parochial libraries, hath been established, and many schools have been erected for the education of their children. The Society therefore did maintain no ministers in Virginia, as thinking the people able to make a sufficient provision for their support themselves, though they have on some occasions made gratuities to clergymen there.

The next colony, Maryland, a spacious country, and like Virginia, perhaps the best watered of any in the world, abounds with numerous commodious harbors. The first settlement made here, was in the year 1633, consisting of about two hundred English, the chief of which were gentlemen of good families. By the good conduct of the first governors, the colony grew up and flourished soon, and religion now is pretty well established among them. Churches are built, and there is an annual stipend allowed each minister by a perpetual law; which is more or less according to the number of taxables in each parish, and is levied by the sheriff among other public revenues: yet notwithstanding these advantages, nowhere else to be found in the English America, except Virginia, they wanted several more clergymen for their

parishes; but since the beginning of the late Governor Nicholson's time, the face of affairs is much mended, and the churches are now crowded with persons duly attending divine service, the number of Papists, who went over there, hath decreased, Quakerism hath lost ground, and true religion made considerable advances. The Society have sent no missionaries hither, though this colony required a larger number of clergymen; because there hath hitherto been a loud and urgent call for all their fund could give, by the following colonies, which were, until supplied by the Society, entirely destitute of a minister.

5. Pennsylvania is the first of these, a large country, extending above one hundred and twenty miles in length, and in some parts of a great breadth; settled first by some Dutch and Swedes; the Dutch plantation fixed on the freshes of the river Delaware. The Fins of some inhabitants of Finland, composed the Swedish colony; the Swedes applied themselves to husbandry, the Dutch to trade, the latter grew soon too powerful for the former; and though the King of Sweden appointed formerly a governor here to protect his subjects, yet in the year 1655, the Swedish Governor, John Rizeing, made a formal surrender of the country to the Dutch Governor. But the English fleet, in the year 1664, having obliged New Amsterdam, now called New York, to surrender, and the English also making themselves masters of the adjoining plantations on the continent, both parties in this country, the Dutch and Swedes, peaceably submitted to the English. Mr. Penn, the proprietary, who had the grant of this country, called it from his own name Pennsylvania. There were but few English in this colony, before this gentleman carried over a considerable body of adventurers, about two thousand persons, all Quakers, who were more readily disposed to venture with him, as being reputed the head of that sect of people in England.

This spacious country was thus settled by people of several nations, and of various opinions in religion; the Dutch were Calvinists, the Swedes, Lutherans, the main body of the English, Quakers: but a few years after the Quakers settled here, persons of several other persuasions in religion came over, and some members of the Church of England. The Quakers also divided among themselves, on account of some different sentiments in religion, and set up separate meetings. The other inhabitants followed each what was good in his own eyes. The public worship of God was generally neglected, and the whole people lived without the instituted means of grace and salvation; though a great body of men, amounting now to near ten thousand persons, settled in several commodious towns for trade and husbandry. But they have since approved themselves a worthy and industrious people, and have of late years, since the Church of England worship hath been set up among them, by voluntary contributions, built several churches, erected schools, reformed their lives and manners, and made considerable improvements in trade, husbandry, and industry of all kinds.

6. The next colony is New York Government, formerly called Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands, because first settled by the Dutch; the soil is said to be exceeding fruitful, and the climate the most healthy of all the British America. The first bounds of this country, when possessed by the Dutch, were Maryland on the south, the main land as far as it could be discovered westward, the great river Canada, northward, and New England, eastward. The East and West Jerseys were afterwards taken out of it, and given to under proprietaries, by the Duke of York, who had the grant of the whole. The Jerseys were first settled by Swedes and some Dutch, afterwards by English inhabitants; however, as New York and the Jerseys are now under one Governor, the reader may consider them as one country, extending near four hundred miles in length, on the sea coast, and in breadth one hundred and twenty. A very spacious country, enriched with two noble streams, the Hudson and Delaware rivers, running several hundred miles, and navigable up above one hundred into the main land, by ships of great burthen, and both falling into the sea with commodious harbors. I must not omit mentioning here, Long Island, a considerable branch of this government. It is situate opposite to the New York coast, an Island above one hundred miles long, and about twelve broad, settled first by the Dutch, and afterwards by some English from New England, now a populous country, exceedingly fruitful, having on the east part ten English towns, who were computed to have above eight hundred families in the year 1701, and on the west part, nine Dutch towns, reckoned to contain above five hundred families. The people were of various sects and denominations, chiefly Independents and Quakers, who had removed from New England, together with many others not professing any sort of religion.

The whole body of this government, Long Island, Staten Island, the counties on the continent, and both the Jerseys, had no public worship duly settled; a great variety of sentiments and schemes in religion obtained everywhere, and the Dutch who remained there under the English government, lived in the most orderly and Christian manner: I shall give a description of the religious state of this country, in the words of an excellent person, Colonel Heathcote, a gentleman who had a considerable fortune there. He wrote thus to the Society in 1704. "Being favored with this opportunity, I cannot omit giving you the state of this country, in relation to the Church, and shall begin the history thereof, from the time I first came among them, which was about twelve years ago. I found it the most rude and heathenish country I ever saw in my whole life, which called themselves Christians, there being not so much as the least marks or footsteps of religion of any sort. Sundays were only times set apart by them for all manner of vain sports and lewd diversions, and they were grown to such a degree of rudeness that it was intolerable. I having then the command of the militia, sent an order to all the Captains, requiring them to call their men under arms, and to acquaint them, that in case they would not in every town agree among themselves to appoint read-

ers, and to pass the Sabbath in the best manner they could, till such times as they could be better provided; that the Captains should every Sunday call their companies under arms, and spend the day in exercise; whereupon it was unanimously agreed on through the country, to make choice of readers; which they accordingly did, and continued in those methods for some time." This description given by that worthy person, who proved afterwards highly instrumental in settling religion, both here and in the neighboring countries, was confirmed by many accounts from other hands.

The reader will, in the sequel of this piece, have the pleasure to see the face of things in this colony exceedingly changed for the better; and that since the Society have sent missionaries hither, the inhabitants have thrown off all their former rudeness, and become a religious, sober, and polite people, and as traders to New York assure us, resemble the English very much, in their open behavior, and frank sincerity of spirit.

7. The next colony is New England, almost deserving that noble name, so mightily hath it increased, and, from a small settlement at first, is now become a very populous and flourishing government. The capital city, Boston, is a place of great trade and wealth, and by much the largest of any in the English Empire in America, and not exceeded but by few cities, perhaps two or three, in all the American world. It is foreign to the purpose of this treatise to describe its ancient division into four great districts or governments; the whole country, New England, extends above four hundred miles on the sea-coast, and near two hundred miles into the main land westward in some places. This colony was first settled in the year 1620, by Protestant dissenters of many denominations, but chiefly Independents, Brownists, and Presbyterians. They did at their first settling contend with, and by their great constancy, at last surmount exceeding difficulties; and have through their industry raised a plentiful and delightful country out of a barren and waste wilderness: it ought to be owned to the just honor of this people, that the first settlers who left their native country, England, appear to have done it, out of a true principle of conscience, however erroneous. As soon as they had fixed the civil magistracy, they did establish a public worship of God; and suitable to this prudent as well as religious procedure, the colony thrived apace, and hath now far outstripped all the others. But when the Independents found themselves fixed in power, they began to exact a rigid conformity to their manner of worship. Men of all persuasions but their own, were styled opprobriously sectaries, and though they had declared at first for moderation, and a general liberty of conscience, they, notwithstanding, banished and drove out of the country, the Quakers, the Antinomian and Familistical parties. However, there are many circumstances which alleviate and soften some particulars, which might seem rigorous in their administration. New England was at the beginning harrassed with various sectaries, who under the umbrage of liberty of conscience, took a great licentiousness in all religious and civil matters. I shall

mention a few of the chief, from their own historians: "The Antinomians, who deny the moral law of God to be the rule of Christ to walk by in the obedience of faith. The Familists, who reject the sure written Word of God, and teach men to depend upon new and rare revelations for the knowledge of God's electing love towards them. The Conformitants or Formalists, who bring in a form of worship of their own, and join it with the worship God hath appointed in his Word. The Seekers, who deny all manner of worship and all the ordinances of Jesus Christ, affirming them to be quite lost, and not to be attained till new apostles come; besides these, there were Arrians, Arminians, Quakers;" with these New England swarmed, and their own best writers give us a very melancholy account of their enthusiastic behaviour.

But the most impudent sectarists, a sect heard of in no other part of the world, were the Gortonists, so named from their vile ringleader, one Gorton, who set up to live in a more brutal manner than the wild Indian savages; in defiance and contempt of any means for instructing themselves in the knowledge of God, and without any civil government to restrain them in common humanity and decency. This blasphemous fellow had his followers, and was with difficulty suppressed by the civil power, in Governor Dudley's time, in the year 1643. Yet though the civil magistrate could stop the progress of this iniquity, so far as to prevent its being an allowed and tolerated faction or party; yet still, down to this day, there hath continued a succession of people, who have not been ashamed to own and maintain his impious tenets, commonly called now Gortonian principles.

8. After these sectaries had rose and fallen, another sort of people appeared, professing themselves members of the Church of England. These too were looked upon as sectaries, with what degree of modesty or truth the reader must judge. It is true indeed, at the settling of the country, as hath been before observed, Independents were the first planters, who removed from England, from what they thought persecution; but since that time, great numbers of people, members of the Church of England, have at different times settled there, who thought themselves surely entitled, by the very New England Charter, to a liberty of conscience, in the worshipping of God after their own way. Yet the Independents (it seems) were not of this sentiment, but acted as an establishment. The members of the Church of England met with obstructions in setting up that form of worship, and therefore a great number of the inhabitants of Boston, got an humble petition to be laid before His Majesty, King Charles the Second, by Dr. Compton, then Bishop of London; praying that they might be allowed to build a church at Boston, and to perform divine worship according to the Church of England. This petition was granted, a church was soon after built, and frequented by a numerous congregation; upon this

* History of New England, printed 1654, p. 24.

† Vid. ib. p. 185.

occasion, the members of the Church of England in many other towns in New England, declared their desire of the like advantage of worshipping God after that way, wrote very zealous letters to Bishop Compton for ministers; and now it appeared they were a very considerable body of people.

9. Newfoundland is the next and most northern colony of the English, lying between forty-six and fifty-three degrees of northern latitude; it is a large island, as big as Ireland. The first settlement was made here in the year 1610. The English frequent this island chiefly for the cod fishery on the sand banks, not for the improvement of the soil of the country, which is said to be worth little; and therefore they have not built any towns, but made only settlements, which they chose to call harbors. However, there is one place which may deserve the name of a town, namely, St. John's, situate commodiously within the neck of an harbor. The houses were built on the northern shore, and every family had a sort of wharf to dry his fish on. There was a handsome church built here, before the French, in 1705, burnt this town and the church. After the English had again drove out the French, they built another small church and houses for themselves round the fort, for their greater security. Though the constant inhabitants in this place are but few, yet in fishing seasons great number of English repair thither for catching cod; some years there have been five hundred sail of ships laden with cod. There are computed to be here about five or six settlements, containing in all, about five hundred families constantly residing on the island. The people are poor, and unable to support a minister, and at the time this corporation was established, had none: therefore that the whole island, all the settlers, and many thousands of occasional inhabitants, might not be destitute of having the public worship of God celebrated, the Society sent the Rev. Mr. Jackson thither, allowed him an annual salary for several years and made him other gratuities.

10. This is the description of the religious state of the colonies. I shall contract the whole into a short view, as the Honorable Governor Dudley, Colonel Morris, and Colonel Heathcote, have represented it in their memorials. "In South Carolina there were computed seven thousand souls, besides negroes and Indians, living without any minister of the Church of England, and but few dissenting teachers of any kind, above half the people living regardless of any religion. In North Carolina, above five thousand souls without any minister, any religious administrations used; no public worship celebrated, neither the children baptized, nor the dead buried in any Christian form. Virginia contained above forty thousand souls, divided into forty parishes, but wanting near half the number of clergymen requisite. Maryland contained above twenty-five thousand, divided into twenty-six parishes, but wanting also near half the number of ministers requisite. In Pennsylvania (says Colonel Heathcote) there are at least twenty thousand souls, of which, not above seven hundred frequent the Church, and there are not more than two hundred and fifty communicants. The two Jerseys contain about fifteen thousand, of which, not above six hundred fre-

quent the Church, nor have they more than two hundred and fifty communicants. In New York Government we have thirty thousand souls at least, of which about one thousand two hundred frequent the Church, and we have about four hundred and fifty communicants. In Connecticut colony in New England, there are about thirty thousand souls, of which, when they have a minister among them, about one hundred and fifty frequent the Church, and there are thirty-five communicants. In Rhode Island and Narragansett, which is one government, there are about ten thousand souls, of which, about one hundred and fifty frequent the Church, and there are thirty communicants. In Boston and Piscataway Government, there are about eighty thousand souls, of which, about six hundred frequent the Church, and one hundred and twenty the sacrament. In Newfoundland, there are about five hundred families constantly living in the place, and many thousands of occasional inhabitants, and no sort of public Christian worship used. This is the true though melancholy state of our Church in North America; and whoever sends any other accounts more in her favor, are certainly under mistakes; nor can I take them (if they do it knowingly) to be friends to the Church; for if the distemper be not rightly known and understood, proper remedies can never be applied."

CHAPTER III.

The People in the Colonies very desirous of Ministers of the Church of England. Requests from Congregations of people in each Colony.

THE Governors of several Colonies, and other gentlemen of character abroad, and merchants here in London, having given such a particular description of the religious state of the plantations, the Society found it was high time to enter upon the good work. They were pleased to see, that as the people were plainly in great want of a Christian ministry, so they showed also a very earnest desire of being assisted with such. For after it was known publicly in the plantations, that this Society was erected, and that they intended to send ministers to such places as should desire them; especially, after the Rev. Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot, who had been sent traveling preachers through all the Colonies of the Continent, had finished their mission; the people seemed to awake from the lethargy they had so long laid under, great numbers of the inhabitants, of various humors and different tenets in religion, began to contend with great zeal which should be first supplied with ministers of the Church of England, and wrote very earnest letters to the Society. This was a strife very agreeable to the Society, and now they promised themselves their labor should not be in vain, nor their honorable benefactors charity, like water spilt upon the ground. They thought any further delay now would be inexcusable, after the people had pressed so earnestly for their assistance.

Indeed, the Society through the whole management of the trust, have been so far from acting with an over busy zeal of obtruding the Church of England worship upon any sort of people abroad, that they have always this unpleasing reflection; that they have not been able to give any assistance to great numbers of people, who have, in very moving terms, with a true Christian spirit, requested it; and whom they knew to stand very much in want of it. There remained upon their books entries of numerous petitions from congregations of sober and well-disposed people praying for ministers, which, to their own great discomfort, they have been forced to pass by, on account of the smallness of their fund; and not one instance of a minister settled in any place, where many of the inhabitants did not earnestly desire it, and to the utmost of their power contribute towards his support. That the public may be fully acquainted with this disposition in the colonies, it will be proper here to give the reader the people's request to the Society in their own words; to let the people speak for themselves, that the world may judge, whether this Christian work was not as necessary, as surely it is pious.

The memorials and petitions of the governors and congregations of people shall be laid down next, in the same order the state of the colonies was described, beginning with South Carolina, the more Southern colony.

2. The first memorial from South Carolina, was from the Governor and Council of Carolina, dated at the Council-board, at Charlestown, signed by the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and the members of the Council in 1702. It runs thus:—"We could not omit this opportunity of testifying the grateful sense we have of your most noble and Christian charity to our poor infant Church in this province, expressed by the generous encouragement you have been pleased to give to those who are now coming missionaries, the account of which we have just now received by the worthy missionary, and our deserving friend and minister, Mr. Thomas, who, to our great satisfaction, is now arrived. The extraordinary hurry we are in, occasioned by the late invasion, attempted by the French and Spaniards, from whom God hath miraculously delivered us, hath prevented our receiving a particular account from Mr. Thomas of your bounty; and also hath not given us leisure to view your missionary's instructions, either in regard of what relates to them or to ourselves; but we shall take speedy care to give them all due encouragement, and the venerable Society the utmost satisfaction. There is nothing so dear to us as our holy religion, and the interest of the Established Church, in which we have (we bless God) been happily educated; we therefore devoutly adore God's Providence for bringing, and heartily thank your Society for encouraging so many missionaries to come among us. We promise your honorable Society, it shall be our daily care and study, to encourage their pious labors, to protect their persons, to revere their authority, to improve by their ministerial instructions, and as soon as possible, to enlarge their annual salaries. When we have placed your missionaries in their several parishes according to your directions, and receive from them an account

of your noble benefaction of books for each parish, we shall then write more particular and full. In the meantime, we beg of your honorable Society to accept of our hearty gratitude, and to be assured of our sincere endeavor, to concur with them in their most noble design of propagating Christ's holy religion." Mr. Thomas was obliged upon necessary affairs to come to England in 1705, and soon after returned to Carolina. The Society received another letter from the Governor and Council, dated December, 1706, acquainting them with the Rev. Mr. Thomas' death, and desiring more missionaries might be sent. Their words are these: "Mr. Samuel Thomas, whom we designed for Charlestown, we were so unhappy as to lose, for he died in some few days after his arrival. His death hath been a very great loss to this province, he being a person of great piety and virtue, and by his exemplary life, diligent preaching, and obliging carriage, had the good will of all men. He not only brought over several of the dissenters, but also prevailed upon several who professed themselves members of the Church of England, to lead religious lives, and to become constant communicants, and other considerable services he did for the Church. We shall now have occasion for four more ministers in the country, besides one for Charlestown; so we do most humbly request your honorable Society, to send four more ministers for the country, and upon your recommendation we shall have them fixed in the several parishes there."

These letters are sufficient to show the sense of the country concerning receiving clergymen of the Church of England, upon the first sending a missionary. I must here, once for all, remark to the reader, that upon the death of a missionary, the same earnest desire for a successor hath been always continued.

3. The next government, North Carolina, was later settled, had been harassed with intestine feuds and divisions, and almost destroyed by an Indian war; the Society at first sent hither only one missionary, the Rev. Mr. Adams, and he was soon obliged, on account of several distressing circumstances, to return to England. Colonel Glover, then Governor of the country, the Church-wardens, and vestry of Coratuck, of Pasco-tank, and Chowan Precincts, where he had chiefly employed his labors, wrote to the Society upon his departure, in the year 1710, and did, with great earnestness, represent their want of ministers. I shall give the reader here only one letter, from the Church-wardens and Vestry of Coratuck, because the others are much of the same strain, conceived, indeed, in very plain, but strong and affecting terms. "We, the Church-wardens and Vestry-men, as representatives, and at the request of the precinct and parish of Coratuck, North Carolina, do desire to offer our grateful acknowledgments in the most humble and hearty manner, to the Most Rev. Father in God, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, President, and the rest of the members of *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, for their pious care in sending the Rev. Mr. Adams among us, who hath, during his abode here, behaved himself in all respects as a minister of Christ, exemplary in his life, and blameless in his conversation; and now, being bound

for England, we, with sorrowful hearts, and true love and affection, take our leave of him. We shall ever bless that Providence which placed him among us, and should be very unjust to his character, if we did not give him the testimony of a pious and painful pastor; whose sweetness of temper, diligence in his calling, and soundness of doctrine, hath so much conduced to promote the great end of his mission, that we hope the good seed God hath enabled him to sow, will bear fruit upwards. This hath in some measure appeared already, for though the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was never, before his arrival, administered in this precinct, yet we have had more Communicants than most of our neighboring parishes of Virginia, who have had the advantage of a settled ministry for many years. We have no more to add, but beg the honorable Society will be pleased to continue us still under their charitable care, for whatever our merits be, our necessities are great, and all the return we can make, is to praise God for raising up so many truly good friends to our souls; and that Heaven may prosper you in so pious and charitable a design, shall be the subject of our prayers."

Virginia and Maryland are the next Colonies, both which were divided into parishes, and had a regular and licensed clergy with salaries settled on them by acts of Assembly; yet neither of these colonies had much above half the proper number of ministers for their Churches. However, by their officiating in two or more places by turns, the public worship of God was decently supported, and the ministerial offices duly performed; for which reason, the Society did not send any missionaries to these Colonies.

4. The large adjoining Colony, Pennsylvania, was in a very destitute state, wholly unprovided of any minister of the Church of England, except only at one place, Philadelphia. A considerable number of people here, members of the Church of England, had formed themselves into a gathered Church, and chose a Vestry, and transmitted to the Society a very zealous letter in the year 1704, wherein they say, "They can never be sufficiently thankful to Divine Providence, who hath raised up this Society to maintain the honor of religion, and to engage in the great work, the salvation of men. That gratitude, and an humble acknowledgment of their noble and charitable resolution of propagating the sacred gospel, in these remote and dark corners of the earth, is not only a duty, but a debt on all true professors of Christianity."

At the same time the Society received a letter from the Vestry of Chester, in Pennsylvania, full of religious sentiments, that they did bless God, who had put it into the hearts of so many charitable persons to engage in the great work of promoting the salvation of such as were so widely removed from all conveniences of Divine worship as they were, till the Christian charity of this Society, not only procured a minister for them, but also supported him. This truly was absolutely necessary, for though in some parts of that province, and particularly in and about Philadelphia, abundance of souls were daily added to the Church, yet the number of this parish being small, and the charge of building their Church (not then quite finished) together with the great scarcity of

money among them since the war with Spain, had quite disenabled them from taking that weight from the Society, which otherwise they would have willingly done. They never before had grounds even to hope the Gospel would be propagated, in those, above all other, foreign parts, till they found themselves the subjects of the Society's care." The Society received also letters and petitions from the people of Dover Hundred, Oxford, and from the Welsh people settled at Radnor, requesting the Corporation with great earnestness to send them missionaries; and expressing the greatest love and esteem for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.

5. New York Government is next; this worthy people showed an early zeal for having the Church of England worship established among them. In the year 1693, an act was passed for settling the Church of England service in some counties, and a provision appointed for six ministers, one for the city of New York, the capital of the country, and the rest for other principal towns. But this Act did not take effect till about the year 1702, nor was the provision made thereby, a sufficient maintenance for the ministers in the country towns. These applied to the Society for help; particularly the inhabitants of West Chester, were very pressing for a minister. Earnest memorials were sent from the inhabitants of New Rochel, from those of Jamaica, and Hempsted, towns in Long Island; from Staten Island, and from Rye; and their desires have been complied with, and missionaries sent to those places.

The chief inhabitants of Burlington showed a very early affection for the Church of England worship, which they have continued down to the present time inviolable. In 1704, they wrote to the Society, "That they had a very deep sense of the happiness of having religion settled among them, they desired to adore the goodness of God for moving the hearts of the Lord's spiritual and temporal, the nobles and gentry, to enter into a *Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, the benefit of which they had already experienced, and hoped further to enjoy. They had joined in subscription to build a Church, which, though not yet near finished, they had heard several sermons in it; but they were not able to maintain a minister without the assistance of the Society, whereon they begged God to shower his blessings as a reward for their great charity and care for the good of souls." The Vestry wrote a letter to the same effect to Bishop Compton, intreating his Lordship's favor, and returning their humble thanks for his care of them.

Colonel Morris, a gentleman of character, and considerable interest in New Jersey, did in a letter, in the year 1703, very earnestly solicit Dr. Beveridge, (late Bishop of St. Asaph,) a member of this Society, to recommend it to the Society, to send a missionary to Monmouth county, in East Jersey, where a considerable body of people had formed themselves into a gathered Church, and had promised all the help their narrow circumstances could afford their minister. The Society were not then able to support a missionary there. But the Rev. Mr. Alexander Innis, happening to be in those parts, took the care of that people upon him. After a worthy discharge of his function for some years, he died;

upon which the Justices of the Peace, the High Sheriff, and Grand Jury of Monmouth County, did represent to the Society, in the year 1717, "That the Worthy and Rev. Mr. Alexander Innis, by unwearied pains and industry, gathered three congregations in this County, though much scattered in their habitations; yet did he visit them, teach them, and instruct them all, once at least in three weeks, in order to their eternal happiness. But alas! since his death, we have been without the means of Grace, unhappy in want of a minister of the Established Church to officiate in that office, and to instruct the youth in the Church Catechism. For want of this, we find that some are tossed to and fro, and too many count that they are not bound by our holy religion, but at full liberty to do what may seem good in their own eyes, which hath a wretched influence on their morals; and we are much afraid that if a narrow search were made, such would make up a great bulk, among near four hundred families in this County. Therefore that the public worship of Almighty God, may be maintained in that order, and according to those excellent rules established in the Church of England, we humbly pray that your honorable Body would think of us and send over one to help us, (Acts xvi. 9.) for such are our circumstances, that we cannot in this case help ourselves."

6. The Society received the following very serious and pathetic letter from the inhabitants of Salem, in West New Jersey, and the parts adjacent, in the year 1722:—"Very Venerable Gentlemen. A poor unhappy people settled by God's Providence, to procure by laborious industry a subsistence for our families, make bold to apply ourselves to God, through that very pious and charitable Society, his happy instruments to disperse his blessings in these remote parts; that as his goodness hath vouchsafed us a moderate support for our bodies, his Holy Spirit may influence you to provide us with spiritual food for our souls. In this case our indigence is excessive, and our destitution deplorable, having never been so blessed as to have a person settled among us, to dispense the august ordinances of religion; insomuch that even the name of it is almost lost among us; the virtue and energy of it over men's lives, almost expiring, we won't say forgotten, for that implies previous knowledge of it. But how should people know, having learned so little of God and his worship? And how can they learn without a teacher? Our condition is truly lamentable, and deserving Christian compassion. And to whom can we apply ourselves, but to that venerable Corporation, whose zeal for the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, hath preserved so many in these Colonies, from irreligion, profaneness and infidelity? We beseech you therefore, in the name of our common Lord and Master, and gracious Redeemer, and for the sake of the Gospel, (just ready to die among us,) to make us partakers of that bounty to these parts; and according to the motto engraven on your seal, *Transcendite adjutate, nos (pene Infideles.)* Be pleased to send us some Rev. Clergyman, according to your wisdom, who may inform our judgments, by preaching to us the truths of the Gospel; and recover us all, aged and young, out of the miserable corruptions, consequent to a gross ignorance of it; to whom we promise all encouragement according to



our abilities, and all due respect and obedience to his office, instructions and person. The Lord in mercy look upon us, and excite you, according to your wonted piety, to have a compassionate regard of our case, and we pray the Great God to prosper all your pious undertakings, to promote his glory and the good of his Church, especially in this destitute place of the pilgrimage of your most dutiful servants, &c."

The Society were moved by this plain and sincere letter, and soon after sent, and have continued ever since a missionary there.

7. The last government, New England, though as hath been remarked before, provided with an Independent and Presbyterian ministry, yet had great numbers of inhabitants, who could not follow that persuasion, but were exceeding desirous of worshiping God after the manner of the Church of England. I shall give the reader a few petitions from congregations of people in this government, which show plainly the Society did not concern themselves here, till they were loudly called upon; and that the inhabitants in many places, did not only send petitions for ministers, but also built churches before they had any ministers; which is an uncontrollable evidence and proof, that the people themselves desired to have the Church of England worship, with a hearty zeal and true sincerity.

In September, 1702, the Church-wardens of Rhode Island wrote to the Society, "That they cannot forbear expressing their great joy in being under the patronage of so honorable a Corporation, through whose pious endeavors, with God's assistance, the Church of England hath so fair a prospect of flourishing in those remote parts of the world, and among the rest of her small branches, theirs also in Rhode Island. That though it is not four years since they began to assemble themselves together to worship God after the manner of the Church of England, yet have they built them a Church, finished all on the outside, and the inside is pewed well, though not beautiful; and whatsoever favors the Society shall bestow upon them towards the promoting of their Church, shall be received with the humblest gratitude, and seconded with the utmost of their abilities."

The Bishop of London, (Dr. Compton,) received at the same time petitions for ministers from Rhode Island, from Narragansett, from Newbury, a Church in New Hampshire, from Little Compton and Tiverton, from Braintree near Boston, and from Stratford in Connecticut. The ease of these two last towns was also further recommended to the Society's care, by gentlemen of considerable figure and interest. Col. Morris pressed very earnestly for a minister for Braintree, and Col. Heathcote for another, for the people of Connecticut Colony; great numbers of whom, were very earnest to have a minister of the Church of England. Robert Hunter, Esq., Governor of New York, in the year 1711, writes thus to the Society, concerning the people at Stratford:—"When I was at Connecticut, those of our communion at the Church at Stratford, came to me in a body; and then, as they have since by letter, begged my intercession with the Venerable Society, and the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, for a missionary; they appeared very much in earnest, and are the best set of men I met with in that country."

8. The inhabitants of Marblehead, in the year 1714, sent the following petition to the Society, which speaks the hearty disposition of the people, when they set up the Church of England worship; and this upon the proof of many years experience, appears plainly to have been no sudden heat or start of zeal, but a well-grounded sense of the excellency of our Church, since they have continued in the same spirit ever since. They express themselves thus to the Society :—"Whereas your petitioners, out of a just esteem for the excellent constitution of the Church of England, both in its doctrine and discipline, and form of government, have subscribed sufficient sums of money, towards the erecting of a building for the service of Almighty God, according to the manner of worship prescribed in the Church of England. Your petitioners humbly desire the honorable Society's favor and encouragement, in sending a minister to them with all convenient speed, with the usual salary allowed their missionaries. Of what consideration your petitioners are will be seen by the number of their names, and the value of their subscriptions under-written; we must also add, that the town of Marblehead, (next Boston,) is the greatest place of trade and commerce within this province, daily adding to their numbers, persons chiefly of the Church of England, and by the blessing of God, we have a certain prospect, that the Church here, will be every day increased, and flourish more and more. Upon these accounts, we hope the Venerable Society will be pleased to grant our requests, and your petitioners shall always pray for the Society's prosperity and success in all their great and glorious designs."

It must be noted here, the people did fully perform what they promised; and the sum intimated in their petition, for the building of a Church, was no less than four hundred and sixteen pounds, subscribed by forty-five persons, and the people have continued constant to this present time, in their firm adherence to the Church of England.

CHAPTER IV.

The Testimonials required by the Society from the Missionaries they send abroad. The Rules they give them for their conduct. The Rev. Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot sent traveling preachers through several Colonies.

THE next labor of the Society was to enquire for persons in Holy Orders, duly qualified, who would undertake the mission. For they were easily aware, that their missionaries would meet with difficulties in the discharge of their ministerial office; and though there were many well inclined people in those parts, there were also many gainsayers; and that therefore all the means of a watchful and prudent conduct, were necessary to make their labors successful. The Society agreed therefore on the 15th of February in 1702, that all the Bishops of the realm, who were members of their Body, should be earnestly desired to recommend

it to their Archdeacons and their Officials to cause public notice to be given in their next Archidiaconal visitation ; that such clergymen as should have a mind to be employed in this Apostolical work, and could bring sufficient testimonials, according to a form prescribed ; might give in their names to their respective Bishops, or to their Archdeacons, to be communicated by them to this Corporation ; upon which the Society would consult with the Lord Bishop of London, in order to the sending them to such places as had most need, and where they might therefore, by God's assistance and blessing, do most good. This resolution of theirs, the Society printed and published ; entitling it their request concerning fit ministers to be sent abroad ; and do in the beginning of it, thus express themselves to the world. " The said Society do request, and earnestly beseech all persons concerned, that they recommend no man out of favor or affection, or any other worldly consideration, but with a sincere regard to the honor of Almighty God, and our Blessed Saviour, as they tender the interest of the Christian religion, and the good of men's souls."

2. In this paper the Society also specified several particulars, concerning which they desired the persons would certify, who should recommend any clergymen that offered themselves for the mission : namely, their age, their condition of life, their temper and prudence, their learning and sober conversation, their zeal for the Christian religion, their affection to the present government, and conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. These particulars would surely compose a very ample and sufficient testimonial ; yet notwithstanding this, the Society used a farther cautionary method of acting, even upon such a testimonial being offered ; namely, that no testimonials should be allowed, but such as were signed by the respective diocesan, or any missionary who was to be sent abroad ; and where that was not practicable, by some other persons of credit and note, three at least, of the communion of the Church of England ; and lastly, that no testimonials should be allowed, without first consulting the persons who were said to have signed them ; after which the person recommended, is ordered to read prayers and preach before some of the members of the Society, and upon their approbation, he is entertained as a missionary by the Society.

3. These are as careful steps as could have been taken, and no diligence hath been wanting in the Society, to provide proper persons, to discharge the work of the ministry, so difficult in some of the Plantations. When they have received their missionaries, they give them some rules more peculiarly adapted for their proper demeanor in the Colonies, and for their general conduct in performing the duties of their function in those parts, where they might meet with some disadvantageous circumstances. The Society doth particularly instruct them ; that they should take a special care to give no offence to the civil government, by intermeddling in affairs not relating to their own calling and function ; that they should also endeavor to convince and reclaim those who dissent from, or oppose them, with a spirit of meekness and gentleness only.

(To be continued.)

ART. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARIES on the State of Christianity during the first three hundred and twenty-five years from the Christian era: Being a Translation of the "Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine the Great." By JOHN LAURENCE VON MOSHEIM, D. D., Late Chancellor of the University of Göttingen. In two volumes. Volume I, Translated from the original Latin by Robert Studley Vidal, Esq., F. S. A. Volume II, Translated, and both volumes Edited by JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. New York: S. Converse, 1851. 8vo. pp. 537, 512.

This important work of the distinguished historian, which has long been known and appreciated by the learned, is now for the first time brought completely within the reach of the ordinary reader in an English translation. Of these two volumes, the first has been newly arranged, and the second, forming more than one half of the original, completely translated by the Rev. Dr. Murdock. To each volume is prefixed a copious table of contents, and to the whole work is appended a complete general index.

These Commentaries are the crowning labor of Dr. Mosheim, and contain his maturest opinions on various matters which he had no room thoroughly to discuss in his Institutes, which are already so widely known. These volumes are not so much a continuous history as what their name indicates, a Commentary upon History. Had the author lived, he designed to continue the examination on the subsequent portions of the history of the Church. As far as it goes, however, it is a complete work; and treats of every important matter during a period alike of the greatest interest and the greatest difficulty. It exhibits everywhere the deep research, the vast extent, and the great accuracy of the author's learning. To the scholar, who aims at something beyond the mere surface of history, who seeks for the latent causes which shaped the history, and made it what it is, these volumes will afford material for careful study, and by such they will be highly prized.

To the Churchman, it need not be said, that Mosheim differs from him in his conception of the principles, on which the early Church was constituted. And yet, after some examination, we are prepared to say that the author, with that impartial fidelity in narration, for which he is justly celebrated, fully admits as matter of fact nearly every thing which we care to claim. We wish no stronger proof that the primitive Constitution of the Church was after a certain form, than the concessions of the author. Thus he says, "In the more considerable ones (Churches) at least, if not in the others, it came, *even during the life-time of the Apostles, and with their approbation*, to be the practice for some one man, more eminent than the rest, to be invested with the presidency, or chief direction. And, in support of this opinion, we are supplied with an argument of such strength, in those "angels" to whom St. John addressed the epistles, which, *by the command of our Saviour Himself*, he sent to the seven Churches of Asia, Rev. ii, iii, *as the Presbyterians, as they are termed, let them labor and strive what they may, will never be able to overcome*. It must be evident to every one, even on a cursory perusal of the epistles to which we refer, that those who are therein termed "angels," were persons possessing such a degree of authority in their respective Churches, as enabled them to mark with merited disgrace whatever might appear to be deserving of reprehension, and also to give due countenance and encouragement to every thing that was virtuous and commendable. But even supposing that we were to waive the advantage that is to be derived from this argument in establishing the antiquity of the Episcopal character, it appears to me that the bare consideration alone of the state of the Church in its infancy,

must be sufficient to convince any rational, unprejudiced person, that the order of Bishops could not have originated at a period, considerably more recent than that which gave birth to Christianity itself." (Vol. I, p. 172.)

Again he admits that "the Church of Jerusalem, at the time of that city's being taken and finally laid waste by the Emperor Hadrian, towards the middle of the second century (about the year of our Lord 137 or 138) had had fourteen Bishops; without our reckoning James as one of them." (Vol. I, p. 173.) "It will be equally placed beyond dispute, that the Church of Jerusalem had over it a Bishop long enough before the close of the first century after Christ." (Ib. p. 173.) Again, "That these Bishops were, on their creation, invested with *certain peculiar rights, and a degree of power which placed them much above the presbyters*, will not be disputed by any unprejudiced or impartial person." (Ib. p. 174.)

So also with regard to the Worship of the Church, we find Mosheim admitting, as facts, almost all for which we are accustomed to contend in behalf of a Liturgical Service.

Among the points which the author discusses, is the influence of Philosophy upon the Church; not only upon its doctrine, but its discipline, and its Moral Theology; a subject of the greatest importance,—but upon which we have here no room to enlarge. The early heresies in the Church are also discussed with very great particularity and learning—with more of research than in any work within our knowledge.

Our object in these remarks is rather to call attention to this new contribution to our Church history, than to examine it with any minuteness. The American translator has performed his labor with that rigid fidelity to the original Latin, and in that terse and lucid style, for which his translation of the Institutes has been so universally commended.

MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH: Poet-Laureate, D. C. L. By Christopher Wordsworth, D. D., Canon of Westminster. Two volumes. 1851. 12mo. pp. 472, 518. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

Although we have already, in our last Number, expressed with some minuteness our opinion of the character of Wordsworth as a poet, and noticed some of the leading incidents in his quiet and almost uneventful life; yet the reception of the above volumes from the Boston publishers, imposes upon us a new duty, which we proceed to discharge with the sincerest pleasure. Wordsworth's character is precisely that which ought to be impressed upon the American mind; and for the very reason that it is not readily appreciated. He is too meditative and thoughtful; he lives too much in the inner world of consciousness; the strains of his lyre are too pure; the visions which he unfolds to us are too spiritual to make an impression at once upon the great mass of American readers. And yet the reputation and influence of Wordsworth are growing among us. It is a reputation, too, which cannot die. The converts of Wordsworth never apostatize. The re-publication in this country of these beautiful editions of his "Poetical Works," (examined in our last,) and of the volumes now before us, will increase the number of his readers and admirers.

The duty of preparing his Memoirs was confided, and by the wish of the poet himself, to his nephew, who has discharged, with great success, a work of peculiar difficulty. The materials for an attractive biography of Wordsworth, were few in number. A Boswell, who would have stuck to him like a shadow, he would have scorned; and a "*Loscellian Life*" would be sacrilege to his memory. Nor did he, like his friend Southey, leave behind him in numerous letters, and other published and unpublished works, the warm and out-spoken language of his soul, as he unbosomed, frankly, and unguardedly, his thoughts and feelings to his friends. We see just enough of this, to regret that we see no more. Thus, after a journey in company with Coleridge, he says, "We returned after a few days from a delightful tour, of which I have many pleasant, and some of them dröll enough, recollections." This, surely, is tantalizing enough.

Yet, whoever would look for much of this kind of interest in the "Memoirs of

Wordsworth." will be disappointed. It was the theory of Wordsworth, that a Poet's Life is written in his Works. This with him was emphatically true. His thoughts and feelings on all subjects and occasions, public and private, were entrusted to his verse. The "PREFACE," especially, was professedly an autobiography of his earlier years. Hence the present volumes profess to be a "biographical commentary on the poet's works," illustrating the origin and design of most of the poems. The references in these volumes are to the last English edition, in six volumes, which we cannot but regret; yet the classified table of contents, a general index, and an index of first lines, in the Philadelphia edition, render it easy to turn at once from the Commentary to the text.

And here we cannot but allude to the extreme care, and the delicate propriety, with which the American Editor, PROF. REED, has performed his part of the labor. For many years, an intimate friend and correspondent of Wordsworth, an evident admirer of his character, and appreciating thoroughly his poetry, he was requested, by the Wordsworth family, to superintend the publication of the American edition; and the marks both of his modesty and his fidelity, are scattered throughout these volumes. And in these days of literary charity, it is refreshing to be able to commend one example of such genuine worth.

Wordsworth's early character and career gave little promise of his future eminence. Losing both his parents in early life; described by himself as of a "stiff, moody, and violent temper;" illy prepared by a change of teachers, and want of mental and moral discipline for the University, he took his Bachelor's degree at Cambridge in 1791, without distinction, his friends disappointed, and he entering upon life almost aimless, except as sympathizing with the radicalism of the French school which at that time pervaded, extensively, the young and ardent mind of England. The fall of Robespierre, and the horrors of the French Revolution, broke the spell, and injured very materially his confidence in the perfectibility of human nature. For the law he had little taste; for the Church he felt disqualified. An unexpected bequest of £900 from a friend, on which he and his sister contrived to live for nearly eight years, relieved him from present anxiety, gave a new direction to his pursuits, and he was enabled to devote his life to the cultivation of that gift which he was conscious of possessing. Racedown, Alfoxden, Grasmere, and Rydal Mount were successively his residences, at which latter place, distinguished for its quiet retirement and rural beauty, he remained for nearly forty years.

On the great political and social questions of the times he took a livelier interest than his poems would lead us to suppose. In politics Wordsworth became at length, like Southey, thoroughly conservative. With an eagle eye, perched in his mountain retreat, he saw the storm gathering around him. In 1834, he wrote, "Since the night when the Reform Bill was first introduced, I have been convinced that the institutions of our country cannot be preserved." Nor can it be denied that in England, within the last quarter of a century, there has been almost every thing else of a revolution but the mere name. It was in view of the admission of Romanists to Parliament that he wrote, in 1829, "A Protestant Parliament is to turn itself into a canine monster with two heads, which, instead of keeping watch and ward, will be snarling at and bent on devouring each other." Nor did he ever utter a truer sentiment than this, "Sound minds find their expediency in principles; unsound, their principles in expediency." The Crown, the Church, the Universities, the Aristocracy, all these he saw to be involved in the issues at stake. The conservative element has been, however, for the last few years gathering strength.

It was, however, not as a politician, but in the higher walks of literature, that Wordsworth won his imperishable laurels. He was a great poet; and in the life of the poet there stood out the portrait of a really great man. He never wrote for money, nor for reputation, nor for retaliation. The burning scorn of Byron, the oracular condemnation of Jeffrey, the unremunerating sales of Coleridge, ruffled not his soul, calm in the consciousness of its own depth. He lived waiting, and yet not waiting, for time and thought to become the elements in producing a juster estimation.

In reading these volumes, we are impressed with the marked contrast between English and American writers, in respect to careful, laborious composition. Why are our best writers so often only elaborately heavy and insipid! their shafts, if polished, yet pointless!

Why do not American colleges, with all their other teachings, teach the art of writing English! The power of writing naturally, and forcibly, and elegantly, with such men as Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge, was not an instinct. We are aware that the United States "is a great country," but there are some things which do not grow spontaneously.

We are sorry, not to be able to speak more at length of Wordsworth's religious character. The charge of Pantheism against his poetry, has been met in our previous number. He was a thorough believer in Christianity; and lived and died in communion with the Church of England. At Rydal Mount, every morning and evening witnessed the incense of prayer and praise ascending to heaven from the family altar; when also the lessons and psalms for the day were regularly read. But why were not "Christ and the Cross" more often made the subjects of his verse? Why has he given the following as a key to his writings? "The spirituality with which I have endeavored to invest the material universe, and the moral relations under which I have wished to exhibit its most ordinary appearances." We give the answer in the words of another. Says the Rev. R. P. Graves, "He expressed to me the feelings of reverence which prevented him from venturing to lay his hand on what he always thought a subject too high for him; and he accompanied this with the earnest protest, that his works, as well as those of any other poet, should not be considered as developing all the influences which his own heart recognized."

If any of our readers wish for a companion for their choicest hours, and from communion with whom, they will rise refreshed, intellectually, morally, and æsthetically, we commend them to these "Memoirs of Wordsworth," and to his "Poetical Works."

"Shortly after the death of Wordsworth," says the London *Spectator*, "a committee was formed among his friends and more immediate admirers for the purpose of setting up a tablet to his memory in Grassmere Church, where the poet lies buried. The work, the execution of which was entrusted to Mr. Thomas Woolner, has now been completed. Surmounted by a band of laurel leaves is the inscription, written by Professor Keble, under which the poet's head is sculptured in relief. The likeness to the man has received decisive praise from persons whose verdict is final; the intellectual likeness to the poet will be more widely appreciated, and recognized with as cordial an admiration. The meditative lines of the face, the thoughtful forehead and eye, the compressed, sensitive mouth, are rendered with refined intelligence. In two narrow spaces at each side of the head are introduced the crocus and celandine, and the snowdrop and violet, treated with a rare union of natural beauty and sculpturesque method and subordination. Throughout the delicately studied execution shows that the work has been a labor of love."

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, from the adoption of the Federal Constitution to the end of the Sixteenth Congress. By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. Vol. II. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 686. New Haven, sold by S. Babcock.

This is the second volume of the second series of this important National work. The first series embraced our Colonial and Revolutionary history; the second will terminate with Madison's administration. His colonial history we have carefully tested; and believe it more full and reliable, more impartial and free from sectarian bias, than any other history of those times yet written. The present volume is devoted to the administrations of the elder Adams and Jefferson. The time has not come yet for an impartial verdict upon the character of the measures and policy which then divided the country into two great parties, the lines of which are still drawn. But the time has come for a full statement of what

those measures and that policy were; at a period when Bonaparte was rising to power, and all Europe was a boiling caldron. The recent publication of the private papers of the political leaders of those times will assist in forming popular opinion. Mr. Hildreth grapples with the leading features, the great political questions of his history, boldly and with no concealment of what he regards as the real principles involved. For this we honor him. The characters of Adams and Jefferson, as well as of their administrations, are graphically drawn; and the disciples and admirers of the latter will find food for reflection. Jay, Hamilton, Burr, Pinckney, Rutledge, and the parts they acted are clearly described. French policy, the Alien and Sedition Laws, Fries' Insurrection, the Trial of Burr, are among the topics discussed. If there be one nation under heaven, every feature of whose history should be closely scanned by the Christian patriot, that nation is our own. For this we believe the volumes before us will be regarded as indispensable,—it will take its place as a standard work. We have previously expressed our high appreciation of the author's style, which is dignified, perspicuous, and vivacious.

We may add, that the reading of this volume will excite the reflection that the storms of party strife and animosity are not peculiar to our own times. The Ship of State has weathered no such gale in latter times as in the days of Adams and Jefferson, and Hamilton and Burr.

THE NEW TESTAMENT; OR THE BOOK OF THE HOLY GOSPEL OF OUR LORD AND OUR GOD, JESUS THE MESSIAH. A literal translation from the Syriac Peshito Version. By JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 8vo. pp. 615.

This *Syriac Peshito Version* is the first version of the New Testament that was ever made. It is believed to date back to the middle or latter part of the *first* century, and was probably made at Antioch by an Apostle or a companion of the Apostles. For our Saviour, all the Apostles, the seventy disciples, and the seven deacons, spoke in the Syriac language, as their native tongue. It is incredible, therefore, that they should not have immediately given the Sacred Writings in that language. It contains all the Canonical Books of the New Testament, except the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Second and Third of St. John, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocalypse, and must have been made before the New Testament Canon was fully settled. The translator has, however, given these books from the now commonly received Syriac Testaments. It is divided, not into chapters and verses, but into the Lessons as appointed to be read in the Syriac Churches; and the Table of these Lessons is given by the translator in an Appendix. There is little or no correspondence between these Lessons and those appointed to be read in our own Church; they are also much shorter, averaging only about fifteen of our verses. The great value of this Version is in its early antiquity; thus testifying to the genuineness of the Sacred Text; and also in the fact that the Syriac was the language in which the Apostles and sacred writers thought and spoke. We may expect to find in this version, therefore, their understanding of the Oracles of God—indeed the name which the Syrians gave to this version, *Peshito, spread out, simple, easy to be understood*, shows the light in which they regarded it.

We shall be pardoned, from our own personal relations to the translator, for not speaking of the translation itself. It suggests several important subjects of inquiry; and we hope to receive, from a competent source, a thorough examination of the volume for our pages. That the work is one of great importance, especially to Christian scholars, there can be no doubt.

REV. MR. HUDSON'S EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE. Boston: Munroe & Co., 1851. In eleven volumes. 12mo. Vols. 1 and 2.

This edition, which Munroe & Co., Boston, are now engaged in publishing, will, we think, be the most popular edition of Shakespeare issued either in this country or in England. The size of the volume gives it a *companionable* look, while the

new, clear type, the paper, and the neatness of execution, are all that the warmest admirer of Shakespeare can desire. The Editor, whose celebrated lectures showed a nice appreciation of the beauties and character of his author, is giving a value to this edition, which constitutes its chief excellence. Since the first collection of Shakespeare's plays, in 1623, in a folio volume, by his friends and fellow comedians, Hemmings and Conlell, very great liberties have been taken with the text by those who have superintended their publication. No small part of Mr. Hudson's labor is with these "textual emendations;" aiming to present the "refined gold" ungolded, and the "lily" unpainted. In preparing for the press, he has the folio edition of 1623, continually before him; and in "every line, every word, every letter, and every point" he refers to the original copies. His critical and explanatory Notes are not only the result of his own judgment, but he has drawn, with acknowledged freedom, from all the sources accessible to him. Whoever will compare his annotations, with those of his predecessors, will acknowledge their striking brevity and pertinence. The crowning excellence of this edition, however, is the Introductions to the several plays. The light which he has thrown upon the times when the several plays were written and acted, and the sources, whence the plots and materials were taken; the keen insight which he gives into the character and design of the plays themselves, prepare the reader to devour them with fresh zest. These preliminary Introductions embody the substance of the Editor's lectures, which the best critical taste of the country has endorsed. On the whole, we advise those who read Shakespeare (and who does not?) to read him in this edition.

ALBAN. A TALE OF THE NEW WORLD. By the author of "Lady Alice." New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851. 12mo. pp. 496.

When it was announced, two years ago, that Mr. Huntington and his three companions had disowned their allegiance to the Church, and joined the ranks of her most implacable enemies, an impression was produced, not unlike that of the news of the first victims who had fallen before the awful scourge of the cholera. The individuals were not so much thought of. The state of the atmosphere, the presence of the malaria, was the *cause*. Suspicion had already been rife. Treachery had been betrayed in certain quarters. Men, insignificant in themselves, acquired a sort of importance from the fact that they were known to be lurking in the Church, feeding upon her bread, and ministering at her altars, only to work her mischief. These facts, and the suspicious character of "Lady Alice," already put forth as a sort of *feuilleton*, by Mr. Huntington, gave to that book considerable notoriety; and its author evidently now places himself as the hero, the "Rough and Ready" of the late campaign. Although that book was not without a certain kind of ability, still its gross sensualism, and its betrayal of a want of a high moral feeling, have fastened upon its author a reputation of which he seems altogether unconscious or incapable of appreciating.

Mr. Huntington, nothing daunted by the severity of the whole press of the country, ventures again before the public with another "*tale*," of the same general character as "Lady Alice," except that he has of course thrown off his hypocritical garb, and been obliged to appear as an out-and-out papist. The difficulties which have staggered such men as Mr. Sibthorpe and Mr. Maskell, in the gross idolatries, the barefaced impostures, the silly puerilities, of modern Romanism, are no difficulties with Mr. Huntington. His avidity, in swallowing the whole draught,—the "insufflations," the "exorcism of salt," the "invocation of the Virgin," the efficacy of "*real* holy water" in frightening off the *spirit-rappers*, has, we dare say, been chuckled over even by the shrewd Jesuits themselves. The scene of his story is laid, partly in New Haven and partly in New York. His hero, "Alban," is a student and graduate of Yale. His evident design is to hold up the various *isms* of the day, and the system of the Church, in the most unfavorable light, and in contrast with the practical workings of popery. A really rich story, with such materials might have been at least amusing. But on such themes he is altogether out of his sphere. The sharp corners of New England meta-

physics; the Life of Christ as the power of the Church, pervading, sanctifying, and consecrating the intellectual, moral, and æsthetical nature of her individual members; that power diffusing itself, in organic forms, to meet the real wants of the social relations—these, which are the real points to have been grasped in his subject, he has not even touched. We doubt if he has ever thought of them, or is capable of thinking of them. Mr. Huntington had better stick to his vocation. "The cobbler is not to go beyond his last." Let him confine himself to a description of ladies' wardrobes and toilets; or of those sensual charms which adorn a harem; or of the etiquette of a drawing-room; or the more than questionable proprieties of the modern waltz. If he would soar to something loftier, he may essay to paint the pageantry of an idolatrous ceremonial, where the senses alone may be appealed to. But in the field which he has here selected, he has failed entirely. There is not a really effective scene in the whole book. His characters are common-place or overdrawn; and the constant betrayal of a want, not merely of a high order of talent, but of good taste, and good sense, (cardinal virtues to an artist,) destroys all sympathy in his reader.

This is not the worst feature of the book. The same fatal facility to what is shamelessly and wantonly lascivious; the same want of pure and noble sentiment, in describing the female character; the same outrage in his imputations upon the proprieties, delicacy, and virtue of the sex, which stained the pages of "*Lady Alice*," here re-appear; and are, apparently, in the author's estimation, the choicest bits, *les bons morceaux* of the volume. We speak with care, but will not soil our pages in being more particular. No lady of true refinement can or will read his book. His best friends will tell him he has mistaken his calling, in trying to write Romish novels. Nor is it possible, that any Romanist, who has the feelings of a father, would entrust a daughter to the whisperings of the "*confessional*" of him, whose polluted imagination is capable of revelling in such scenes as are here depicted.

There are two or three things which the author has introduced into his story, for which we hardly know how to account. One is, his assumption of the greater purity of morals of Romanists! and the other, his eulogium upon the *austerity*, "the watchings and *fastings*" (in vigils, in jejuniums) of "*Father Smith*!" Perhaps he intends this only as a capital joke!

We apologize for noticing, at all, so vile a thing.

THE POETRY OF RELIGION, AND OTHER POEMS. By Rev. CHARLES BURROUGHS, D. D.

This little volume, so unpretendingly submitted to the eye of private friendship, is a gem indeed. It is the production of a very distinguished scholar and eloquent divine, who, to a well-earned reputation for learning and eloquence, has now established his claim to as delicate perception of the true beauty of poetry and uncommon skill in its richly flowing numbers.

The first and longest poem, "*The Poetry of Religion*," is a work of rare excellence. It abounds with exquisite poetical thought, and breathes throughout a spirit of the sublimest philosophy. It exhibits a profound knowledge of the subject; and for critical acumen, vastness of conception, beauty of sentiment, and force and eloquence of language, it will be assigned a place by the side of the most pleasing inspirations of the American muse.

Dr. Burroughs is always intelligible. He displays none of that affected mysticism, which not unfrequently mars the beauty of a really gifted poem. He unfolds the stores of his rich mind and cultivated imagination, and we follow the illuminated path of his argument, refreshed at every step by some new beauty, and delighted with the privilege of holding such intimate communion with the author's mind, as to be able to comprehend his profoundest teachings.

We do not hesitate to pronounce this poem worthy the study of every lover of the heavenly art.

The shorter poems are all beautiful, "*a string of pearls*." If we may be allowed to select where the selection would seem to be injustice to the pieces omitted, we would say that the poem on *Niagara* is most conspicuous. The idea in the tenth stanza is in the highest conception of the poet.

"Then did Christ, our blessed Saviour,
For those harmonies so loud,
Paint the rainbow's radiant beauties
On the fleecy incense cloud."

It is worthy of the theme, and that is praise enough.

Dr. Burroughs has placed his friends under heavy tribute, and all that we have to wish is that ere long he will invite them to a like intellectual banquet. A scholar of such ripe attainments ought to write for the benefit and pleasure of his fellow men, and when scholarly acquirements are so dedicated to the cause of truth, his writings cannot fail to be fully as edifying as they are pleasing.

THE MORNING WATCH—A Narrative. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1850.

This is the title of a Poem, published in handsome style for the author, whose name does not appear, and dedicated "to the memory of one who liveth the life immortal in that beautiful country where is no night on land or sea." It has more poetical merit, we think, in the conception than in the execution. The measure is irregular, but the imagery is well sustained, and there is much fine religious sentiment pervading the whole composition. To those of our readers who are fond of this kind of reading, we commend the modest little volume.

COSMOS: a Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe. By Alexander Von Humboldt. Translated from the German, by E. C. Otte. Vol. III. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 219. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Of this great work, we find the following clear and accurate description in the *London Guardian*; which we cannot do better than repeat.

"It appears, from the original preface to *Cosmos*, that the design of that work was, first and principally, to set forth a general view of nature, 'from the remotest nebula and revolving double star, to the terrestrial phenomena of the geographical distribution of plants, of animals, and of races of men;' in the second place, to treat of the study of nature, its incitements and its history; and, lastly, 'to notice the specialities of the several branches of sciences, of which the mutual connection is indicated' in the first volume. This last is the work of the third; of which we have now before us the first part, containing the special results on which the present state of philosophical opinion is based, in respect of that portion of the universe which falls under the domain of *Uranology*.

"The volume opens with a sketch of attempts made from the earliest times to consider the phenomena of the universe as a whole. We are then conducted to the special results we have just mentioned. Cosmical space, and the intervals between the heavenly bodies; the phenomena of vision, and the results of photometry; the stars themselves, their clusters, the milky way, those that have appeared within record, and those that have vanished, and the variations observed in others; their proper motion, and the question of the motion of the whole sidereal heavens; and, lastly, double and multiple stars. These, together with notes and appendices, form the principal contents of the pages now presented to the public. We need do little but enumerate the subjects thus handled; for who would venture to say *how* they are handled by Humboldt? Nor, in like manner, need we inform the countless readers of his former volumes of the serene, yet animated, dignity which characterizes every page of his writings. It is this, after all, which is the distinguishing feature of this veteran devotee of nature and natural knowledge. Many men, in the course of a long life, might amass the same amount of information; and a few men might have the power, at the end of their days, to marshal and arrange their facts in a manner at once so simple and so lucid, in subordination to one leading and central idea; but it is Alexander Von Humboldt himself who clothes the whole with that calm and tender simplicity, which is the reflection of the image of Nature, seen in the mirror of a mind so capable of perceiving its gentlest and most delicate coloring."

Cosmos is not a work to be read on board a steamboat, or, after dinner at Newport. It embraces the whole domain of physical science; grouping and arranging all that has been made known, even to the latest discovery, so as to present the whole in a unity of view. This is the grand characteristic of Humboldt; his masterly grasp, his wonderful comprehensiveness, and at the same time his perfect simplicity of plan. Another volume will, we suppose, complete the whole. This work, of such immense research, and originally published at vast expense, is here offered at a mere trifle. They who read, by system, and for improvement, should include "Cosmos" in their course.

YEAST. A PROBLEM. *Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from Fraser's Magazine.* New York: Harpers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 292. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Mr. Kingsley is one of those men whom, just now, it is worth while to watch. He is a type of a certain class of elements in agitation. His "Alton Locke" we think we understand. It is more doubtful to know what is not contained in his "Yeast" than what is. He sees the evil, in society, and in the Church, which he so vividly depicts. Undoubtedly, earth is not Heaven, nor the Church Militant the Church Triumphant. Our modern disciples of Fourierism and Romanism harp upon this as something which they have just found out. Only they charge that upon the Family, and the Apostolic Church, which pertains to lapsed humanity; and hope to find a remedy for the one in a new Social Order, and for the other in the Papacy. If these poor creatures live long enough, they will begin to suspect by and by, not only that they carry that lapsed humanity with them, but that the remedy which they have sought proves worse than the disease. Their sin will find them out. Socialism and Popery are sin in its fullest maturity. They can never ripen into any thing else. When they fall, we may begin to look for the final triumph of the Church, and the victory of the Truth. There can be no change but for the better. And here is our objection to Mr. Kingsley. He belongs to the corps of "Sappers and Miners." The whole tendency of his teaching is to pull down. And this, not only in respect to order, but life. The doctrines, spirit, Faith of the Church, he seems to regard as "phantasma" and "shams." The dogmas of the Vedas, the Neo-Platonists of Jacob Boehmen, the Catholic Creeds, Coleridge, and the Germans, are all alike, "beautiful phantasms of philosophy."

Nor is this quite all. The direct moral bearing of the book is more than questionable. Self-denial is one of his "shams." Indulgence of the appetites and passions is a reality, because it is nature. And all this gravely argued by his hero Lancelot, with an intelligent and virtuous girl, a sentimental Tractarian.

As to the artistic merits of the book, it is open to the most wide-sweeping criticisms. Its plot is involved; its characters overdrawn, or misrepresented; it lacks unity and order. It is like a man firing sky-rockets—and very fine sky-rockets too—in a fog-bank. We have had suspicions in reading his book, that he has ulterior objects in view. At any rate, that, consciously or unconsciously, he is not what he seems. Yet he is a writer of no ordinary power. Few thoughtful readers will lay down the volume without feeling that they have come in contact with considerable "Yeast" of some sort or other.

THE NILE BOAT; or *Glimpses of Egypt.* By W. H. Bartlett, Author of "Forty Days in the Desert." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. Royal 8vo. pp. 218. New Haven: S. Babcock. \$2.00.

The author says in his preface: "While disclaiming for the text of his book any pretensions to originality, the writer is anxious to say that this is not the case with the illustrations, of which the whole were drawn upon the spot, many of them with the Camera Lucida. He has endeavored to present, within small compass, as much variety as possible, displaying the principal monuments of the earlier or Pharaonic monuments, as at Thebes; the later Ptolemaic style, as at

Edfou and Philæ; with some of the most beautiful specimens of the Arabian, at Cairo. The sites of Alexandria and Thebes, with their principal ruins, are, it is hoped, rendered distinct and intelligible. Something, too, is attempted of the characteristic scenery of the river, and something of modern manners and customs. The figures were all put in from actual sketches, often exactly as they stand. In short, the book, though far from giving an adequate idea of Egyptian scenery and monuments, which is, indeed, impossible on the scale, so far as it goes, may claim to be a correct one, at least in intention and endeavor."

This is a modest statement, on the part of the author, of the contents and character of the book; which is all that it pretends to be. It does not enter into all the minuteness of description of Wilkinson; but it has enough of detail, accompanying the illustrations, to leave upon the mind a distinct impression. The engravings, and illustrative cuts, of the most important objects in that land of wonders, are more than fifty in number; and are very neatly executed. It is a very entertaining and, for its price, a very elegant volume. Our readers at a distance from the city need not hesitate to order it.

SCENES IN OUR PARISH. By a Country Parson's Daughter. To which is prefixed a Memoir of the Author, by her Sister. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 12mo. pp. 374.

A new and neat edition of this popular work will be widely welcomed. Nobody but a Country Parson's Daughter could have written it. It has in it nothing of cant, popish or puritan; it breathes the odor of a gentle, unassuming, earnest piety, such as the system of Church training alone can produce. When the First Series of these "Scenes" appeared in England, it attracted the attention, and procured for the retiring authoress, the personal acquaintance of Southey and other English Scholars. We beg to call attention to it, as a valuable addition to our popular Church literature.

THE HEIR OF WAST-WAYLAND. *A Tale.* By Mary Howitt. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. pp. 239.

There are few living authors who can write so good a story as Mary Howitt. Her clear insight into the workings of the human heart; her creative genius, and the boldness and distinctness with which her leading characters are drawn; and the high moral truth which she always aims to inculcate, have made her writings almost universal favorites. The "Heir of Wast-Wayland" is one of the very best of her works.

SUNBEAMS AND SHADOWS, AND BUDS AND BLOSSOMS; or *Leaves from Aunt Minnie's Portfolio.* By Georgie A. Hulse. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. 12mo. pp. 252. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This volume gives the varied history, the "Sunbeams and Shadows" which flitted across the pathway of a company of school-girls. It is full of sentiment; the style is remarkably chaste, as if every word had been culled from a "dictionary for Ladies." None but a lady's pen could have described so truthfully that fairy land, filled with enchanted castles, which lives in the day-dreams of such youthful hearts, untried in the realities of life. With such persons the book is well adapted to be a special favorite.

IO. *A Tale of the Olden Fane.* By K. Barton. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. 12mo. pp. 251.

We speak more decidedly of this volume, because the criticism upon it which has fallen under our notice, has done the work great injustice; neither appreciating its design or deserts. It was not meant for a *Christian* novel; but the contrary. Its leading idea is, to go back to the brightest, most palmy days of Grecian elegance and refinement, and to show the human soul, struggling with itself,

and struggling with the blighting curse, the galling chains of heathen priestcraft, and trying to find its way to the Great Mystery, the Unknown God, which it felt everywhere around it. Its conception is bold; its style forcible, sustained, and at times eloquent. Its author has ventured out of the beaten track, and is capable of doing so. A little more severity in pruning, without hampering that buoyancy and elasticity of thought and feeling, which the author possesses, and we may look for something from his pen which may laugh at snarling criticism.

TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES, ETC.; DURING 1849 AND 1850. By the Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 464. New Haven: S. Babcock.

It seems quite believable, that that sneering, slandering race, the Halls, and Trollopes, and Fiddlers, and Butlers, who have so long been accustomed to pass through the United States as literary scavengers, and have gone home to pamper British prejudices with their "first impressions," is rapidly becoming extinct. The English newspaper press, too, profoundly ignorant as it still is, of this country, is yet beginning to speak in a more respectful tone. This change in English sentiment is, of course, to us of little importance in itself. But it does incidentally show, what we are glad to see, that Americans are learning at least a lesson of self-respect. The book before us is rather a clever production; is written in a sketchy style; in a spirit of candor; and is on the whole worth reading. Lady Wortley passed rapidly through the country; visited most of the principal cities; and extended her journey to Mexico, Peru, Cuba, and Jamaica. The resources, enterprise, extent, and growing refinement of the country are duly noticed. She says—"Those who wish to indulge in any invidious and vituperative observations respecting America, had better make haste, or they will find themselves absolutely compelled to praise and admire instead." The religious condition of the countries which she visited is not even alluded to. Lines, which at a little distance look like poetry, are scattered somewhat profusely through the volume.

HOME IS HOME. *A Domestic Tale*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. 12mo. pp. 299. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This story owes its interest more to the faithfulness with which it depicts certain moral virtues, gentleness, resignation, filial piety; and certain social vices, haughtiness, envy, jealousy, detraction, heartless ambition, than to the artistic skill in its execution. Lords and Ladies mingle in the scenes described; and the moral of the story is, the worth of true nobility of soul above the nobility of mere birth. The modest, gentle, noblehearted Kate Sinclair marries the wealthy Mr. Carleton, greatly to the surprise and mortification of Isabel Waldegrave.

PASSAGES IN THE LIFE OF MRS. MARGARET MAITLAND, OF SUNNYSIDE. Written by herself. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. 12mo. pp. 323. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

A Scotch story of Domestic life; with a good moral; and just enough of the national dialect to relieve a somewhat heavy, and extremely simple style.

CALEB FIELD. *A Tale of the Puritans*. By the Author of *Merkland*, &c. New York: Harpers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 136. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Caleb Field was an English Presbyterian Non-conforming minister, and a widower, who, at the Restoration, retired from his parish in London, with an only daughter. When the plague drove all from the city who could get away, Clergy and people, he returned to his parish, and with his daughter Edith, was occupied in works of charity. Edith survived the plague and married an English Nobleman. This is the substance of what was designed as a thoroughly Puritan story.

THE FIRST BOOK OF ORATORY: a new Collection of Extracts in Prose, Poetry, and Dialogue, from distinguished American and English Orators, Divines, and Poets; including Specimens of the Eloquence of Statesmen of the present day. For the use of Schools. By Edward C. Marshall, M. A. Late Instructor in a Military School at West Point, in Geneva College, and in the New York University. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1851. 12mo. pp. 237.

The selections in this volume appear to have been judiciously made; and will be a great relief to those who have been obliged to rehearse the hackneyed specimens with which Schools and Colleges have been so long and so mercilessly afflicted. A stirring extract, that has the soul of eloquence in it, thoughts that breathe, and words that burn, are as essential to the elocutionist as the most accomplished teacher.

A MANUAL OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS. By CHARLES ANTHON, Professor of Greek, &c., in Columbia College. Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 451. New Haven: S. Babcock.

In the preparation of this Manual, for Schools and Academies, Prof. Anthon has gleaned materials from all the more important works of English and German scholarship. Probably no man in the country knows better the wants of students in this respect, or is better qualified to supply them. All the school books of the Messrs. Harpers look as if they were made for hard service.

ELEMENTS OF ALGEBRA; Designed for Beginners. By ELIAS LOOMIS, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of New York. Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 260. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The work of Prof. Loomis is introductory to his larger "Treatise on Algebra." Prof. Loomis' mind is eminently of a practical cast; and those who know his character for thorough scholarship will need no assurance that these "Elements" "for beginners" are all that they profess to be.

THE TRUE CATHOLIC.

The September number of this Magazine, in an article on "*Defections to Rome*," which appears as editorial, has an allusion to ourselves, which we are disposed to notice. It says, "The Church Review *which is a good deal inclined to the alarmist side* on this subject," &c. We do not understand exactly what the "True Catholic" means by this. If he means, as he seems, that we are given to a senseless cant, a whining, indiscriminate hue and cry about popery, we throw back the imputation with that honest, indignant scorn which it deserves. If he means, that we are sacredly pledged to the Faith of the Reformed Church of England, as received by our Branch of the Church; that we hold the difference in doctrine between ourselves and Rome to be vital and determining; a difference sealed with the blood of the English martyrs, a difference which in these days is ignored, or denied; if he means that we loathe treachery from our inmost souls, and have been ready to expose it, where we knew, and the True Catholic knew, it existed; if, in a word, to be loyal and true to Christ's Holy, yet bleeding Church, in all the warm feelings and truest instincts of our better nature; if this is what is meant by an "alarmist," we accept the designation. The course of the Church Review, on the Romish Controversy, has been a wise and sustained by too many of the soundest and ablest writers in the Church; and has been approved, publicly and privately, by too many of our Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, to be abandoned, or distrusted, from a sneer of the "True Catholic."

The Editor will pardon us for reminding him, that "Romish Aggression" in these days is compelling men to show their colors. A dignified neutrality is no longer possible. In the coming issue, our past course indicates where we expect to be found. Can the "True Catholic" say as much?

We are thoroughly persuaded that in no part of the Church in our Country, is

there less sympathy with the essential features of popery, or a more utter abominating of its real character, than in the diocese of Maryland. If there be one man in the Church, who knows what popery is; where its weakness, and our strength lie, we need not go out of that diocese to find him.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. EDWARD BICKERSTETH, late Rector of Walton, Herts. By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M. A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. With an Introduction, by STEPHEN H. TYNÖ, D. D. Two vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 398, 412. New Haven: S. Babcock.

These volumes will disappoint the reader who was not intimately acquainted with the subject of the memoir. The name of Bickersteth had acquired considerable notoriety in this country; partly as the author or compiler of several popular works, and partly as the Secretary of the "Church Missionary Society," which office he held for about fifteen years. He appears in the volumes before us, as a man of limited attainments and moderate capacity. He distinguished himself, rather by his energy of character and untiring industry. He was in the habit, up to the time of his ordination, of attending the worship of Dissenters, with whom he had strong sympathies; and was one of the founders of the "Evangelical Alliance" Society; at which he reports *seventeen* different denominations as represented. At the meeting of that Society last month, (September,) Strauss, the noted German infidel, was in attendance as member. His test of Christian character was wholly subjective; embracing "all who profess to love the Lord Jesus," without regard to Creed, Doctrine, or Order. We cease to be surprised at finding another basis of union in England around which have rallied such men as Newman, Maskell, Faber, and Manning. That radicalism which gives birth to the Noels, and Shimealls, and Aydelottes, will as surely be prolific also in men of a different stamp, there and here. There was much in the character of Bickersteth to honor, love, and imitate. In his principles there were serious defects.

THE PAPAL AGGRESSION. Two Discourses delivered in St. Luke's Church, Rochester, New York, on the Second Sunday after Easter, May 4, 1851. By Rev. HENRY W. LEE, Rector of St. Luke's Church. Published by request of the Vestry. 1851. pp. 39.

Also, **REMARKS** upon "The Papal Aggression," &c. Rochester, 1851. 12mo. pp. 48.

Both the above pamphlets have appeared in a Second Edition. The sermons of the Rev. Dr. Lee were evidently prepared in the discharge of ordinary pastoral duty, and are written in a popular style. They contain expressions which, rigidly criticised, need qualification; and we see that in his second edition, he has guarded his language as to one point, Baptismal Regeneration. We think, also, that more credit should be given to the recent efforts to revive the true principles of the Church in England; where, forty years ago, Erastianism was feeding upon the vitals of the Church: and where a great and glorious work has been done; and which has been kept in the main, under proper control, notwithstanding the lamentable defections. There is one and a main point, in his sermons, in which we think he has not spoken too strongly. We mean, in the prominence given to the doctrine of *Justification by Faith*. He certainly has not gone beyond our Standards; or the Early Fathers; or the Holy Scriptures. Nor, in this day of "Papal Aggression" will faithful and true-hearted Churchmen hesitate to echo clearly those old Protestant tones, which once made the Mistress of the Seven Hills tremble; and that because they were the voice of Scriptural Catholic Truth.

The "REMARKS" upon the Rev. Dr. Lee's Sermons appear anonymously. The author seems to see in the publication of these Sermons, part of a "*Scheme which, by whomsoever set on foot, will, if it be not defeated, subvert the Church.*" Mr. Shimeall, Dr. Aydelotte, Alterations of the Prayer Book, and Dr. Lee's Sermons all appear together in the field of the writer's vision. That there are Aydelottes and Shimealls still in the Church we have no doubt; men who really believe in no-

thing that is positive, and definitive, or exclusive; men who greedily swallow down the outrageous falsehoods with which certain Sectarian newspapers are systematically filled; men who hang like a dead weight upon us. But that Dr. Lee is one of these, or has a particle of sympathy with them, is not to be believed. That he is honest in his profession, intelligent in his conviction, and loyal in his devotion, we owe it to him, and to each other, to suppose. Besides suspicion, distrust, imputation, and alienation of feeling tend to beget the very evil which was at first only imaginary. Charity covers a multitude of sins. The writer of these "Remarks" defines the Romish doctrine of Justification with distinctness; and assigns to the doctrine, as taught in our own Church, its due prominence. Is he aware that Dr. Pusey, on the 15th of October last, publicly declared, that on that very doctrine of Justification, the Council of Trent, and the Standards of the English Church, are in *substantial agreement*?

Our own observations upon these two pamphlets, are made in the firm conviction, that there may be, and is, substantial agreement, even amid that diversity of opinion which has existed ever since before the days of Augustine, and which the Church freely tolerates.

REV. MR. HARWOOD'S ESSAY ON THE CHURCH QUESTION, before the Associate Alumni of the General Theological Seminary. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851.

Mr. Harwood is a bold thinker, and writes like an honest and earnest one. He has also a ready command of language. This Essay is mostly occupied in noticing the influences under which the "Church Question" has come to be viewed among Protestants, under the reaction from an excessive absolutism. The question which he asks and discusses is, Has Protestantism the power of realizing the idea, and the growing desire, after a true Catholicity? We state the question in our own words. He answers affirmatively. We differ from the author in some of our conceptions of the historic facts alleged. We believe the *Continental* Reformers, so far as they had any ideas of Catholic verities, were right only passively, and indifferently; and easily diverged from the old paths under the influence of an excessive subjectivity. The *English* Reformers were strongly Protestant, and yet planted themselves on the old Catholic foundations. But Protestantism, *as an ism*, is simply negative. It merely denies. This is all it can do. It is an accident, not an element. True Catholicity is true Protestantism; and protests against the infidelity of Geneva, not less than the superstitions, and idolatries, and tyranny of Rome.

BISHOP HENSHAW'S JUBILEE SERMON.

The celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, is kindling new zeal in all parts of the English and American Churches. Bishop Henshaw, in this really eloquent and noble sermon, glances rapidly at the operations of the Society in this country, in Rhode Island and in other lands, and gives the following summary of its labors.

"In the first year of its existence, the Society had an income of, it is believed, *less than two thousand dollars*, and that, chiefly contributed by a few bishops; its receipts for the year 1850, were upwards of *four hundred and seventy thousand dollars*. In its first ten years, it employed about ten missionaries, in the year last past *fifty-seven Bishops* and *two thousand seven hundred and fifty Clergymen* were exercising their ministry on the Continents and Islands where the Society had originally prepared the way for Christian operations. In the early years of its history, its few missionaries were confined to the infant colonies on the American coast. Now, its girdle of benevolence encircles the globe; and from Australasia, with its six Bishops, to the United States and the Northern British Provinces on this continent, with their thirty-six Dioceses,—and from Jamaica and Barbadoes to Hindostan and China,—yea, through that widely extended British Empire 'upon which the sun never sets,' the fervent prayers and the sublime thanksgivings and anthems of our Reformed Liturgy are poured forth by millions of worshippers, and the glad tidings of salvation are proclaimed to millions more, as

the result of God's blessing upon the persevering efforts of that noble Christian Institution. Through the same means, the 'One Faith' is now professed, the 'One Baptism' is now administered, the 'One Lord' is now worshiped in every clime. 'One Song employs all nations,'—even that elevated *Triangion*, which is so admirably adapted to give expression to the feelings of a Jubilant Church. *'Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the company of Heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name; ever more praising Thee, and saying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts: Heaven and Earth are full of Thy glory: Glory be to Thee, O Lord Most High. Amen.'*

NOTES ON NORTH AMERICA. AGRICULTURAL, ECONOMICAL AND SOCIAL. By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, M. A., F. R. S. S., L. & E., F. G. S., C. S., &c., Reader in Chemistry and Mineralogy in the University of Durham.

This work of Mr. Johnston's we have not seen; but we have seen strictures upon it in a "Letter to the Ven. and Rev. Archdeacon of Durham;" in which his character for fairness, impartiality, and we must say veracity, is left in a damaged state. The writer of this "Letter" is a "Resident of New Brunswick," who deserves the thanks of the Churchmen of that Province, for what he has so effectually and handsomely done.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ORIGINALLY FREE AND ALWAYS PROTESTANT.

Rev. G. F. Cushman's Sermon before the Convention of the Diocese of Alabama. This sermon does great credit to its author. It sustains the truth of the motto, by a chain of historical argument, not a link of which can be broken. We are glad to hear the clear ringing tones of the watchman's voice from the Diocese of Alabama.

AN ORATION, DELIVERED AT HARTFORD, ON THE 4TH OF JULY, 1851. By E. A. ANDREWS.

We have never before seen, in the same compass, so profound and admirable an exposition of the formative principles and essential characteristics of our Federal Constitution, as this address presents. If such views can be extensively inculcated, the field of operation for demagogues and radicals will be exceedingly narrowed, and their efforts greatly neutralized. We cordially welcome it, as an important contribution, to the right school of American history and polity.

ROME SELF-CONVICTED OF ERROR, with regard to the Canon of Scripture and Tradition. By Rev. SAMUEL FULLER, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Andover, Mass. Andover, 1851.

This argument originally appeared in the Church Review. It is unanswerable and strongly presented. We hope it will be sent to every Romish priest in the country. Our movements in respect to Rome must be aggressive.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL. London, Aug., 1851.

We find so much that is valuable in this Missionary Monthly Magazine, that we again commend it to our readers. Its cost in London is about one dollar and a half. It is conducted, we believe, by the Rev. Ernest Hawkins, so well known as the Secretary of the Venerable Propagation Society. This number contains a noble Sermon, preached by Bishop Otey, of Tennessee, in London, at the opening of the Jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

HISTORY OF JOSEPHINE. By J. S. C. ABBOTT. With Engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 328. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Napoleon always regarded himself as the creature of *destiny*. He might have said also that the star of his destiny was the Empress Josephine. From the hour that he abandoned this true and noble woman, he seemed to be a doomed man. For ourselves we believe that Providence raised up Napoleon for a special end, of which he himself was wholly unconscious; and yet he was too shrewd and

nice an observer not to see that the threads of his life were suspended and guided by some mysterious agency. This sketch of Josephine is finely written by Mr. Abbott, and is well worth buying and reading.

Bishop Doane's Jubilee Sermon.

Bishop Doane's Seventh Charge. "The Christian Minister."

Bishop Doane's Fourth of July Oration.

Each of these is marked by the Rt. Rev. Author's peculiar style; and the first, a most noble production, has been republished in London.

Rev. E. W. Prentiss's Jubilee Sermon, "The True Glory of the Church," in St. Paul's Church, Rahway, N. J. An earnest and valuable historical discourse.

Rev. Dr. Atkinson's Jubilee Sermon, in St. Peter's Church, Baltimore. "Progress of the Anglican Church." An eloquent tribute to the Venerable Society.

A Remonstrance to the Laity of the Church. By a Presbyter of Maryland, against the growing demand for exciting preaching. A serious evil well described.

Rev. Dr. H. W. Lee's Tract. "Plain Address on Neglect of the Lord's Supper." Revised and altered from an English tract. A faithful exposition, well calculated to instruct, to encourage, and to warn. It is worthy of circulation beyond the parish for which it was prepared.

Rev. Dr. Lee's Address, at the Laying of the Corner Stone of the Church of the Evangelists, Oswego, N. Y., July 1, 1851.

Rev. F. W. Tyrnollet's Letter to the Parish of St. Butolph, on his resignation of his Cure. Boston, Mass.

"*London Labor and the London Poor.*" By HENRY MAYHEW. Parts 7, 8, 9, and 10. Republished by Harper & Brothers.

Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution. B. J. LOSSING. This truly national work, published by Messrs. Harpers, is one of the most elegant and attractive books of the day.

Harper's *New Monthly Magazine*, September.

Stringer & Townsend's *International Magazine*.

These two popular competitors for the public favor, are both conducted with energy and ability; and are both published with great liberality and taste. In mechanical execution, engravings, &c., the *New Monthly* takes the lead; and the publishers have every facility for culling over the whole range of modern literature, for the amusement of their readers. The *International* is publishing a new novel of James', written for this work, and gives every month a miniature view of the literary world, including men and things.

Register of the College of St. James, Md., 1851-52. In the Grammar School are sixty-six students; and in the College, fifty-two, under seventeen Professors and Teachers. The College is doing efficient service for the Church.

General Theological Seminary. Proceedings of the Board, &c., 1851. There are in the Seminary, forty-three students; and in the Library, 10,512 volumes; Folios 1,690; Quartos 1,401; Octavos and under 7,421.

ART. IX.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

The following communication has been received, touching the subject of the correspondence published in the last Church Review, p. 309, between Peter Oliver, Esq., of Boston, and Prof. Bond, of Cambridge. The question is one purely of a scientific character; and whatever may aid in its determination will receive the attention of scholars.—ED. CH. REV.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "CHURCH REVIEW."

REVEREND SIR,—In your number for July of the présent year, I have read the correspondence between Mr. Peter Oliver, of Boston, and Mr. G. P. Bond, of Harvard College, about a quotation made from the Italian author Bianchini, by Dr. Jarvis, in his "Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church." Mr. Oliver, it appears, inquired of Mr. Bond respecting the correctness of the quotation, and "the accuracy of the statement therein given concerning the first Easter Sunday of Christendom." Mr. Bond's reply is, "By computing the time of new-moon for March, A. D. 28, I find no reason to doubt, that Bianchini is correct in his date, as quoted by Dr. Jarvis." Here I understand Mr. Bond to reply only as to the time of new-moon. The time as given by Bianchini of mean new-moon, March, A. D. 28, is 14 d. 3 h., 17 m., 10 sec. This statement is admitted by the reviewer of Dr. Jarvis in the New Englander, (vol. 6, p. 380,) to be sufficiently correct. Dr. Jarvis, however, in the Church Review, (vol. 1, p. 94,) maintains that there is a typographical error in Bianchini, and that the new-moon March, A. D. 28, instead of being on the *fourteenth* was on the *thirteenth* day of the month. Mr. Bond, therefore, by confirming the calculation of Bianchini, has here convicted Dr. Jarvis, not the reviewer, of a mistake. The reviewer also claimed that if the new-moon was on the 14th of the month, as correctly stated by Bianchini, or on the 13th, as erroneously stated by Dr. Jarvis, the full-moon could not in either case have been on the 26th of the same month, as Dr. Jarvis had endeavored to show. The reviewer is still of the same opinion—and Mr. Bond will not say, that a full-moon can follow a new-moon in *twelve* or in *thirteen* days.

You remark, that the question here raised, "involves the whole point in dispute between the late Rev. Dr. Jarvis, in his Chronological Introduction, and those who differed from him." This is true—and if Bianchini is correct in his calculation, as the reviewer fully admitted, and as Mr. Bond agrees with him in saying—then the attempt of Dr. Jarvis to determine by astronomical calculation, the year of the Crucifixion, is an entire failure.

THE REVIEWER OF DR. JARVIS IN THE "NEW ENGLANDER."

A NEW EDITION OF KENT'S COMMENTARIES.—We understand that the Hon. Wm. Kent, late Dane Professor in the Law School of Harvard College, is preparing a new edition of the popular Commentaries on American Law, of his distinguished father. This will make, we believe, the seventh edition of that work, and we have no doubt that in many particulars it will have greatly the advantage of any which have preceded it.

THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF HARVARD COLLEGE.—The Legislature of Massachusetts, during its last session, made an important alteration in the form of government of Harvard University. It will go into partial operation at the next meeting of the General Court, and is destined to have an important influence upon the future fortunes and management of that venerable institution. It will probably modify very materially, if it do not entirely extinguish, the sectarian tendencies of the present board of governors, and infuse a more popular element into its management, will be the means of introducing a course of study more practical

and immediately adapted to the condition and wants of America, than any now pursued in any of the Colleges of New England. Heretofore the institution has been in the hands of a close Corporation electing its own successors. Hereafter the Board of Overseers is to be elected by the Legislature.

Col. A. J. Pickett has in press at Charleston, S. C., the History of Alabama, and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi, from the earliest period. G. H. Hickman is publishing at Baltimore the Life, Speeches, Orations, &c., of Lewis Cass. Little & Brown, of Boston, are publishing the Speeches, Arguments, and Diplomatic Papers of Daniel Webster. R. K. Croller is publishing the Memoir and Speeches of the late J. C. Calhoun. T. H. Benton is said to be arranging his papers for publication. Murphy & Co, Baltimore, have lately republished Cardinal Wiseman's Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the [Roman] Catholic Church. Also Lingard's History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

A SINGULAR AWARD.—The offer of a small premium was lately made, through the Boston Congregationalist, for the best essay in answer to sundry questions in relation to practical religion, and especially pointing out the relation of the soul's salvation to a knowledge of the person of Christ—a point, we would think, involving the most peculiar features of the orthodox views. The committee in the case awarded the prize, without knowing the authors of any of the proposed essays, to Rev. Mr. Briggs, a Unitarian clergyman of Plymouth, Massachusetts. It is certainly a suggestive circumstance, in many ways.

Lyman & Raudon, (successors to Cooley & Keese,) New York, advertise the Library of the late Rev. Dr. Jarvis to be sold on or about the 1st of October. It is probably the most valuable private Library ever offered in the United States. It is rich in Ecclesiastical History, and in every department of Theology and Biblical Literature. James Munroe & Co., of Boston, are publishing the Rev. H. N. Hudson's elegant edition of Shakespeare. The Messrs. Appleton will publish about Christmas a splendidly embellished volume descriptive of Rev. Dr. Wainwright's Travels in Egypt. Mr. Putnam announces for republication, under the care of the Rev. J. A. Spencer, "*Hora Egyptiaca*," or the Chronology of Ancient Egypt, discovered from Astronomical and Hieroglyphic Records upon its monuments; including many dates found in coeval inscriptions from the period of the building of the Great Pyramids to the time of the Persians; and illustrations of the history of the Nineteen Dynasties, showing the order of their succession, from the Monuments. By Reginald Stuart Poole. With plates and numerous cuts. London: John Murray, 1851. pp. 278. 8vo.

A more particular account of this work will be found under the head of English Intelligence.

SERMONS OF THE LATE REV. MR. BUXTON.—Proposals have been issued by the Rev. Jarvis Buxton, for the publication of a volume of the Sermons of his Father, the late Rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville, N. C. The volume will contain upwards of 500 octavo pages, to be printed on a clear, large type, and good paper, with a Portrait and a Memoir of the deceased, at \$2, payable on delivery.

The profits of the publication will be given to the Missionary Fund of the Episcopal Church in North Carolina.

ENGLAND.

Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole published, some time ago, a very interesting series of papers on the History and Chronology of Ancient Egypt, in the *Literary Gazette*. These papers are now republished in a handsome illustrated volume, under the title of *Hora Egyptiaca*. They are altered and enlarged at the suggestion of the Duke of Northumberland, who, always interested on Egyptian matters, has forwarded their publication. They have been revised, and their composition assisted by Mr. Lane, the author's uncle, and several other eminent Egyptian authorities, especially by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, who has kindly and liberally lent papers and wood cuts to add to the completeness of the volume. Mr. Airy has corrected the astronomical calculations. It is, accordingly, a very complete and valuable book.

The chief point of general interest is the near approach to demonstration made by Mr. Poole, that several of the nineteen Egyptian dynasties were contemporaneous; a point in which Sir G. Wilkinson entirely agrees with him; and hence that the chronology to be derived from the hieroglyphic inscriptions is in no degree inconsistent, even *prima facie*, with that of the text of Scripture as we find it in the version of the LXX. The Hebrew version, and our own translation, still present difficulties; but this is too large a question for a notice.

J. W. Parker & Son have just published *Rituale Anglo-Catholicum; or the Testimony of the Catholic Church to the Book of Common Prayer*, as exhibited in Quotations from Ancient Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals. By Henry Bailey, B. D., Warden of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. 8vo., 15s.

Mr. Brown, London, has published, in one handsome volume, 8vo., extra cloth lettered, with three plates, "*Ecclesiastical Records of England, Ireland and Scotland*," or an Epitome of British Councils, the Legatine and Provincial Constitutions, and other Memorials of the Olden Time, with Prolegomena and Notes. By the Rev. Richard Hart, B. A., Vicar of Catton. Second edition, much enlarged. This valuable work forms a complete epitome and digest of the Concilia of Wilkins and Spelman, and contains all that is really valuable in their works. Many of the rubrics still retained in the Book of Common Prayer, and many an obscure point in ecclesiastical law, is here elucidated; whilst to the controversialist with Rome the volume will be found preeminently useful.

"The History of the Church of England," from the Revolution to the Last Acts of Convocation, 1688-1717. In one volume, small 8vo., price 8s. 6d. By the Rev. William Palin, M. A., Rector of Stifford, Essex. This volume forms a continuation to the works of Bishop Short, Mr. Carwithen, and other Writers on the Earlier History of the Church of England. Rivingtons, St. Paul's Churchyard and Waterloo-place.

Thackeray has delivered a course of six lectures, in London, on the English Humorists, which have attracted considerable attention. Dr. Lingard, the celebrated Romish historian of England, died at his residence, Hornby, a few minutes before twelve o'clock on Thursday night, July 17th. For some time his health had been failing, and for the last few weeks, a fatal result has been almost daily expected. He was aged eighty-one years. In compliance with his earnestly expressed wish, his remains were to be conveyed for interment to Ushaw College, Durham, with which he was at one time officially connected. Speaking of Dr. Lingard, the *Globe* says: "The Rev. Dr. Lingard was an unknown and retiring priest at Newcastle-on-Tyne, when, in 1806, he issued from the local press in that town his "*History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*," a work which, we hesitate not to assert, was the first and most efficient effort to attract popular attention toward the ecclesiastical glories of our Saxon forefathers, which are now familiar objects of study and speculation."

Messrs. Rivington have just published *Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the Church in Ireland* during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Edited with Notes from Autographs in the State Paper Office, by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M. A. From notices of this volume, we judge that it explains clearly enough why the Reformation made no headway in Ireland. It comes down to the ninth year of Elizabeth. A continuation of the work may be expected. It is a new and valuable contribution to modern Church History. Macaulay has completed two more volumes of his History of England, which are about to be published. A list of Archbishop Whateley's works contains thirty-six titles. Isaac Taylor, author of "*Natural History of Enthusiasm*" has in press "*Wesley and Methodism*." The British Government has bestowed a pension of five hundred dollars a year on Mrs. Jameson. Mr. Murray has published the eleventh edition, 12mo., 6d., (or a hundred copies for 45s.) of Mr. Gladstone's Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government. This pamphlet is producing great excitement in Europe, especially in the papal dominions.

EGYPTIAN AND CONTINENTAL.

MEMPHIS.—A very interesting discovery has recently been made in Egypt. M. Mariette, a young French scholar, who was dispatched on a scientific mission to Egypt, has discovered the exact site of the ancient city of Memphis, which has heretofore been a matter of doubt. After careful search, he has found a great quantity of Egyptian and Grecian remains, buried under a deposit of sand, varying from six to forty feet in depth. Among other objects he recognized the *Serapeum*, a monument described by Strabo. The avenue leading to it was filled with a large number of statues and sphinxes, some of which contained inscriptions. The drawings of these remains, sent by M. Mariette to Paris, attracted much attention, and it is understood that funds will be furnished him for the further prosecution of his researches.

GERMAN IMPIETY.—The following remarks on the infidelity of German scholarship are so just that we copy them from the "Princeton Review." We are free to say, that among all our exchanges of "Quarterlies," we do not believe there is another one which would have spoken so faithfully. The *latitudinarianism* of American Reviews generally is alarming. We do not except the Methodist Quarterly.

Bruno Bauer's *Criticism of the Gospels, and History of their Origin*. Vol. II, pp. 273-295, and Vol. III, pp. 1-128, 8vo., have been published the present year. Also the second division of his *Criticism of Paul's Epistles*, containing the origin of the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, 8vo. pp. 76. Berlin. Bruno Bauer is among the most successful of that class of critics who are not troubled with such prejudices as faith in a divine revelation, and whose peculiar skill consists in disregarding all historical verity, and inventing their facts for themselves. Germany has been fruitful in such, so that he has no lack of coadjutors in this particular direction, both in the Old Testament and in the New; but certainly the palm must be yielded to him both for impiety and for absurdity. It is a perfect curiosity to see with what assurance these brain-spun theories are propounded, the facts reasoned out of them, the most undoubted testimony of history set aside in their favor, clear and positive decisions given where there is no light or directly in the face of it, until all established opinions fall in ruins, and every thing lies completely topsy-turvy. Then let him build who can; for these critics are more successful and ingenious in their favorite work of destruction than in that more laborious of re-construction. Strauss had discovered that the events related of Jesus in the Gospels were mythical narrations, which arose from the application to him of Messianic ideas previously existing; for as his followers conceived him to be the Messiah, they concluded that these must have been realized in him. Bauer has advanced so far beyond Strauss as to convict him of superstition, and class him with Hengstenberg and other pietists for admitting such a chimera as this ante-Christian Messianic expectation, and retaining what remnants he does of traditional belief in parts of the gospel history. In the same spirit he has gone to the discussion of the Acts of the Apostles, and of Paul's Epistles. He claims the merit of being the first to have discovered that Paul did not write those epistles, of whose genuineness no doubt had ever before been entertained. The Romans and Corinthians originated in the earlier half of the second century. Galatians was the work of a compiler, with these previous epistles before him. These led on the Pauline revolution in the Church, with which consequently Paul had nothing to do. The Acts of the Apostles was the fruit of a counter revolution in the middle of the same century, by which the sharp points were taken from the Pauline system, and it was rendered more generally acceptable. The revolting extreme to which Bauer has gone is attended with at least one advantage, that of showing in all their naked deformity the tendencies and results of those skeptical principles upon which others have started, but without being daring enough to follow them consistently through, and thus of provoking a speedier reaction and hastening the return of well-disposed minds to faith and reason.

Lamartine has published the first volume of the History of the Restoration of the Monarchy in France. It is a sequel to his history of the Girondins; and for which he receives £8000, or £1000 per volume. The Lectures of Neander on Church History, are to be published at Halle in fifteen volumes.

ORIENTAL.

IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES OF MR. LAYARD.—The relics which Mr. Layard is sending to England from Assyria prove to be of greater value than was anticipated. Col. Rawlinson, who is engaged in decyphering the inscriptions, publishes a long letter in the *Athenæum*, of which we find the following abstract in an English paper.

Colonel Rawlinson had previously succeeded in decyphering much interesting matter connected with Sargina—or Shalmanazer, as he was better known to the Jews—from the stone annals lately brought to light at Mosul. This King, who invaded Samaria and carried back with him thousands of captives into Assyria, built the palace discovered at Khorsabad. A tablet was found among the palace ruins, recording the conquest of which we have just spoken. The city of Khorsabad was known by the old name of *Sorghun* as lately as the period when the Arabs took possession of it and changed its appellation.

Sennacherib was the son of this Sargina or Shalmanazer; and built, as we have said, that palace of Koyunjik which Mr. Layard has most recently investigated. Colonel Rawlinson has just succeeded in decyphering the annals of the third year of the reign of Sennacherib, from the copy of an inscription forwarded to him by Mr. Layard, and taken by the latter from one of the bulls at the grand entrance of the Koyunjik palace.

The substance of this inscription is to the effect that in the third year of Sennacherib he succeeded in a hostile expedition undertaken against the King of Sidon; proceeded against other cities in Syria; and then marched against the Egyptians, under the following circumstances. The King had heard of an insurrection in a part of Palestine that owed obedience to the Assyrian Monarch, whose vicegerents were expelled and took refuge with Hezekiah, King of Jerusalem, the Capital city of Judæa. The rebels having called upon Egypt for aid, an Egyptian force was sent to their assistance. This force Sennacherib encountered and routed. Subsequently, a quarrel ensued between Sennacherib and Hezekiah on the subject of tribute. The former, who did not understand protocoling, had a contempt for negotiations, and could not brook delays that impeded obedience to his will, swept the plains, captured Judah's fenced cities, and extorted submission from Hezekiah at the very walls of Jerusalem. According to the inscription, which has come to light after a burial of *thousands* of years, the tribute paid by Hezekiah amounted to "thirty talents of gold, three hundred talents of silver, the ornaments of the temple, slaves, boys and girls, and men-servants and maid-servants, for the use of the palace."

Colonel Rawlinson has no doubt of this being the campaign which is alluded to in the eighteenth chapter of the second book of Kings, verses 13-17.

A Persian journal was started in Teheran on the 26th of January last, under the direction of the Prime Minister, Mirza Taghi Khan. It appears every Friday, printed on two sheets, and consists mostly of European news and articles on the condition of the provinces. The first number contains notices of the establishment of watchmen in Teheran, the arrangement of post-stations in Persia, and the time of departure for the couriers, who leave the capital. The former Minister, Hadji Mirza Aghassi, attempted to establish a journal in Teheran seven years ago, but failed.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATION.

On Friday, July 11th, the Rev. JOHN PAYNE, D. D. was Consecrated Bishop of Cape Palmas and parts adjacent in Africa, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade of Virginia, assisted by the Rt. Rev. Bishops Eastburn of Massachusetts, Lee of Delaware, and Johns of Virginia. The services were held in Christ Church, Alexandria, Va.

The whole services at the Consecration, and at other public meetings, were of the most animating character.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Barr, D. E.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Barton, J. O.	Kemper,	June 15,	Nashotah Chapel, Wis.	
Battin, E. H.	Kemper,	June 15,	Nashotah Chapel, Wis.	
Bingham, A.	Kemper,	June 15,	Nashotah Chapel, Wis.	
Black, J. H.	Potter,	Sept. 7,	Holy Trinity, West Chester, Penn.	
Bedell, George,	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Chapin, S. S.	Brownell,	June 18,	St. John's, Hartford, Conn.	
Goolwin, Hannibal,	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Herrick, O. E.	DeLancey,	June 15,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.	
Hodges, Jubal,	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Hawkins, W. G.	Meade,	July 10,	Theolog. Seminary, Alexandria, Va.	
Hubbard, J. P.	Meade,	July 10,	Theolog. Seminary, Alexandria, Va.	
Huckel, W.	Meade,	July 10,	Theolog. Seminary, Alexandria, Va.	
Hoffman, E. A.	Doane,	June 29,	Christ, New Brunswick, N. J.	
Leacock, B. B.	Meade,	July 10,	Theolog. Seminary, Alexandria, Va.	
Loop, De Witt C.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Ludlum, W. S.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Nott, John W.	Whittingham,	Aug. 10,	St. John's, St. John's Parish, Balti-	
Runcio, James,	Upfold,	June 8,	Christ, Madison, Ind. [more Co., Md.	
Sayres, S. H.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Schetk, G. P.	Kemper,	June 15,	Nashotah Chapel, Wis.	
Smith, Elvin K.	Doane,	June 29,	Christ, New Brunswick, N. J.	
Stevens, Lawrence,	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	
Stimson, L. B.	Brownell,	Aug. 24,	Trinity, Southport, Conn.	
Townsend, J. S.	DeLancey,	June 15,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.	
Van Antwerp, D. D.	McCaskry,	June 2,	St. Mark's, Grand Rapids, Mich.	
Venable, J. W.	Smith,	June 20,	Ascension, Frankfort, Ky.	
Warren, D. F.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn, N. Y.	

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Ambler, Charles,	Meade,	Sept. 11,	Leed's Church,	Fauquier Co., Va.
Cady, P. K.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Calloway, C. M.	Johns,	July 10,	Theolog. Seminary,	Alexandria, Va.
Coffey, W. S.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Elmendorf, J. J.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Furey, J. G.	Potter,	June 28,	St. James',	Derrey, Penn.
Gallaudet, T.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Keith, C.	Johns,	July 10,	Theolog Seminary,	Alexandria, Va.
Lightbourne, F. J. R.	DeLancey,	June 15,	Trinity, Geneva,	W. N. Y.
Lord, William W.	Whittingham,	June 15,	Mount Calvary,	Baltimore, Md.
Mitchell, J. W.	Cobbs,	May 11,	St. John's,	Montgomery, Ala.
Moore, J. W.	DeLancey,	June 22,	St. Paul's,	Morrisania, N. Y.
Olsen, W. W.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Sargeant, S. R.	Whittingham,	June 15,	Mount Calvary,	Baltimore, Md.
Seabrook, J. B.	Gadsden,	Feb. 9,	St. Michael's,	Charleston, S. C.
Seymour, W. W.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Sill, Frederick,	Brownell,	June 18,	St. John's,	Hartford, Conn.
Smithett, W. T.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Spencer, J. S.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Thrall, S. C.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Webbe, W. T.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Williams, W. H.	DeLancey,	June 29,	Grace, Brooklyn,	N. Y.
Woodward, Charles,	DeLancey,	June 15,	Trinity, Geneva,	W. N. Y.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
All Saints,	Portsmouth, Ohio,	M'Ilvaine,	Sept. 3, 1851.
St. Anne's,	Amsterdam, N. Y.,	DeLancey,	June 20, 1851.
St. Barnabas,	Woodville, N. C.,	Ives,	April 28, 1851.
Christ,	New Brighton, N. Y.,	DeLancey,	July 3, 1851.
Christ,	St. Paul, Minnesota T.,	Keniper,	July 20, 1851.
Holy Cross,	Sandy Hill, Md.,	Whittingham,	July 10, 1851.
St. James the Less,	Scarsdale, N. Y.,	DeLancey,	June 28, 1851.
St. James',	Theresa, N. Y.,	DeLancey,	Aug. 7, 1851.
S. Mark's,	Baltimore, Md.,	Whittingham,	July 17, 1851.
St. Peter's,	Milford, Conn.,	Brownell,	July 2, 1851.
St. Philip's,	Kirkwood, Miss.,	Green,	May 18, 1851.
Church of Our SAVIOUR,	Jack-son, N. C.,	Ives,	May 4, 1851.
Holy Trinity,	Hertford, N. C.,	Ives,	April 27, 1851.
Trinity,	Middletown Point, N. J.,	Doane,	June 19, 1851.
Trinity,	Pass Christian, Miss.,	Green,	July 22, 1851.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Adlerly, William,	Christ,	Burlington, Iowa.
" Ballard, Edward,	Episcopal Academy,	Cheshire, Conn.
" Beach, Amos B.,	Christ,	Binghampton, N. Y.
" Brandigee, J. J.,	St. Michael's,	Litchfield, Conn.
" Chapin, S. S.,	St. James',	Poquetonuck, Conn.
" Clark, Anson,	—	Elyria, Ohio.
" Durborow, Samuel,	St. Peter's,	Phoenixville, Penn.
" Elsegood, J. I.,	Trinity,	Easton, Penn.
" Gardiner, C. H.,	St. John's,	Clyde, N. Y.
" Hathaway, G. W.,	Christ,	Lonsdale, R. I.
" Hayden, G. B.,	Christ,	West Haven, Conn.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Hodges, Jubal,	St. Mark's,	Malone, N. Y.
" Johnston, J. L.,	St. Paul's,	Pekin, Ill.
" Lamson, W. O.,	St. John the Evangelist,	Stockport, N. Y.
" Lewin, Meyer,	St. Andrew's,	Jackson, Miss.
" Littlejohn, A. N.,	St. Paul's,	New Haven, Conn.
" Passmore, William,	_____	Brownsville, Texas.
" Patterson, A. C.,	St. James',	Skaneateles, N. Y.
" Pise, David,	Trinity,	Clarksville, Tenn.
" Sanford, David P.,	St. John's,	New Milford, Conn.
" Seymour, Charles,	All Saints,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Rt. Rev. H. Southgate, D. D.,	St. Luke's,	Portland, Me.
Rev. Walker, R. J.	Messiah,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" Wheeler, Eli,	Christ,	Shrewsbury, N. J.
" Woods, H. W.,	St. Mary's,	Newton, Lower Falls, Mass.

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

The following Summary has been compiled with great care; and yet the Parochial Reports in the various Journals are evidently extremely imperfect.

DIOCESE OF NEW JERSEY.—Journal of the 68th Annual Convention. Clergy in the Diocese 58; Parishes 54; Baptisms reported 664; Confirmed 189; Communicants 3,306.

DIOCESE OF CONNECTICUT.—Sixty-seventh Annual Convention. There are in this Diocese 109 Clergy; 17 Candidates for Holy Orders; 104 Parishes. The Parochial Reports give 6,378 Families in 79 parishes; 942 Baptisms in 74 parishes; 536 Confirmations in 44 parishes; 8,917 Communicants in 84 parishes; 396 Marriages in 68 parishes; 683 Burials in 79 parishes.

At this Convention, the Rev. John Williams, D. D., President of Trinity College, was elected Assistant Bishop of this Diocese.

DIOCESE OF NEW YORK.—Sixty-sixth Convention. Number of Clergy present in this Convention 147; absent 86; on the Roll of the Convention 183; not entitled to seats 81; number of Clergy belonging to the Diocese 264; Candidates for Orders 36. *Parishes.*—Number of Churches and Chapels represented 147; not represented 53; entitled to representation 200; not in union with the Convention 13; number of Churches and Chapels in the Diocese 213. Seven Churches were admitted into union at this Convention. *Episcopal duties performed.*—Ordinations: Deacons 15; Priests 10; Churches: Corner Stones laid 3; Consecrated 9; Confirmations: in 120 Churches 1824. *Canonical collections.*—For the Episcopal Fund, from 34 Churches \$146.72; for the Diocesan Fund, from 86 Churches \$887.81; for the Education Fund, from 47 Churches \$352.67; for the Missionary Fund, from 123 Churches \$4,377.23; Aged and Infirm Clergy from 117 Churches \$2,795.56. Total \$8,560.09.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Sixty-seventh Annual Convention. The number of Clergy-men in this Diocese is 155; and of Parishes 154. The following summary is taken from the Parochial Reports appended to the last Journal. Baptisms: adults 139, infants 1,637; total 1,776; Confirmed 766; Communicants added 948; present number 19,949; Marriages 644; Burials 1,090. Contributions to Church objects \$89,342.49.

DIOCESE OF MARYLAND.—Journal of 63d Annual Convention. Clergy in the Diocese 120; Parishes 77; Congregations 34; Churches 105; Chapels 39; Churches now building 11; Candidates for Orders 15; Confirmed 269; Baptisms 2,080; Communicants 7,423; Marriages 508; Burials 892; Contributions \$14,915.58. The work of Church extension is being prosecuted vigorously. The Bishop in his Address characterizes the habit of Clerical changes with just severity. The College of St. James appears to be well conducted and to be in a prosperous condition.

DIOCESE OF MASSACHUSETTS.—Journal of 61st Annual Convention. Clergy in the Diocese 76; Parishes 62; Baptisms reported 784; Communicants 5,443; Confirmed 323; Marriages 306; Burials 469; Sunday Scholars 3,764; Contributions \$26,343.08.

DIOCESE OF VERMONT.—Sixtieth Annual Convention. 23 Clergy in Diocese; 3 Candidates for Orders; 32 Parishes in union with the Convention; Confirmations, 81 in 21 Parishes. Rev. Foster Thayer has been displaced from the ministry. The Journal has no summary of statistics.

DIOCESE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.—The Journal of the 51st Annual Convention of this Diocese gives the following statistics. There are of the Clergy 10; Parishes 11, of which two are vacant; Baptisms during the year 52; Confirmed 38; Marriages 15; Burials 40; Sunday School teachers 34, Scholars 225; Communicants 560; Missionary and other religious contributions \$1,429.45. The Board of Missions are now concentrating their efforts for the establishment of a new parish at Hanover, the seat of Dartmouth College.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—We extract the following summary of Parochial Reports:—Baptisms, adults, white 25, colored 355, total 381; Baptisms, children, white 201, colored 625, total 826; Marriages, white 105, colored 87, total 192; Burials, white 225, colored 102, total 328; Congregation Communicants, white 2,851, colored 3,168, total 5,019; Congregation Non-Communicants, white 2,013, colored 847, total 2,860; Congregation children under 14, white 2,374, colored 413, total 2,787; Congregation Families, white 1,531, colored 109, total 1,640; Families belonging to other Congregations, white 119; Children Catechised, white 483, colored 1,649, total 2,132; Confirmed, white 105, colored 113, total 218; Sunday School Teachers, white 248; Sunday School Scholars, white 1,036, colored 1,295, total 2,331.

MAINE.—From the Journal of the 32d Annual Convention we gather the following statistics. There are connected with the Diocese 13 Clergy; 9 organized Parishes; Baptisms within the last year: adults 38, infants 132, total 170; Confirmed 78; Communicants added 168; present number 774; Collections for Church objects \$2,478.54. The Church is increasing in Maine every year, and the calls for its services are said to be becoming more and more imperative.

OHIO.—Journal of the 33d Annual Convention. Clergy in active service 66; Parishes on the list 83; Baptisms 552; Confirmations 255; Communicants 4,090; Marriages 162; Burials 386; Sunday Schools: Teachers 388, Scholars 2,350; Contributions for various objects \$27,102.30. In a large number of the parishes the number of communicants, as compared with last year, has not increased or has diminished. The population of the State in 1800 was 45,365; in 1850 it was 1,977,031. The progress of the Church by no means keeps pace with the increase of the population of the State.

The Rev. B. P. Aydelotte, D. D., has just renounced the Ministry of the Church on the ground that the Church is "fundamentally wrong" in her teaching. For the last sixteen years, he has had little more than a nominal connection with the Church, and has been known only by a very querulous reputation.

DIOCESE OF GEORGIA.—Twenty-ninth Annual Convention. Belonging to the Diocese, 26 Clergymen; Parishes and Missionary stations 19; Baptisms 236; Confirmed 46; Communicants 984; Marriages 48; Burials 99; Contributions \$7,778.44. Sunday Schools: Teachers 89, Scholars 773. Several of the Reports exhibit successful labors for the religious instruction of the blacks.

MISSISSIPPI.—The Journal of the 25th Annual Convention furnishes the following: 27 Parishes in union with the Convention; Clergy 20; the Bishop has traveled more than 4,600 miles, and Confirmed 106; Baptisms 284; Families 354; Communicants 519; Marriages 28; Funerals 61; Contributions for Church objects \$10,361.47. An Episcopal Fund already amounts to \$13,800. The labors of the Bishop have been in season and out of season. The whole spirit of the Diocese seems to be in the highest degree hopeful.

NORTH CAROLINA.—Journal of the 25th Annual Convention. The following is the summary of the Report of the Committee on the State of the Church.

The Committee on the State of the Church respectfully report: That having examined the Bishop's Address and the Parochial Reports which were referred to them, they find that there have been 521 Baptized, of whom 180 are adults, and 182 Confirmed; 141 have been added to the Communion. The present number of Communicants reported is 2219. Three Presbyters and three Deacons have been ordained. Four Churches have been Consecrated, and three others are reported as ready for Consecration. There are now four candidates for Holy Orders.

DIOCESE OF ALABAMA.—Twentieth Annual Convention. The Journal of this Diocese reports 26 Parishes; 21 Ministers; Baptisms 295; Confirmed 75; Married 50; Buried 85; Communicants 775; Sunday School Teachers 72; Scholars 360; Missionary Contributions \$1,997.87.

The Bishop closes his Address to his Convention, with words, true as steel, of warning against the *tendency to superstition* which has of late been rife in certain quarters, and by men who make the cut of a surplice more of a test of catholicity than the doctrine of the Atonement.

MICHIGAN.—Journal of the 17th Annual Convention, 1851. This Journal contains no summary. We find in connection with the Diocese, 36 Clergy, and 33 Parishes. The Bishop, in his Address, bears witness to the unity, order, and faithfulness of his clergy; and the Reports of the Parishes indicate substantial growth. The Church of Michigan is exceedingly promising. A new College, St. MARK's, has been incorporated and established at Grand Rapids, under the most favorable auspices. Every thing in connection with this Diocese is cheering.

DIOCESE OF ILLINOIS.—Journal of the 14th Annual Convention. There are belonging to this Diocese 29 Clergymen; 54 Parishes; Baptisms reported 278; Confirmed 89; Communicants 1,624; Contributions for various objects \$8,910.07; Churches Consecrated 4. The Rev. H. J. Whitehouse, D. D., Rector of St. Thomas, New York, has been chosen Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Illinois.

WESTERN NEW YORK.—Fourteenth Annual Convention. Clergymen resident in the Diocese 120; Organized Parishes 140. Ordinations: Deacons 8, Priests 6, in all 14; Consecrated Churches 2; Confirmations 631 in 78 Congregations; Missionaries employed in the Diocese 45, at an expense of \$5,000. Of the 631 Confirmations, 315 were persons originally of other denominations. Candidates for Holy Orders 10. By the Journal of last year (the present not yet published) Families 4,512; Baptisms 1,186; Communicants 7,010; Marriages 368; Burials 576 for the past year.

The pecuniary contributions have been:—For the Christmas Fund for disabled Clergymen \$1,141.34; Monthly Collections and Donations \$8,111.03; other Donations to external objects \$300; Bequest to Diocesan Missions \$1000; Total, \$10,552.03.

The subject of Diocesan Missions elicited an earnest debate, which terminated amicably; and with the concession on all hands that the system employed works admirably. This important Diocese is increasing in numbers and in strength.

DIOCESE OF TENNESSEE.—Journal of the 23d Annual Convention. The following summary is from the Report of the Committee on the State of the Church: Baptized: of infants, in 15 congregations 99, adults, in 5 congregations 15, total 114; Confirmed in 10 congregations 56; added to the Communion, in 12 congregations 102; Ordained: 1 Deacon, 2 Priests, total 3; Church consecrated 1; Contributed of Church Offerings, in 17 congregations, \$10,685.03; the present number of Clergy belonging to the Diocese is 17; the present number of Parishes in the Diocese is 16; Congregations not organized as Parishes 4; present number of Communicants in 16 Parishes is 726.

DIOCESE OF MISSOURI.—Journal of the 11th Annual Convention. There are in this Diocese 15 Clergymen canonically resident; 12 organized Parishes; about

700 Communicants; 3 Candidates for Orders. The Bishop has Confirmed 57 persons in 7 parishes, and Consecrated two Churches. An Orphan Home has been established at St. Louis. The Mission School in Marion County is self-supporting and prosperous. The Bishop urges the erection of parsonage-houses even before that of Churches. The Bishop also reports earnest calls for the Church in 7 important towns; and speaks of the prospect of the Church in Missouri as more promising than at any previous period.

INDIANA.—Abstract of Parochial Reports:—Baptisms: adults 18, infants 127, total 145; Confirmed 67; Communicants 669; Contributions to Church objects \$2,778.88.

In his Address to the Convention, in communicating his reply to the solemn protest of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity of the Diocese of Oxford, against the recent high-handed attempt of the Bishop of Rome to usurp ecclesiastical authority in England, Bishop Upfold says—

“The aggressive act against which this solemn Protest of the Bishop, Clergy, and Laity of the Diocese of Oxford is directed, we cannot but note with deep interest. It is an assault upon our common claim to be an integral portion of God's heritage, and participants of true and lawful authority, derived through our ministry of Apostolic succession, from the great, glorious, and only Supreme Head of the Church, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. The blow aimed directly at our brethren in England, is indirectly aimed at ourselves. The aggressive spirit of Popery is as rife here as it is there, and only waits a favorable opportunity, to break forth in all its characteristic intolerance and wonted rage for universal domination. It is far from being quiescent, though it may so appear, and by some be believed. Policy now restrains it from any open and avowed aggressive movement, in this land of equal rights, and civil and religious liberty. Yet it is all the while working insidiously in our midst, striving for that universal supremacy over the consciences and religious opinions of men to which it pretends; and when the convenient season is judged to have arrived, we may surely expect a similar open assault. * * * * *

“And here, as suggested by the foregoing remarks, I avail myself of the opportunity to say, how important it seems to me to be, that, in this period of religious agitation, we should distinctly recognize the Protestant and Reformed character of our Church; clearly and manfully define our position in this respect; and stand firmly and fearlessly on the ground taken by the venerable Reformers of our Mother Church, when, on her behalf, and acting with her inherent authority, they shook off the usurped authority and dominion of the Papacy, fell back on her original independence as an integral portion of the Catholic Church, and purified her from the manifold corruptions in doctrine and practice, which had dimmed her brightness and marred her beauty of holiness. There has been too much of a disposition of late years, to fault this distinguishing characteristic of the Church; to deprecate it as an unfortunate appellation which more or less—but *how*, I have never been able to discover—compromitted our claim to *Catholicity*; and to treat that, which, relatively to all errors and corruptions, and particularly to Romish errors and corruptions, telling as it does so succinctly and truly the story of our wrongs and of our righting ourselves, and declaring the grounds of our opposition and separation, is our glory, as if it were our shame. How suicidal such a policy, and how disastrous in its effects, we have had some lamentable examples.”

DIOCESE OF WISCONSIN.—There are twenty-five Clergymen in the Diocese, holding Parochial Cures, entitled to seats in the Convention, and two others residing within it, but without Parochial Cures, making in all twenty-seven, and thirty-six organized Parishes.

During the Conventional year, there has been added to the Communion, in 13 parishes, 96; whole number of Communicants, in 26 parishes, 1446; whole number of Baptisms, (Infants 255, Adults 29,) in 27 parishes, 284; whole number Confirmed, in 18 parishes, 67; number of Marriages, in 19 parishes, 56; number of children under catechetical or Sunday School instruction, in 16 parishes, 710.

The diocese has contributed during the past year, \$205.50 to the Episcopal Fund, and \$216.15 for missions within its own limits.

The Bishop delivered his annual address, from which we learn that he has ordained three Deacons and one Priest, has visited the Parishes and Missionary Stations of the Diocese, besides several new and promising places; has confirmed seventy-three persons and baptized two adults and twenty-four children.

DIOCESE OF CALIFORNIA.—The first Convention for the organization of this Diocese, was held at San Francisco, July 24th, 1850, and continued in session until August 2d. There were then six clergymen in the Diocese. A Constitution and Canons were adopted; and the usual Diocesan officers were elected. The Right Rev. Bishop Southgate, late of Constantinople, was elected Bishop of the Diocese, which appointment he has since declined. The Conventions of this Diocese are to be held triennially.

OREGON TERRITORY.—On the 18th of May, 1851, the first parish in this territory was organized in the city of Portland. There were present the Rev. Mr. Richmond, Missionary to Oregon, and the Rev. St. Michael Fackler. The parish took the name of Trinity; officers were elected; and the Rev. Mr. Richmond was chosen as the Rector.

MISSIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

From the Sixteenth Annual Reports of the Domestic and Foreign Committees we gather the following statement of the missions of the Church at the present day.

DOMESTIC MISSIONS.

Condition of the Field.—Three Bishops, ninety-one Presbyters and Deacons, and two Laymen, are at this time connected with the Domestic Missionary department.

Since the last Annual Meeting, eighteen appointments have been made; twelve of these are new missionaries; sixteen have resigned, and one has died. Four churches have been consecrated; four churches are being erected, and in several of the stations, active measures are being taken to effect this very desirable object.

During the year, at fifty-three stations, one hundred and twenty-nine adults, and at seventy-seven stations, five hundred and twenty-four infants, have been baptized. Thirty-two stations report their number of persons confirmed, amounting to two hundred and seventy-nine. Eighty-five stations report one thousand seven hundred and fifty-two communicants. Thirty-three stations report nine hundred and seventy-seven families attending their services, and forty-three stations report one thousand three hundred and seventy-six children in their Sunday Schools. The receipts during the past year have been \$34,302.26. The payments have been \$30,645.22. The number of Churches contributing to June, 1851, was 101 less than in 1850; and the amount greater by \$3,648.08, including legacies of \$14,220.88. Assistance is already withdrawn from Ohio, by arrangement with its Bishop; and after two years no assistance is to be rendered to the Diocese of Michigan. The Committee report that other Dioceses should now be left to their own resources. Four missionaries are laboring in Maine; two in New Hampshire; three in Delaware; four in Georgia; three in Florida; five in Alabama; four in Mississippi; one in Louisiana; five in Tennessee; six in Kentucky; six in Indiana; ten in Illinois; nine in Michigan; ten in Wisconsin; six in Iowa; two in Missouri; three in Arkansas; four in Texas; two in California; one in Oregon; and one among the Oneida Indians in Wisconsin. The Committee report that the great want now is not of money, but of missionaries.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.

There are three foreign fields now occupied by the Church; Western Africa, China, and Greece.

GREECE.

The mission at Greece was established in 1830, and has now one ordained missionary, two female assistants, and several Greek Teachers. It is mainly devoted to the Christian education of females, in which work it has been eminently successful. The pupils of this School are beginning to exert a silent but powerful influence throughout the nation. The number of scholars averages nearly six hundred. The annual expense of the mission is \$3,300.

AFRICA.

This Mission was established in 1836. There are now laboring at the different stations, the Rt. Rev. John Payne, D. D., assisted by three ordained Missionaries, six Missionary male and female teachers, and several native teachers. The principal stations are at Cape Palmas, where a Church is being erected; and at Cavalla. The funds already raised are sufficient also to erect a Church at this station. Several posts are occupied at convenient distances in the neighborhood, making in all twelve villages and towns. At Cape Palmas, the ordinary Sunday congregations are two hundred and fifty; and there are at this station one hundred and ten scholars under religious instruction. The High School at Mt. Vaughan has opened with six colonist beneficiaries. Bishop Payne reports in his mission one hundred Communicants, one half of whom are natives. He has one colonist as Candidate for Orders. The annual expenses of this Mission are \$11,000. The Corporation of Trinity Church in the city of New York, have recently given, as a "Jubilee gift," \$5,000, towards the endowment of a fund, for the support of the Missionary Bishoprick at Cape Palmas.

CHINA.

This Mission was established in 1845. The Missionaries are, the Rt. Rev. W. J. Boone, D. D.; three ordained Missionaries; five male and female Missionary teachers; and two native catechists. The Missionaries have free access to the people. A new Church has been consecrated as Shanghai, 80 by 40 feet in size. A boys' school with fifty pupils is in progress. A female school is to be immediately commenced. Chae, a native Candidate for Orders, is ready for ordination. Twenty-two persons have been baptized in the Mission, and nineteen admitted to the holy communion. An arrangement for a suitable division of labor between Bishop Boone and the English Bishop, was proposed by the former, but has not been accepted by the latter, acting under advice. A translation of the New Testament into Chinese has been completed. The word God, is translated *Shang-te*, the name of a Chinese idol; against which the Bishop earnestly protests. A vigorous opposition is anticipated from the Romanists, whose numbers have been underestimated. The annual expenses of the Mission are \$11,000. The Rev. Robert Nelson and wife, the Rev. Cleveland Keith, and Mr. John Poynts, all of Virginia, sailed from Boston, August 1st, in the ship *Oriental*, for Shanghai, China; where they are to be engaged in the missions of the Church. The Rev. John P. Hubbard and family, of Boston, are soon to follow them in the same capacity.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

This mission has been abandoned, at least, for the present, after a heavy expenditure. Bishop Southgate has returned to the United States, and resigned the appointment of Missionary Bishop to Turkey.

OBITUARY.

REV. JARVIS B. BUXTON.

It is with deep regret that we announce the sudden death of this distinguished Minister of the Gospel, which occurred at his residence in Fayetteville, N. C., on Friday, May 30th, after an illness of only two days. On the morning of Wednesday, a few hours before the assembling of the Diocesan Convention which met at Fayetteville, and in which he would necessarily have acted a prominent part, he was struck down with violent illness, so that he could not even see his brethren of the Clergy, who had come from all parts of the State. He lingered forty-eight hours, and then quietly departed this life, in the hope and assurance of realizing a better.

Mr. Buxton had been the Rector of St. John's Church, Fayetteville, for upwards of twenty years, and was singularly remarkable for ability, faithfulness, and efficiency in the discharge of those sacred duties to which he had devoted his life. His mind was strong and clear; his writings always exhibiting striking originality of thought. His oratory was of an earnest, rather than a polished style. He possessed a moral courage which never shrank from the performance of what he esteemed to be a duty. He was especially kind to the poor, and all who needed his aid, in spiritual or worldly things. These qualities had ensured him eminent success in his long and laborious ministry. And he has relinquished it possessed of the respect, and esteem, and affection of his people.

The services at his funeral were deeply impressive. Surrounded by the Bishop and nearly all the Episcopal Clergymen in the Diocese, by the numerous Lay Delegates to the Convention, and by an immense concourse of people, of all denominations, his remains were deposited in their resting place in the beautiful yard of that Church at whose Altar he had so long and so faithfully and so successfully ministered.

Mr. Buxton was ordained deacon by Bishop Ravenscroft, Dec. 9th, 1827, in Christ Church, Elizabeth City, N. C., and priest, by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, in St. John's Church, Richmond, 8th May, 1831.

A volume of his sermons, with a portrait and memoir, is to be prepared by his son, Rev. Jarvis Buxton, of which, the following notice we take from the "Fayetteville Observer." "The wide-spread reputation of the deceased for ability and originality, will doubtless make this volume an acceptable one, especially to his friends and brethren of the Episcopal Church."

At a meeting of the Right Rev. Bishop of the Diocese and several other clergymen, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Whereas it has pleased Almighty God, in his wise Providence, by a sudden death to deprive this Parish and the Diocese at large of the valuable and efficient services of our departed Brother,—

Resolved, That, acknowledging the hand of Divine wisdom, we bow with submission to this chastening dispensation.

Resolved, That while in the loss of our dear Brother we mourn our social deprivation, as well as the loss to the Diocese, and to his own Parish, we sorrow not as those who have no hope, but are consoled with the firm and abiding trust, that in being removed from his labors on earth, he has gone to his rest, and finally to those rewards which, through the merits of the Redeemer, are laid up for the just—to the enjoyment of the special blessings which are promised to those who turn many to righteousness.

Resolved, That with heartfelt sympathy we offer our condolences to the afflicted family of our much loved brother.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be respectfully conveyed to the family of the deceased, and be also furnished to the newspapers in Fayetteville and Raleigh, with a request for their insertion.

REV. S. B. PADDOCK.

We are indebted for the following to the Rev. J. H. Nichols, who delivered the Funeral Address in Christ Church, Middletown, June 26, 1851:—

The Rev. Seth Birdsey Paddock was born in Middletown, Conn., August 14, 1795, and his early childhood and youth were passed in that city. Having completed his preparatory education in the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire, then under the care of the distinguished Dr. Bronson, he entered the Sophomore Class in Yale College, in September, 1817, and was graduated at the same institution in September, 1820, having maintained, through his whole college course, the rank of a highly respectable scholar, and sustained an unblemished character as a professing Christian. He was confirmed at Southington by Bishop Brownell, Sept. 7, 1821, and having early determined to devote his life to the duties of the Christian ministry, he became a Candidate for Holy Orders, and was one of the first students of the General Theological Seminary, on its establishment in the city of New Haven. On the 10th of April, 1822, he was admitted by Bishop Brownell, in Trinity Church, New Haven, to the Holy Order of Deacons; and on Sunday, the 27th October following, in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, he was admitted by the same prelate to the Order of Priests.

Soon after his ordination as Deacon, he officiated for a short time as the minister of St. John's Church, Essex. Having been invited to become the colleague of the Rev. John Tyler, the aged Rector of Christ Church, Norwich, he soon removed to that place, and on the death of Mr. Tyler, succeeded to the Rectorship. Here, for more than twenty-two years, he fulfilled a laborious and most successful ministry. The Episcopal Church increased wonderfully in strength and numbers, under his faithful nursing and instruction. In the interesting and affecting discourses which he preached on taking leave of his people, on the 8th of September, 1844, he observed, "Within the twenty-two and a half years of my ministry, there, have been connected with the parish, three hundred and eighty families. Of these I found in it less than forty. More than one hundred and fifty now remain, and about one hundred and ninety have become extinct, or removed to other parts. I have baptized four hundred and ninety-one persons; presented to the Bishop for confirmation two hundred and forty-three; received at the Lord's table three hundred and two; officiated at one hundred and twenty-three marriages and two hundred and fifty-six funerals, and delivered sermons and lectures of various kinds, exceeding, probably, three thousand in number."

Mr. Paddock, with the advice and consent of his Bishop, resigned his charge in September, 1844, and soon accepted the honorable appointment of Principal of the Episcopal Academy at Cheshire.

In the six years and a half of which he was the Principal, about three hundred youth, from all parts of the country, and from the West Indies, were educated by him. The ancient reputation of the Academy for scholarship was sustained, and our friend showed that he was not unworthy to occupy the chair which had once been filled by the Rev. Dr. Smith, by the Rev. Dr. Bowden, and by his own beloved teacher in his youth, the Rev. Dr. Tillotson Bronson.

Though gradually stricken low in the midst of plans of future usefulness in the cause of Christ, he took his sickness most patiently. His faithful physician informed me that in all his illness, and amidst many trying remedies, he uttered not a murmur. Seldom has there been a departure from this world as peaceful. He received the Holy Sacrament about an hour before his death, and fell asleep in Jesus on Tuesday morning, June 24th.

Among the recent deaths of distinguished Americans we record the following:

The Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet died at Hartford, Conn., Sept. 10, aged 64. He was the founder of the first institution for the education of deaf mutes in this country.

J. Fennimore Cooper, the distinguished American Novelist, died at his residence at Cooperstown, N. Y., Sept. 14, aged 62. He died in the Communion of the Church, and his end was eminently peaceful. He was born at Burlington, N. J.,

in 1789; entered Yale College in 1802; in 1811 married Miss DeLancey, sister of Bishop DeLancey, and removed to Cooperstown, N. Y., where he has spent the greater portion of his subsequent life. His earlier Novels, the *Spy*, the *Pilot*, the *Last of the Mohicans*, the *Red Rover*, &c., placed him at once in the very first rank of writers of fiction in the language. His descriptions of life on the frontier and on the Sea are unrivaled. His later works have been too conservative for his times; and have provoked an almost unqualified abuse from the radical portion of the American press. His reputation has, however, never suffered, in the estimation of those whose judgment is worth meriting; and with them it may safely be left.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW PROFESSORSHIP.—In St. James' College, Maryland, a new Professorship, that of Civil and Ecclesiastical Law, has been created, and Hugh Davy Evans, Esq., has been appointed to that Chair.

On the 10th of September, Rev. Milo Mahan, M. A., assistant minister of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, was chosen "St. Mark's Church in the Bower" Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in the General Theological Seminary, vacant by the death of the late Rev. Prof. Ogilby, D. D.

On Sunday, September 7th, in Pekin, Ill., the Rev. Dr. Niglas, formerly Priest in the Romish Church, publicly and formally renounced the errors of that Church, and his obedience to it, and owned his allegiance to the true branch of Christ Church in this country.

The Rev. James George Leason, formerly of the Romish obedience, has been received into the clergy of the Diocese of Maryland, by reconciliation.

The Rev. Oliver S. Prescott was, on the 5th of July, suspended from the exercise of the functions of the Christian ministry, by the Right Rev. Bishop Eastburn, of Massachusetts. The presentment on which he was arraigned charges him with "preaching, inculcating, and defending, certain heretical doctrines," which are specified to be, the worship of the Virgin Mary, Auricular confession, and denying the Obligation of the Thirty-Nine Articles. He refused to be tried on the ground that the presentment had not been legally served, and that the Court was composed of unsuitable men. Since his suspension, he has persisted in performing the public duties of the ministry.

The Rev. B. P. Aydelotte, of Ohio, has been deposed from the ministry of the Church by Bishop McIlvaine of Ohio, he having previously renounced the ministry on the ground that the Church needs reformation. He has been for many years a notorious grumbler and mischief-maker; and by his publications prejudicing ill-informed members of the Church against her principles.

NOTE.—The extent to which we have copied in this Number, from Humphrey's "History of the Propagation Society," compels us to postpone the publication of a large amount of Foreign Intelligence. So far as it is of permanent value, it will hereafter appear.

Among the items of present interest we record the following.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT.

The Duke of Norfolk has left the Communion of the Church of Rome, the hereditary faith of the noble house of Howard, and has with his family joined the Church of England. There is a growing disunion among Romanists in the United Kingdom, and the conversion of large numbers of the old Romish families to the true faith is more than probable. This great crisis has been hastened by the recent spread of ultra-montane views in England. The "*New York Observer*" says, that the conversion of the Duke of Norfolk will tell more powerfully in the long run on public opinion in England than all the conversions to the Church of Rome that have taken place in the last twenty years.

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VALUE OF THE CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

ART. I.—*The Mercersburg Review*. Vol. III, No. 5. P. 487.

THERE are certain subjects in Theology, which, like the spheres floating about us in the heavens, appear to have their periodical cycles—their perigee and their apogee—their times to wax and wane. In reference to our own locality in the Christian fold, Episcopacy is one of the most prominent of these topics. We must, every now and then, expect to have it questioned and disputed, and formally re-argued and established, against (as the Dedication to King James' Bible calls them) "self-conceited brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking to nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil." Another of these topics is the special character and value of the Christian Fathers, as a standard of appeal in conducting the Episcopal, and many other controversies; to which we are always exposed by our peculiar position, between "Popish persons" (as this same Dedication styles them) on the one hand, and those "self-conceited brethren" on the other, who, exalting their own judgment into a pope, talk as oracularly and dogmatically, as he who vaticinates from the throne of the double sword. This latter topic we had hoped indeed had lately completed one of its cycles, amid the convolutions of Puseyism; and that the Oxford Tracts on the one side, and Mr. Isaac Taylor on the other, had so displayed the supposed merits and demerits of

the Fathers, that their venerable names might sleep awhile, without being bandied amid the dust and din of polemic disputation.

But, it seems, this may not be. The Mercersburg Review, which has gained a prominence before the eye of the religious public, that makes its *dicta* like the beacons of a city set upon a hill, has determined that the Fathers (Samuel-like) shall be bewitched from their comfortable repose, and again hear the clarion of war. We had dreamed better things of the name of Nevin, than that it should find Early Christian Antiquity reeking with the fumes of Popery. This of course, is the old rancid cant of the "self-conceited brethren," who prefer the popery of their individual judgments, and are resolved that it shall be inflicted upon all dissenters from themselves, at the formidable peril of having no reputation for "a change of heart." But of Dr. Nevin we had entertained fairer opinions, and more cheering hopes, than to suppose he would become a victim to the old pitfall, and plunge as deep in prejudice, as those who, aware that Antiquity is no friend to ministerial parity, deride it with a hate so scornful, as to remind one of an observation of the delinquent in Shakspeare, who could not tolerate a man of virtue. Iago envied Cassio, and exclaimed, in view of his luminous and upright conduct,

He hath a daily beauty in his life,
That makes me ugly.

So these people seem to quarrel with Episcopacy, because of the painful contrast its embodiment of order and fitness presents to their own (so-called) platform; which, being without a head, and indeed without a body, appears to be a sort of ecclesiastical impersonality, that no one has any proclivity whatever to revere. To honor it, would be like taking one's hat off before the subtle Dr. Emmons' definition of the human soul—a string of onions without a string.*

We are somewhat afraid that Dr. Nevin, after being an "almost" churchman, is falling back into former tastes and habits, and verifying the adage of Horace about the difficulty of eradicating innate predilections:

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurrit.

For only see, with what a genuine schismatic zeal and twang he hurls condemnation at the Fathers, as if little better at

* The Doctor esteemed the soul a succession of ideas and essences, which he thus graphically identified. Dr. Dwight wrote against him.

heart than the Jesuits of Charles the First's days; who donned the Genevan cloak and band, and preached a Protestantism so intensely non-episcopal, that the Pope was willing to pay for it in good round ducats.*

"They [i. e. the Fathers] looked upon the sacraments as mysteries: taking Baptism to be for the Remission of Sins, and seeing, in the 'tremendous sacrament of the Altar,' the real presence of the Redeemer's Glorified Body, and a new exhibition continually of the one sacrifice that takes away sin. All was reality; not merely shadow and type. They acknowledged the Divine character of the Christian Priesthood, the necessity of confession, the grace of ministerial absolution. They believed in Purgatory; and considered it 'a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.' They held that the intercession of saints is salutary for the living, in the other world, as well as in the present: and they made it a part of their piety, accordingly, to seek the aid of departed saints, as well as of angels, by addressing to them direct invocations for this purpose. They counted it a part of their religion, also, to venerate and cherish the monuments and relics of departed saints and martyrs; and were firmly persuaded that miracles were often performed, through the instrumentality of such relics, as well as on fit occasions also in other ways; for of the continuance of miracles in the Church, they never dreamed of making any question. They set a high value on the merit of celibacy and voluntary poverty, chosen in the service of the kingdom of God: and, both by doctrine and example, did what they could to recommend the monastic life, as at once honorable to religion, and eminently suited to promote the spiritual welfare of men. All these things, too, went together in their view, as so many parts and constituents of a single religious system; and the only voices that ventured here and there to make them the subject of doubt or contradiction, as in the case of Aetius, Jovinian, and Vigilantius, were quickly cried down from every side, as absolutely heretical and profane."

Such language as this, coming from a quarter likely to influence students in Divinity, and others among us, who are forming their opinions upon important questions in Theology, has determined us to take for a subject, the value of the Christian Fathers, and attempt, (not indeed a review, by way of Philippic—a comparatively easy task) but such a discussion

* Nelson's Collections, Vol. I. Introd. p. 38.

of it; as may be useful to inquirers, who are unable to consult authorities, and will be glad to see, in a short compass, what reason there is for estimating the Fathers highly, and how, particularly, they subserve our purpose in settling vexed questions, respecting Christian discipline and doctrine. It may be well enough to say, in passing, that the rashness of Dr. Nevin, considered as a scholar merely, is somewhat wonderful. He will have it for instance, that the Fathers believed in Purgatory.* Can he possibly be unaware, that this is a point which, not a few Protestant Divines, but the whole Greek Church denies? Surely, if he remembered the history of the Council of Florence, in 1439, and its reception among Oriental Christians, he could hardly have esteemed it safe for an accurate theologian to indulge in such sweeping statements, about notorious points of controversy.† However, it is not our design, or wish, to enter upon an examination, in detail, of Dr. Nevin's vague, dictatorial, and wholesale allegations. It must be distinctly understood, that it is not by any means our aim to prove him a probable backslider into Puritanism, or an adventurer towards the domain of Popery. Our desire is, rather, to give a somewhat didactic view of a subject, which, in his hands, is completely distorted; and to do this for those, who are more anxious for instruction, than for flippant criticism. And, accordingly, if in accomplishing such a purpose, we quote a few authorities, it is hoped we shall not be arraigned for pedantry.

In commencing our discussion it need hardly be said, that the value of the Fathers is a point which has been much mooted, and about which the extremest opinions have been entertained. Rome, for example, in times past, has as it were ascended Gerizim in their behalf, and pronounced nothing but

* In full-blown Purgatory, some of them. Since, on page 486, he says, the conceptions which led to direct Romanism were, in the fourth and fifth centuries, "in full operation and force;" and that too, "with universal authority!"

† It would not be more difficult to dispose of Dr. Nevin's statements about the Invocation of the Saints, or the *primacy* of Peter; which, with multitudes of Romanists, he will confound with his *supremacy*, and even try to make Dr. Barrow himself a believer in it, from A. D. 400. One book would be enough, viz. old Crakanthorp's *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. With him, we might say to Dr. Nevin, as himself said to the renegade De Dominis, "Vanum hominem! In præmissis Pygmeus es, in conclusione plusquam Giganteus." *Defensio*, p. 368. Crakanthorp's book is one of the best controversial defenses of the Church of England ever written. Would that it might be translated. Meanwhile, let all who cannot read it consult Palmer's Letters to Wiseman. The Grand Cardinal, who goes to dine with red hat and wax tapers before him, is another exquisite specimen of the Pigmy in premises, and the Giant in conclusions.

benedictions upon their authority. This has provoked some Protestants to ascend Mount Ebal, and utter corresponding curses. (Deut. xxvii, 13.) Thus, in the very Creed of Pope Pius IV, we are told, that the Scriptures are never to be interpreted otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers. And in the celebrated Exposition of the renowned Bossuet, we are gravely informed, that the Romish Church has bound herself to interpret Scripture, in what concerns faith and morality, according to the sense of the Holy Fathers, from which she professes never to depart.* While scores of Romish writers once indulged in a taunt, in which Dr. Nevin peradventure would sustain them, and which, as Bishop Hall tells us, fell from Campian and Possevine; (both Jesuits :) "Give us the Fathers for our judges, and the day is ours."† A taunt this which has been quite lately repeated by one who seems inclined to defend Romanism on the old ground, rather than on the fashionable and the new. We allude to Dr. Machale's work on the evidences and doctrines of Popery; in which Bishop Warburton is quoted as remarking, that one of the notorious Protestant customs of his times was a contempt for the Fathers.‡

And such claims as these in behalf of the Fathers, have stimulated many Protestants, not to the better task of examining the Fathers, to ascertain whether the pretensions of Rome were well-grounded; but rather to indiscriminate and abusive condemnation of them *en masse*, as utterly unworthy the confidence of Christian and inquiring men. Thus, says Milton, when assaying the demolition of "Prelatical Episcopacy;" "Whatever time, or the heedless hand of blind chance, hath drawn down from of old to this present, in her huge dragnet, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen, those are the Fathers."§ And, as parallel to Milton in later times, we would quote Maclaine, the translator of Mosheim's Institutes, who hesitates not to declare, that while the writings of the Fathers still form a rule of Faith in the Romish communion, their authority in the Protestant Churches diminishes from day to day.||

These references prove, amply and painfully, the *apparent* estimate in which the Fathers have been held by persons at

* Newman's Proph. Office, &c., p. 71.

† Hall's Wks. vi, 226; Comber's Roman Forgeries, Int. p. 9.

‡ Machale, p. 422, note. But compare Warburton's Wks., Vol. viii, Int. p. 3.

§ Prose Works, Royal 8vo, p. 22.

|| Maclaine's Mosheim, Introd. I, 5, note. Comp. Soames' Romish Reaction, p. 64.

the zenith and nadir of controversial theology, viz., the Romanist and the Puritan, and incline too many to suspect, that the Puritanic reaction from unbounded deference to the Fathers is but just, and that really they are nothing better than the "indigested heap and fry" of ecclesiastical rubbish, to which Milton, in his characteristic anathema compares them.

It seems important, then, that we should, in the first place, speak historically of the estimate which controversialists have placed upon the Fathers; and show, that after accurate inquiry, the laudations which Romanism gives them is to be taken with quite as much abatement, as Romish versions of many scriptural texts, and Jesuitical definitions of the principles of morals.

I. The first point, then, to which the reader's attention will be called is, the history of such treatment as the Fathers have experienced.

Rome, in the Creed of Pius IV, seems to appeal to the Fathers with a deference altogether unqualified.* She so appealed, however, before she knew that Protestants of the Church of England would bring her self-confident assurance to the test. The Fathers had been in her sole keeping for ages; and no one presumed to think that they could, by any possibility, speak otherwise than as *she* had given them utterance. But Bishop Jewel's challenge, after the Reformation had fairly begun in England,† to determine the chief points in controversy between Rome and England, by an examination of the Fathers for the first six centuries, proved to how much the appeal to the Fathers really amounted. The Church of England has had no apprehension about the Fathers since Jewel's days; and if we may believe a French champion of Protestantism, viz., Daillé, "on the right use of the Fathers," and the Puritans of America in their preface to the Cambridge Platform, then there is small danger that Protestants of other names will be corrupted by the Fathers, and entangled by them in the meshes of Popery; though Dr. Nevin and others may fancy that danger imminent.‡ Says Daillé, "As

* Pope Nicholas I, a patron of the forged Decretals, said Rome had never taken a single step, not strictly warranted by the Holy Fathers. Zosimus, and Leo I, did the same thing. Soames' Latin Church, pp. 337, 338.

† In A. D. 1560. Soames' Hist. Reformat. iv, 705.

‡ Field, in his Treatise on the Church, says, that Luther and others declined the appeal to the Fathers, at the Reformation, because they believed the text of the Fathers corrupted by the Papists. Vol. ii, 407; or Book iv, ch. 5, *note*. Reeves, in his Apologies, says the same thing, ii, 356, *note*. And compare Bingham's Antiq. ix, 65, 66, to see that the Huguenots admitted Tradition, in respect to rites and ceremonies

for the Apostles' Creed, and the determinations of the first four general councils, (which are assented to and approved by *all* the Protestant party,) I confess we may, by this way of trial, allow them as competent judges in these matters."* Says the Preface to the Cambridge Platform, "How signally the Lord [the *Lord*, let it be carefully noted, and not *man*] hath owned the confession of the four general synods or councils, for the suppression of the heresies of those times needs not to be said; since *no man* can be ignorant thereof, that hath made it his concern to be acquainted with things of this nature."† As an echo to this, President Stiles, in his famous Election Sermon, urged his brother ministers to give up "new theories in Divinity," and go back to what had been taught "by the Primitive Christians of the apostolic age, and the three first centuries."‡ And the more sensible among those who are not Episcopalians have, even at this day, as little fear respecting the tendency of a familiar acquaintance with the early Fathers. Why, Dr. Gardiner Spring, in his long and elaborate dissertation on the Rule of Faith, does not fear to avow boldly, that "The early Fathers believed, just as the Reformers believed."§

But, at this stage of our progress, we shall no doubt be confronted with this question, 'How, if Rome's appeal to the Fathers is so unsuccessful, and if Protestants *par excellence* shrink not from the same appeal, how she can continue this appeal, in such works as the Exposition of Bossuet, or the dogmatics of Machale, a titular Archbishop?' And the answer is, as Bishop Hall has well observed, that Rome, when beaten from the true ground, the *genuine* sentiments of the Fathers, takes refuge in bastard fathers, or forged fathers, by means of which she still sustains her reference to them with vociferous emphasis.|| Some may account the licence quite adventurous, but verily Rome, when *talking to herself*, has

* Daillé translated, London, 1841, p. 201.

† Camb. Platform, Edit. 1829, p. 72. This Puritanic deference to the first four General Councils, was, even at the date of the Platform, no new thing. We find the same thing done by Francis Cheynell, in the presence of the Westminster Assembly itself! See Cheynell's Divine Triunity, p. 455. A more masterly, as well as more orthodox book, upon the doctrine of the Trinity, than Andover ever produced. Modern Puritanism, with all its boasts, has eclipsed ancient Puritanism, not in ability, but in self-conceit. As to orthodoxy, it is a long distance behind its prototype!

‡ Stiles's Serm. Edit. 1783, p. 95.

§ Spring's Dissert. New York: 1844, p. 40.

|| Bishop Hall's Works, vi, 226.

sometimes let such a momentous fact leak out. Thus, an edition of the works of Saint Augustine was once published at Venice, with the following most fatal imprimatur; "Besides the recovery of many passages by collation with ancient copies, we have taken care to remove whatever might infect the minds of the faithful with heretical pravity, or turn them aside from the catholic and orthodox faith."* In very deed, no one knows what a regular trade Rome has driven in poisoning the fountains of Antiquity, but those who have explored those fountains with cautious and fatiguing diligence. Most rare, and most marvellous is it, to find such honesty among Romish scholars, as among the Benedictines of St. Maur; who thus freely confessed that the Fathers are quite equivocal witnesses for modern Romanism. "But what seems almost incredible," say they, alluding to the fundamental Romish tenet of Purgatory, "is the uncertainty and inconsistency of the Holy Fathers on the subject, from the very times of the Apostles, to the Pontificate of Gregory XI, and the Council of Florence; that is, for almost the whole of fourteen centuries."† As Dr. Nevin, from the character of his criticisms on the Fathers, is evidently far more familiar with second-hand authorities than the Fathers themselves in *unromanized* editions, we can commend to him the foregoing from one of this kind, who is emphatically (to use the marketable phrase) first rate: we mean no less a personage than our quondam Anglican, John Henry Newman. Mr. (or, Popishly speaking, Doctor) Newman's admissions are now, of course, inestimably precious; and there is a singular gratification in rescuing a choice one, like this, from the flames of an Auto da Fe, in which he would willingly make it undergo the pains and penalties of heresy. If this Doctor of Pio Nono had a tithe of the honesty of Thomas Cranmer, he would long ago have burned off his rebel fingers; but since he has not, there is a particular propriety in reminding him, that, in one of the *books* which he the rather has doomed to such retribution, he unequivocally and most potentially demonstrates, that Rome's reverence for the Fathers is but one of her customary hypocritical pretences,‡ that, in fact, she used the Fathers as she once did, merely because she thought Protestants had not the astuteness of Dr. Newman to discover her tricks, nor the fortitude of the same heavy-handed manipulator to wield a scourge against her,

* Taylor's Dissuasive Works, X, 497.

† Newman's Proph. Office of the Church, p. 79.

‡ Newman's Proph. Office, p. 84; James' Corruptions of the Fathers, p. 224, &c.

whose livid scars no penitential poulticing can eradicate. And even if we had not Doctor Newman's strong sentences to sustain us, the unblushing attempt of Petavius, the "thrice-illustrious" Jesuit, to prove the Ante-Nicene Fathers Arians, in order that the sole glory of defining and establishing the true faith might redound to the honor of the Council of Nice, and thus some after council, at some convenient season, be made the ultimatum of the faith, in spite of testimony—the attempt of this forecasting ecclesiastical politician would be quite enough to show, that the Fathers subserve Rome's purposes, only as they are waxen tablets, on which her *present* opinions may be written.* She likes them in our day, with the theory of Development wherewith to mould them, perhaps better than ever; since this theory enables her to employ the Fathers for her favorite purposes, with infinitely more ease and tact, than under the old policy of bastardizing and forging. The Fathers, as she now supposes, are completely subject to her plastic maneuvering. No doubt they are. But Development, as she may yet discover to her sorrow, is a two-edged weapon. It is just as serviceable for the heretic, as for the Papist; and if such a mock Chrysostom as Moehler can make the Fathers minister subserviently to his ingenious schemes, so (we cannot doubt it) might Priestly have done, had he been now upon the stage. Priestly undertook to convert the Fathers into something heaven-wide different from the quiddities into which Dr. Nevin's polyoptic eye has transmuted them. He undertook to convert them into downright Unitarians!—aye, even such Fathers as voted for the symbol of Nice; or adopted the decisions of those four peerless assemblies, which, as even Puritan lips could aver, had been honored with God's overshadowing patronage! Priestly would have made inexpressibly better work of it, if he could have maintained, that the Primitive Church gradually developed from the chaste simplicities of the Unitarian creed, the tortuous and recondite subtleties which were afterwards adopted as strictly orthodox. Instead of which, he projected the forlorn task of attempting to show, in his *Histories of Early Opinions and Corruptions*, that the Fathers were Socinians *bona fide*. It needed a man of his sturdy effrontery to take up such an hypothesis, and endeavor to face down mod-

* When Archbishop Cranmer began the new plan of proving things by the Bible, he did not go against the Fathers; for Rome's plan *then* was, to prove her points by the Schoolmen and Popish canon law.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 62, Oxford, 1840.

est men ; and he received but poetical justice at the hands of Bishop Horsley, who pierced him, through and through, as Gibbon admitted, with a "mighty spear."*

As to the treatment which the Fathers have experienced from the Church of England, it is most signally unlike that, which they have received from Protestant bodies generally ; and Romanists have occasionally been candid enough to allow this : though it is amusing to us, and would be solemnly satisfactory to a Presbyterian, to see a Romanist like Bergier in his Dictionary of Theology ascribe the fact to her being Popishly inclined.† Why, as a very able writer in the British Critic, most effectively shows, the study of the Fathers has always declined in England, till the Romish controversy has provoked English divines to undertake it spiritedly.‡ The latter part of the reign of Charles II, the whole reign of James II, (1685-88,) and indeed of William and Mary, kept English divines lively about the Romish controversy ; and never were the Fathers more faithfully or successfully studied.§ Witness that astonishing series of essays, which Bishop Gibson collected and published as an everlasting "Preservative against Popery," whether assailing us with its arguments or its arts. This work, almost obsolete from its rarity and costliness, has been republished within three years, in eighteen beautiful octavos ; and we could scarcely recommend, to any person, a more complete magazine of weapons wherewith to fight Popery (if necessary) for a thousand years. Gog and Magog might be encountered fearlessly behind such ramparts, and with such artillery, as our English forefathers of the seventeenth century have made ready to our hands.||

It will now be seen by our readers, *how* the Fathers have fared at the hands of Romanists, and Protestants of (in pretension at least) the most anti-Romish school ; and they will at the same time see, *why* they have undergone the treatment, which has actually befallen them. Rome exalts the Fathers, when they can be made accordant with her views by any twisting, into which she can, lawfully or unlawfully, configure them. The ultra-protestant is angry with the Fathers, simply because the Papist claims them presumptuously for his own ;

* Gibbon's Life: Milman's Edition, pp. 254-5.

† Bergier's Theol. Dict. vi, 334.

‡ Brit. Crit. 1831. Vol. x, 255.

§ Brett on Liturgies. New Edition, p. 465.

|| Peck, the author of the *Desiderata Curiosa*, has actually counted up the publications for, and against Popery, during James II's reign alone, and they amounted to 457.

as if Rome, like a foul serpent, must defile and envenom every thing upon which it leaves its slime. With such unwise men as John Barbeyrac, and Conyers Middleton, he will readily grant that the Fathers are all liars; because they appear, or may be made to appear, the abettors of Romish falsehoods.* By such a religionist, Dr. Nevin will be hailed as a collaborator in the satanical employment of accusing these Christian veterans. Whereas, the Church of England divine, (when not like Middleton, untrue to the spirit of the *English* Reformation; but like Jewel, and Hooker, and Bramhall, and Thorndike, and Jeremy Taylor, ready to accept the testimony of Primitive Antiquity, so far as it can throw light on disputed constructions of Scripture,) the genuine Church of England divine, treats the Fathers in such a way, as, without undue deference *for*, or undue depreciation *of* them, enables him to glean from them all which is really valuable, to quiet doubts and to determine controversy.† With him, the Bible, and the Bible only, is quite enough, if the Bible can be construed, as his Church construes it; *i. e.* in the way familiar to primitive Christians, respecting matters of discipline, as well as matters of doctrine. If this most sacred standard is to be construed by new light, whether of Rome, or of Geneva—by the school of Development, whether of John Robinson of Leyden,‡ or John Henry Newman of Oscott—then, his appeal is to the Church's earliest and most transparent days, when she was undivided and undistracted; when she was, like Jerusalem, built as a city at unity in itself. Then, he adopts the standard, which good Bishop Ken clung to with his dying breath, and which can hardly be too often quoted: "As for my religion, I die in the Holy,§ Catholic, and Apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church, before the disunion of the East and West; more particularly, I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross."||

* Quart. Theol. Rev., 1825, Vol. i, 405.

† James' Corruptions, p. 246. A strong testimony.

‡ See Coit's Puritanism, p. 371.

§ Bishop Ken uses the word *Holy*, as well as the words *Catholic* and *Apostolic*; and, perhaps in his day, the word *Holy* had not been dropped out of the ninth article of the Nicene Creed. Why it has been left out, in all our modern English copies, while the Greek copies universally retain it, we know not. At a proper opportunity, our General Convention should restore it. A mutilation of a Catholic Creed, in any particular, is a formidable matter.

|| Biog. Britannica, p. 2820. Comp. Sanderson's in Todd's Life of Bishop Walton, Vol. i, p. 300.

II. Having thus glanced, historically, over the treatment which the Fathers have experienced from theological extremes, and from the Church which we believe to have kept the true *via media*, let us now come more directly to our subject, and inquire, in the next place, concerning the character in which the Fathers are to be referred to, when cited as authorities.

If one looks into such volumes as Daillé on the *right* use of the Fathers, (as he chooses to style his book,) as Osburn upon the *doctrinal* errors of the apostolical and early Fathers, (as he prefers to state his title-page,) as Dr. Gardiner Spring's Dissertation on the Rule of Faith, delivered before the American Bible Society at Cincinnati, he would suppose that the Fathers were generally quoted by Episcopalians, as are the Apostles in the New Testament, with implicit deference for their every assertion. It seems astonishing, that we cannot beat into some heads, that ought to be able to comprehend nice distinctions, (since they boast of the nicety to which Calvinism accustoms and sharpens them,) that the Fathers sustain a two-fold character—the character of *witnesses*, and the character of *divines*—and that it is in the character of witnesses only, that we appeal to them, when we wish to ascertain their suffrage for the doctrines or practices of antiquity.* We do not set up patristical tradition, as the Romanists do, as a separate and independent standard. Our doctrine respecting the authority of Scripture, as an ultimate and a sole appeal, is clearly enough laid down in our Sixth Article, and in the questions and answers of our services for ordination. The Bible, and the Bible only, is the last and highest resort for every loyal Churchman, and every loyal Christian.†

But when the quarrel is respecting the meaning of this very Bible itself; as *e. g.* whether it authorizes Episcopacy, (a point where we come into collision with the larger portion of all Protestants exclusive of ourselves:)—when concerning infant baptism; a point disputed by the Anabaptists:—when concerning the observance of Sunday, instead of the Jewish Sabbath; a point disputed by a sect said to be increasing:—

* Palmer says the Lutherans received the Fathers as *witnesses*. Palmer on Development, p. 212.

† Even Chillingworth himself however, while he subscribes to this doctrine, in language quoted ten thousand times, still admitted Tradition for the *interpretation* of Scripture. This has been fully shown, in many quotations from him, collected in Manning on the Rule of Faith. See, particularly, the summary in the notes, on p. 33d, of the Appendix to Manning.

when concerning a standing ministry and outward sacraments, points disputed by the Quakers—what are we to do? We read the Christian Scriptures as though in favor, most decidedly in favor, of an order in the ministry like the order of apostles: one superior to the more numerous orders:—as altogether in favor of infant baptism; of the observance of the Lord's Day; and of an outward organization of the Church with visible sacraments. If an appeal may not lie from the naked text of the Bible, when thus disputed about, to the Bible as understood by the Church, when the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, (all equally Divine,) were a Trinity in Unity; then, controversy must be incessant and interminable.* Then we are all equally right.† Then there is no such thing as unanimity in sentiment to be derived from the Bible; and the Bible authorizes sects, and if one sect, why ten, and if ten, why a hundred or a thousand. There is no escape from the conclusion, that *present* private judgment authorizes all which present private judgment decrees: whether it be the private judgment of a pope, or of any other man. *The Pope, par eminence*, believes in the right of private judgment most fully, and exercises it in defiance of what any one else may advance, on the authority, *i. e.*, apparent authority of Church, Council, or Scripture. So does every individual, who converts himself into a pope, and decides for himself, in defiance, if need be, of all Christendom beside.

Many Protestants feel the awkwardness of such a result as this; for, as Gibbon long since said, in his well known caustic vein, of the Continental Reformers, "their appeal to private judgment was accepted beyond their wishes, by curiosity and enthusiasm."† Hence the endeavor of some to bolster up their favorite views, by that appeal to Antiquity, (when the Church, the Ministry, and the Scriptures were not rent asunder, as they now are,) which we commend, and stickle for. Hence Daillé, who has *really* done so much to disparage the Fathers altogether, called his book, not an attack upon them, but a treatise concerning their *right use*.‡ Hence an author, like Dr. Woods of Andover, hesitates not to appeal to the Fathers, to sustain his views of infant baptism against the Anabaptist. The Anabaptist hesitates not to appeal to them

* Selden's Tab. Talk. Article *Religion* § 10. Comp. Art. *Tradition*. Also Sophronius's opinion. Socrates's Ecc. Hist. B. ii, 40; or, p. 215, Bagster's edit.

† Decline and Fall, Ch. 54; or, Vol. x. p. 183. Milman's ed.

‡ Wall on Infant Baptism, makes some excuse for Daillé. Pt. 2, ch. 9, § 15; or vol. ii, 478.

against the Sabbatarian, who would keep the Jewish Sabbath rigidly. While the Sabbatarian, who is usually a Baptist of the hard-shell description in some particulars, would willingly employ their artillery against the Quaker ; who can find yeas and nays enough in the Bible, for any thing which it suits his fancy to adopt, or to repudiate. While the Quaker himself, if an orthodox one, (such *e. g.* as John Jacob Gurney,) would readily make the Fathers serviceable to substantiate the doctrine of the Trinity, or the religious sanctity of marriage.*

In fact, for *one* thing, we all (Papists, Anglicans, and Protestants of every name) apply to the Fathers ; for the determination of a thing, also, of more consequence than any which has been alluded to, *viz.*, Has God given a revelation to the Christian Church ; and, if so, where is it, and what is it ? The canon of the New Testament was determined by the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and not by us. We have received it from them ; and, just *as* we received it from them, do we adhere to it, and maintain it, to this current hour.

But, now, in what character have the Fathers acted, when giving us the canon of the New Testament ? In the character of Divines, publishing a system of theology ; or that of the Magdeburg Centuriators, when they constructed the famous annals, which it required all the acumen of a Baronius to disarray ? Far from it. They have presented us that canon in the simple character of witnesses. They tell us, that the Primitive Church received the same as the undoubted work of apostolic and inspired minds ; and so hand it down to us, ministerially, as an inheritance passing through themselves. We receive it as such ; but pray, why should we not receive the *meaning* which the Church that collected and transmitted it, attached to it, as well as the thing itself, under that Church's ministrations ? On the ground of bare probability, is the mind of a private Christian as likely to get at that meaning in its genuineness, as the Church which lived next to the Apostles, and was united in order and doctrine for at least three centuries ? We say *united* ; for it had nothing worse to differ about than a question which would now be deemed a trifle, a question about the *time* of observing Easter : and which of course proves, that about Easter itself, and, much more, such things as Episcopacy and the Trinity, its union was of a kind the most profound and hearty.

* Milton abuses the Fathers, when he wants to batter down Episcopacy : he quotes them abundantly, to sustain his abominable doctrine of Divorce. *Prose Wks. roy.* 8vo, p. 213, etc.

Ah, but cries the objector in his eagerness, this is hastening on too fast, and making an inference a substitute for a fact; for the Church was not agreed to the extent in question. Indeed! And was not the Church unanimous, or nearly so—sufficiently so, most assuredly, for all practical purposes, in its belief of the doctrine of the Trinity at the Council of Nice? Even Presbyterians would not deny it; nor Petavius, with all his slurs upon Ante-nicene dogmatics. Well, then, if the Church was at that time substantially a unit, in its testimony respecting the doctrine of the Trinity, was it not equally so about the character of the Church, as a great Catholic body—about infant baptism—about the sanctity of Sunday—about Episcopacy—about the observance even of a Church calendar? for, be it distinctly remembered, that the difficulty at Nice was not about a calendar, but a detail of a calendar; leaving a calendar itself, as a matter which no one dreamed of doubting as an apostolic thing. And if these facts were so, why shall we rise up against the Church and her ministry, which are just as divine as the Scriptures themselves, and deny their testimony when they agree—when they conform to Heaven's law, (Matt. xviii, 19, 20,) and act in unison? Christ promised to be in the midst of his *agreeing* followers; nay, to be with his Church, as a Catholic unity, to the world's end. (Matt. xxviii, 19, 20.) And is it intolerably audacious, is it straining the sinews of confidence to the utmost limits of heroic fortitude, to the very cracking-point, to suppose that the testimony of the Church, as such a unity, is a trifle better than the opinion of a private individual, whether a pope for a schism, or a pope for one's own self?

That, as we humbly conceive, is the true aspect in which to put this subject; for, we do not get absolved from Popery, by flying off in a tangent, and glorifying private judgment. The Pope himself is an advocate for private judgment—is the most zealous and unyielding advocate for exclusive private judgment, of whom we know. He will not consent that the Church, or the Ministry of the Church, interpret the Bible for *him*, any more than the most determined Puritan will allow his individual supremacy to be disputed or overawed. Indeed, here as elsewhere, he and the Puritan agree; and the Church and the Ministry become perfect nullities, when arrayed against the decretals of an independent mind.

Now *we* (as we read sound Church of England divines, and imbibe their spirit) are taught a totally different doctrine; which is, to submit our private interpretations to the interpretation of the Church in her coördinate and undivided capac-

ity: when, with the Bible on her right hand, and the ministry on her left, she gives an *harmonious* voice, as the body of Christ in such a predicament, and filled with his fullness of wisdom and understanding.* The Church is called the body of Christ, in just so many words. And if so, then this body must be filled with His inspiration, when it is not a *dismembered* body, (the eye saying to the hand, I have no need of thee; and the head to the feet, I have no need of you,)—when the Bible and the Ministry, which are part and parcel of the Church, are not severed from it, and constrained to act the part they were no more designed to act, than the head and the hands were designed to exert themselves separately from the trunk, i. e. the part of self-sustaining, and self-centred independence. And the Church did utter the harmonious voice, which comes from the fullness of her Spouse and Lord, so long as she resembled his seamless and untorn garment—so long as her three-fold unity, of a body with the Bible for its mind, and the Ministry for its working instruments, was unbroken—so long, as Bishop Ken said, as she professed the Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic faith, *before* the disunion of the East and West. For three centuries *entirely*, and occasionally afterwards for three centuries more, when she brought her sundered children together in General Councils,† the Church was a marvellous specimen of unanimity respecting *credenda et agenda*; respecting all things which are fundamental and essential, whether points of doctrine, or points of discipline. And if men will take her TESTIMONY, (we say not her dogmatic decisions, for she did not give them—presenting us the Creeds, even, as her testimony to the old faith, and not her private opinions of what ought to be the faith at any given period,‡) if, we say, men will take her TESTIMONY, there need be no serious difficulty in settling all matters of moment, about which Christendom now wrangles. If all Christendom would solemnly agree to unite on the basis of the Council of Nice, (but the first of the six genuine councils of Catholicity,) who will say that we might not have as substantial unity, as the Church then had? We use the word “substantial;” because no doubt there would be some dissentients, as there were then, and as there were in churches presided over by inspired apostles themselves. “False apostles” sprang up, while Paul

* Ephesians, i. 23, and Col. i. 24. Compare Eph. v. 23–33.

† The sixth and last Gen. Council sat in A. D. 680.

‡ Newman's Arians, pp. 252, 310. An excellent book: no abomination of desolation in it.

and John were alive ; and so we have popes and false prophets now. " Damnable heresies " got vent and fame, long before the era of Inspiration had passed away. And who then need be thrown from the balance of faith in the Church, and in the Truth to which she testifies, if dissent, from the discipline or doctrine of apostolic times, should still continue ? The Presbyterianism of Aërius, the Puritanism of Novatian, the seventeen Anti-trinitarian Bishops at Nice, did not make the Church of those days stagger and grow disheartened ; and why should *our* faith fail if a Nevin croak, or Romanizers gravitate to their " own place ? " There was substantial unity, and mutual confidence in the Church, as a whole, at the date of the great Nicene Synod ; and the doctrine and discipline of the Church, at that date, might easily be taken as a basis for an " Evangelical alliance " throughout all Christendom.

But the Papist would fly from the proposition of such a basis ; because, if there were Bishops at Nice, there was no Pope Pius there with his Tridentinisms. The Presbyterian would retreat from it ; because, he would find himself in the trail of an Apostolic succession of Episcopates. The Anabaptist would not tolerate it ; because it would make infants members of the Communion of Saints. The Socinian would scorn it ; because, it would ask his imperial reason to believe God's personality different from his own. The Quaker would say nay to it ; because it would adorn the Church with sacramental visibility.

And who then is to blame, if the Church is not now one, as it *was* one, in days gone by ? Daillè tells us, as has been proved already, and the Cambridge Platform tells us likewise, that Protestants of all sorts can, and ought to abide, by the creeds and attestations of the first four General Councils. This is all the basis which the Church of England, or our own Church, would persistively require. Indeed, if we are correctly informed, when our missionaries were first sent into Oriental countries, they were authorized to offer Oriental Christians the right hand of fellowship, on the basis of the Nicene Creed for doctrine, and of Apostolic Episcopacy for discipline, (leaving liturgies out of the question :) a proposition to which Oriental Churches freely assented, showing that they too, as well as ourselves, are no obstacle, even to this day, to the restoration of harmony and intercommunion to the Christian world.

But, now, ask the Presbyterian brethren of Daillè, or the Congregational brethren of the Platform, or sects generally, if they would adopt the creeds of the first four General Coun-

cils, and the Episcopacy and Episcopal regimen of the first four General Councils, and our word for it, they would recoil from them, as from the lava territory around some frightful volcano, and as though they suspected that hidden fires were smouldering beneath their feet. They would feel, spontaneously, as if Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism, and all the *isms*, were in peril of giving up the very ghost, and vanishing, as the old poets have it, *in tenues auras*. They would expect us to address them in the language of Tertullian to Marcion, "If that is truer which is earlier, and that which was earlier was from the beginning, and that which was from the beginning was practiced by the Apostles themselves; then, it is evident, that that which was held sacred by Apostolic Churches descended from the Apostles."* And no doubt we should; for how the testimony of the Primitive Church is to be cut up, and parcelled out, as the Scripture itself is cut up and parcelled out, to suit schismatical and heretical perversity, we cannot see. If the testimony of the Church is good for any thing, as proving that the Church always held, and from the beginning, the doctrine of the Trinity, it is equally good to show, that the same Church held the Ministry, as constituted with Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. The testimony of the Primitive Church is just as clear, just as decisive about Catholic discipline, as about Catholic doctrine; and he who will not take its testimony, as a whole, is bound to reject it altogether, and fall back upon the principles of the Pope, who manufactures his creed for himself, and to whom his present faith is, and only is, a supreme and fundamental law.

III. Having now shown our readers that the true aspect under which to view the Fathers, is to look at them, not as Divines, giving us their opinions, but as Witnesses, telling us facts of history, it will be in order to go a step further, and make some remarks upon the precise value of their evidence, considered not as opinions, but as testimony.

It has just been hinted, that if we could persuade Presbyterians and Congregationalists to allow (what they theoretically have done) the testimony of the first four great Councils, we should be thought to commit them to that testimony, as being virtually the testimony of the Apostles themselves: agreeably to the canon which Tertullian employed against Marcion the heretic. And we are fully inclined to believe, that the most sensible among them feel this, and that this is one reason why,

* Tertullian adv. Marcion, IV, 5.

when pressed, they reject every thing but the naked text of Scripture. We are the more inclined to this opinion, because Mr. Gale, the Anabaptist, in his controversy with William Wall on infant baptism, finding himself unable to depreciate the Fathers, as some have done, takes this ground, that if the Fathers *do* prove that the Primitive Church cherished the practice of infant baptism, that such a fact does not establish the conclusion, that the Apostles countenanced the same practice.* He maintains, that the Church began to be corrupt, even in the Apostles' days; and querulously asks, why she might not be more corrupt in the times of the Nicene Council, of A. D. 325.

Now this is perpetrating a grand mistake. The Church was not corrupt because she had heretics upon her registers; any more than the whole sect of Anabaptists is hypocritical, because it has bad men within its communion, however close. We must distinguish between the Church as a Catholic body, and the sects, or disturbers, which may spring up with its borders. If the Church, *as a whole*, depart from the faith, how is she any longer Christ's body, or the receptacle of his fullness; and what becomes of the promise respecting her preservation? But the Church's testimony in a General Council, (a true General Council, which is accepted by the whole Church, and not like the bastard one of Trent, which never yet has been acknowledged by *all* Romish Europe) is her testimony as *the* Church of the Living God: and if that is wrong, where shall we look for stability or safety? Must we really believe Mr. Gale, sooner than the Church Catholic? That is undoubtedly the exact requisition made upon us, by the modest advocates of unlimited private judgment. To adopt for the nonce, the nomenclature of Bunyan's time, Mr. Hate-council, Mr. Away-with-bishops, and Mr. No-trinity, autocratically insist, that we should listen to them individually, and be deaf to the voice of collected Christendom beside. They demand more deference for their own tiny oracles, than for the uplifted *Amens* of the Church of God, though they come rolling over the waves of time, like thunder reverberating from the firmament.

Now we think it would be beyond all question more decorous, and more safe, to admit the conclusion, that the practice of the Church in the days of the Nicene Synod, represented the practice of the Church when the Apostles themselves were alive, far, far better, than Mr. Gale's arguments, founded upon

* Wall on Infant Baptism, iii, 218. He speaks of the mode, and, *pari ratione*, of the subject of Baptism.

the naked text of Scripture, can possibly determine such practice. We do not consider it extremely unwise, or madly dangerous, to admit the testimony of the Catholic Church to a Catholic fact; as many with a fastidiousness apparently holy, but with a pride really self-glorifying, would fain represent the matter. We say "a Catholic fact;" and we beg our readers to mark the phraseology with care. We do not value the testimony of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, (separately and individually considered,) so much as some imagine. It is their *consenting*, or their *uncontradicted* testimony, which we prize so highly. And it is their testimony to *Catholic*, rather than to *subordinate*, or *isolated* particulars, to which we look with special deference.*

Thus, if we found the Fathers of the East, and the Fathers of the West, divided about the Trinity itself, as they are about the Procession of the Holy Ghost, from one or from two persons in the Godhead; we might hesitate, as we now do not, to call the Trinity a fundamental of the faith. If we found them differing about infant baptism, as we do about the trine, or the single application of the element of water; we should not call infant baptism a chief feature in Christian discipline. If we found them faulting each other for practicing such a rite as Confirmation, as Photius of Constantinople did his brother patriarch of Rome, for confining its administration to Bishops only;† then we could not have esteemed the rite, however appropriate and beautiful, Apostolic in its origin. If all of the Fathers had objected to oaths, as some of them have done; then, although with our present predilections the effort would be uncomfortably onerous, we might have felt obligated to pay due and canonical subservience to drab broadcloth, and hat-brims of four inch platitude.‡

And so if we have but a single witness, (as in the case of Justin Martyr, in his description of the liturgic forms of early Christian assemblies,) if his testimony should be contravened, we should not give it our acquiescence; as we do not to Justin's disputed testimony, respecting the statue and worship of Simon Magus.§ But in his account of the forms in question, Justin has stood allowed by all Christendom to this very day;

* Comp. Waterland's Works, six vols. ed. vi, 162. Vincent's Commonitory, Chap. xxiii.

† Photii Epistolæ, ed. 1651, p. 50. Waddington's Church History, English Edit. p. 197.

‡ Reeves's Apologies, i, 38, *note*, on the opinions of the Fathers about oaths.

§ Bishop Kaye's Justin, second edition, p. 125.

and we think, therefore, that his record may be accepted without the slightest qualm. That the non-catholic, or particular customs of the Church were always, and in all respects, the same—that the external minutiae of Christianity were invariable—we, however, by no means maintain; since St. Paul expressly says, “We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God,” yet interdicts not the custom at variance with his own. (I Cor. xi, 16.) And this, too, when he could assume a pope-like style, that Peter never dared to do; “and so ordain I in all Churches.” (I Cor. vii, 17.)* And our own Church, in her xxxivth Article, distinctly admits; “It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly like.” We know, also, that this variation may extend to matters which are doctrinal, as well as to subjects which belong to the department of discipline alone; as, for instance, to the Millenium, and the interpretation of prophecy.

It is no disparagement, then, of the testimony of the Fathers, that it is sometimes given us concerning subordinate particulars, about which it is not uniform or consentient. It is uniform and consentient, about catholic points, about fundamental points—things which enter into the very constitution of doctrine, like the Trinity of persons in the Godhead; into the constitution of discipline, like the Trinity of orders in the Ministry; into the constitution of worship, like the Trinity of rites, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist. The testimony of the Fathers may no doubt be overrated, as well as underrated. They are not to be relied upon as *Divines*, more than any other men; except according to the measure of their intelligence, learning, and piety. Augustine may have broached sentiments about predestination, which we are by no means obligated to succumb to. Cyprian certainly took a stand respecting the baptism of the lapsed, which the Church at large has never seconded. Athenagoras makes no mention of the sacraments, and Tatian believed in the mortality of the human soul; but what scholar would feel much disturbed, if the Quakers should quote the first, and Materialists the last, as vouchers for present religious sentiment? Tertullian became a Montanist, Jerome a monk, and Origen an eunuch; but who esteems them any thing but a law unto themselves? Hundreds of Primitive Christians fell into grievous mistakes about martyrdom, and courted persecution; yet no modern believer, in his sober senses, therefore esteems it

* The Greek is very strong, διασσεσται.

requisite for him to establish a religious character, by provoking the civil authorities to put restraints upon his liberty. On the contrary, as Dr. South has most pithily observed, the man who thrusts himself against the sword of persecution, runs to heaven before he is sent for; where, though the Lord may in mercy receive the man, he will be sure to disown the martyr.*

All this we conceive it entirely safe and easy to admit, and still hold fast by the canon, which was so well understood, even in the early ages of the Church, viz. that what has been everywhere, and always, and by all, admitted, or uncontradicted, is to be accepted as the testimony of the Primitive Church, to the signification of the primitive records of the Church; and as (if such things can be reached by testimony) a pledge that the Apostolic Church, and the Apostles themselves, read the Scriptures in *one* way, rather than in a hundred ways, and did not make such butchery of doctrine, discipline, and worship, as we do in these days of lawlessness, when each individual is his own church, his own priest, his own Bible, and his own Redeemer. This rule, even Richard Baxter, in his "moral prognostication" of the changes that will take place in Christendom in the golden age, confesses to be so essential, as to constitute the basis on which inquirers must go for settlement of difficulties, at that most auspicious period.† It is usually ascribed to Vincent of the monastery of Lirins, an island in the Mediterranean, off the south coast of France; though we are quite disposed to believe, that Vincent, if its putative author, got it, or the hint which suggested it, from the lawyers; who now use it, to all intents and purposes, in the interpretation of statutes in courts of justice, and who determined the signification of the Civil Law in that way essentially, if not technically.‡

Interpretation is no new thing. It is no exclusive thing. Lawyers know as much or more about it, than any people; and ancient Canon lawyers were no strangers to its rational doctrines, as the Civil and the Canon law were so blended in

* South's Serm. Oxf. edit. i, 74.

† Baxter's Prac. Wks. by Orme, vol. xv, p. 430.

‡ See Thesaurus Juris Romani, by Otto, vol. ii, p. 1618. Antiquity, Universality, and Constancy, are the *criteria* there alluded to. Perhaps these are better than Antiquity, Universality, and Consent; since a consent seems implied in Universality, and constancy implies a perpetual succession, which consent does not. And, assuredly, we believe in the apostolic succession of doctrine, as well as of discipline.

the administration of the Roman Empire.* Lawyers are perfectly aware, that the moment the signification of a statute is disputed, the first question to be asked is, What has been the usage under that statute?† An intelligent lawyer would never be surprised, or discomposed, to hear us say, when the statute law of Christianity (which is the New Testament) is disputed, that the only way to determine the true meaning of it, is to ascertain the usage under it, and of course contemporary usage in preference to any other; that is, the usage of Christian Antiquity; that is, in still other words, the testimony of the Primitive Church, as given by the Christian Fathers, and in the early councils acknowledged by both the East and West.

We are accused (we know it well) of magnifying and exalting tradition. We make no more of it than our courts of law are doing, every day and every hour. We apply it for doubtful, disputed, vexatious constructions.‡ If the law were so perspicuous, that we could all read it in one way, tradition is a word which would never be sounded in our lecture rooms, and still less in our pulpits. But the law is *not* perspicuous. At least, such is the plain and perpetual language of our practice under it, and respecting it. The Presbyterian will no more give up his ministerial parity, then we will our apostolic succession. The Papist will insist, that Matthew xvi, 18, makes the Bishop of Rome the vicegerent of God for the terraqueous globe. The Anabaptist will as soon (so we once heard an educated man among them declare) baptize a little pig, as a little child. Socinus was as confident that he was right, as that he held his hat in his hand;§ and in the article of self-assurance, all his disciples have imitated him with punctilious particularity. The Quaker would as soon let you bore his tongue through with a red-hot iron, under the old Puritan enactment, as put a stop to its yeas, and nays, and thees.

What shall be done then? are we all right? do we all read the statute right? all act aright under our fundamental law? Why men would laugh us to scorn, if the subject were some provision passed by the votes of a legislature, or an article in our Federal Constitution. All would assent, spontaneously, if the subject were a *political*, and not a religious one, to the common sense of Irenaeus, when he asks, For what if any

* Hence the value of some knowledge of the Civil Law to a divine.—Irving's *Int. to Civil Law*, pp. 110, 111.

† *Comp. Brit. Critic*, x, 384.

‡ Waterland said Antiquity was to be used *ministerially*. *Wks.* iii, 604.

§ *Bibliotheca Fratrum Pol.* ii, 768.

persons have any doubt concerning any ordinary question, ought they not to have recourse to the most ancient churches, amidst which the Apostles lived, and ascertain from them what is clear and certain with regard to the question in dispute ?* Well, then, we again say, what shall be done ? What *can* be done, but (what courts and lawyers are perpetually doing) go back to usage, and contemporaneous construction ? But that is to go to unwritten law—that is to become traditionists ; and to be a traditionist, is to be a Puseyite, a Papist, a Jesuit, an emissary of the devil in human shape—

O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason !

We could say a great deal more, in expansion of our subject, if it were necessary ; and could defend the Fathers as *men*, and as *Divines*, as well as *witnesses* to facts, if that were peculiarly our bent, or the main object of the present paper. The *morality* of the Fathers has been seriously assailed in the scuffle with Popery ; especially on the subject of pious frauds. Even such a man as Chrysostom is arraigned by Bulwer, in his romance called the Caxtons, as the abettor of systematic lying.† On becoming acquainted with the ideas of the Primitive Church respecting (catechetical, as we should call it—oiconomic, as it was then called) instruction, which requires a seeming reserve in the communication of knowledge, or a communication of it adapted to the capacities of a learner, our readers would probably be satisfied, that this is no more than St. Paul, or our Saviour himself, has adventured.

The *critical* powers of the Fathers have been called in question, and derided, times without number. And, yet, go to the commentaries of such men as you would expect to find paying these critical powers least deference, (a person, for instance, like Mr. Prof. Stuart of Andover, whose favorite theme of declamation is, to call no man master,) and notice how often just such a theological Don Quixote appeals to the Fathers, for their constructions of sentences and words.

Their excellence as pleaders for truth, (or *apologists* as the old phrase ran,) whether before infidels, or heretics, or Christian assemblies, has been least doubted ; and we would not subjoin a single word about it, did we not fear that the tendency of the times, with too many, is to render them ignorant of their

* De Haeres, B. iii, ch. 4.

† Beausobre, in his History of Manicheism, strives to prove that the Fathers are worthy of no credit. Burton's Early Heresies, Int. p. xxi.

rhetorical merits, as well as indifferent to their historical fidelity. Let students consult such old books as D'Oyley's *Christian Eloquence*, and Rollin's *Belles Letters*, and they will discover that it was not as common formerly, as it now is, for scholars to disesteem the rhetoric of the Fathers. Those persons are most apt to think the Fathers knew nothing about pulpit eloquence, who look upon the pulpit as a rostrum for a display of *men*, rather than *Christians*; and to show how well one can speak for himself, rather than his Master; and for his own fame, more than for famishing souls.*

However, with the morality, and the criticisms, and the rhetoric of the Fathers, it is not so much our present calling to deal. We are now principally concerned with them, as historical testifiers; for it is their testimony about matters of doctrine, which Dr. Nevin, *et id genus omne*, chiefly disparage. As testifiers to orthodox catholicity, we have defended them from aspersion, and commended them to respectful and earnest homage. And if our readers think we have dwelt too zealously upon their value, as witnesses to such truth, and to the genuine construction of Scripture, as understood and exemplified by that Church, which our Homilies pronounce most uncorrupt and pure, (the Church of primitive times,) then let us beg them to listen to the following eulogy of Daillé, who, (enemy of the Fathers as most esteem him,) cannot here and there refrain from spontaneous bursts in their praise. "How much more advantage then may we make, by studying the writings of the Fathers, whose *piety* and *learning* were, for the most part, much greater than that of the moderns! * * Blot out, if you please, the name of St. Augustine out of the title of those excellent books of his, *De Civitate Dei*; or those other which he wrote, *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*. His writings will instruct you, not a whit the less; neither will you find the less benefit from them. *The like may be said of all the rest*. First of all, you will find in the Fathers many earnest and zealous exhortations to holiness of life, and to the observance of the discipline of Jesus. Secondly, you will there meet with very strong and solid proofs of those fundamental principles of religion, on which we are all agreed; and also many excellent things developed, tending to the right understanding of these mysteries, and also of the Scriptures wherein they are contain-

* Fleury's Discourses, translated. Disc. ii, § 15, 16, pp. 100-106.—Du Pin, on the devotion of the Fathers to profane learning. *Method of Studying Divinity*, p. 80, etc.

ed. In this very particular their authority may be of good use to you, and may serve as a probable argument of the truth. For is it not a wonderful thing, to see that so many great wits, born in so many several ages, during the space of fifteen hundred years, and in so many several countries, being also of such different tempers, and who in other things were of such contrary opinions, should, notwithstanding, be found all of them to agree, so constantly and unanimously, in the fundamentals of Christianity? that amidst such diversity in worship, they all adore one and the same Christ? preach one and the same sanctification? hope all of them for one and the same immortality? acknowledge all of them the same Gospels? find therein all of them great and high mysteries?"*

What sectarian who feels the glow, and catches the spirit of these sentences, will refuse to conclude with us, in the language of Barrow; "Can we mistake, or miscarry, by complying with the great body of God's Church through all ages; and particularly with those great lights of the Primitive Church, who, by the excellency of Christian knowledge, and the integrity of their virtue, have so illustrated our holy Religion?"†

* Daillé on the Fathers. Translated, pp. 347, 48. London, 1841.

† Barrow's Wks. Hughes' edit. Vol. iii. Sermon 56, p. 398.

HALIBURTON AND HILDRETH, AND THE NORTH
AMERICAN REVIEW.

ART. II.—*Rule and Misrule of the English in America.* By the author of "Sam Slick," &c. London and New York, 1851.

North American Review for October, 1851, Art. V.

Hildreth's History of the United States.

It is the object of Judge Haliburton's new book to show that however government on the democratic republican plan may have succeeded in the late English colonies, now the United States of America, it is not adapted to the colony of Canada, and cannot succeed there; and still less in Great Britain or France.

As grounds for this conclusion, he undertakes to establish, by a review of the colonial history of the United States, two propositions; first, that those States were always republican in spirit, and independent in fact for many years after their first plantation, so that the revolution which separated them from the mother country was not a sudden outburst, but a progressive growth, which sprang from seeds planted at the beginning; second, that the existing political system of the United States, instead of dating from the American revolution, dates back to the very commencement of the colonies, being wholly based upon ideas and institutions familiar to the colonists from the earliest times, or introduced and firmly established long previous to the revolution.

The commencement of the first chapter seems to imply that this is the first attempt at any such generalization. But that is very far from being the case. While the American revolution was yet in progress, the first of Judge Haliburton's two leading ideas, was started by George Chalmers, who had been a lawyer in Maryland under the proprietary government, and who, on being driven away by the declaration of independence, had obtained a clerkship under the Board of Trade. He published at London in 1781 his well known "Political Annals," a quarto volume, in which the history of the colonies is traced from their settlement to the English revolution of 1689, for the very purpose, among others, of showing their rebellious



temper from the beginning. This same idea was followed up and still more exclusively, in another work, containing a summary or abridgment of the Political Annals, and carrying down the political history of the colonies to the conquest of Canada. This latter work was partly printed by Chalmers, but suppressed for some unknown reasons, nor was it published till 1845, when it was issued from a Boston press. Both these works, though disfigured by absurd attempts at imitating Gibbon's fashion of telling things by implication instead of directly, and by a grandiloquence little suited to the subject, are yet exceedingly valuable for the mass of extracts which they contain from unpublished papers in the colonial office, from which Chalmers, with great industry and good judgment, has selected such portions as suited his purpose. The "Political Annals" have long been familiar to all students of American history; and our American writers, viewing the charge of early republicanism, and impatience under external control which Chalmers brought in the spirit of accusation, as in fact a high compliment to our ancestors, have not failed to give a full development to that idea.

Nor is the other leading suggestion of this book, that the existing political institutions of America are a natural growth from colonial times without any violent changes or sudden innovations, at all more original. This was in fact a favorite idea of the old Federal Party, more or less distinctly expressed in general terms, by many writers; and very fully brought out in all its particulars, and with many curious and remarkable details, in the first three volumes of Mr. Hildreth's new History of the United States, published in 1849. In this part of Judge Haliburton's book, and indeed throughout the whole of it, he is under much greater obligations to Mr. Hildreth's History than he has thought it necessary to acknowledge. He has treated it in fact very much as the ruins of the old temples and other public buildings at Rome used to be treated by the modern inhabitants, digging into it without remorse, as if it were a mere quarry, and quietly carrying off and working into his own edifice, stones squared and polished, and columns shaped by an industry not his own. This may be well enough in case of ruins abandoned and deserted; but whether a house which has a living tenant in it, can fairly be treated in this way, is another question. As a matter of curiosity we have made the following list of passages extracted from Mr. Hildreth's History, verbatim, or with very trifling alterations, for which no acknowledgment is made, which is

the more remarkable, as the Judge, lawyer-like, does profess to give his authorities, and does several times refer to, and purport to quote from Mr. Hildreth's History of the United States. Here is the list. Page 53, Account of the dispute in Massachusetts, respecting the power of the Assistants. Compare Hildreth, vol. i, 220, 221; p. 67, Massachusetts in 1640. Compare Hildreth, vol. i, 267; p. 78, 79, Parliamentary council for the colonies. Compare Hildreth, vol. i, 304, 305; p. 94, Charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, Hildreth, vol. i, p. 456, 457; p. 115, Massachusetts and Charles II, Hildreth, vol. i, 496. (In attempting to improve this passage the Judge has fallen into some curious blunders. Randolph, the great enemy of Massachusetts, being mentioned in it, the Judge undertakes to explain that hostility in an interpolated sentence, in which it is ascribed to Randolph's imprisonment with Sir Edmund Andros—which imprisonment, as presently appears in the Judge's own book, did not take place till twelve years after! Mr. Hildreth writes, "they voted a present to the king, of cranberries," "special good samp," and "codfish." Judge Haliburton copies thus—"a present to the king of some cranberries, a *special good samp*., as they were designated, and also some codfish;"—seeming to take "samp" as a contraction for sample; and not knowing that it was only another Indian name for the same dish known further South as hominy.) P. 143, first appearance of the surplice in Massachusetts, Hildreth, vol. ii, p. 109; p. 168-9, Cotton Mather or Witchcraft, Hildreth, vol. ii, 150-1; p. 177, Early ecclesiastical laws of Virginia, Hildreth, vol. i, 126; p. 184, Massachusetts body of liberties, Hildreth, vol. i, 274-9; p. 188, Massachusetts laws as to new townships, Hildreth, vol. i, 225; p. 189, United Colonies of New England, Hildreth, vol. i, 286; p. 191, Massachusetts school law, Hildreth, vol. i, 370; p. 204, Officers in the Massachusetts Churches, Hildreth, vol. i, 190; p. 205, synod of 1648, Hildreth, vol. i, 327, 8; p. 208, Comparative strength of the French and English Colonies at the commencement of the intercolonial wars, Hildreth, vol. ii, 127; p. 230-31, Origin and powers of the Board of Trade, Appeals, Courts of Admiralty and Acts of Trade, Hildreth, vol. ii, 197-8; p. 249, Episcopacy in New England, Hildreth, vol. ii, 307-8; p. 251, Post Offices in the Colonies, Hildreth, vol. ii, 262; p. 266, Efforts and expenditures of the Colonies for the conquest of Canada, Hildreth, vol. ii, 514; p. 266, The Parson's due in Virginia, Hildreth, vol. ii, 508-9; p. 272, Otis' pamphlet, Hildreth, vol. ii, 522; p. 275, Barré and Henry, Hildreth, vol. ii, 524-6; p.

277, Boston Stamp Act Riots, Hildreth, vol. ii, 527; p. 283, Stamp Act Congress, Hildreth, vol. ii, 529-31; p. 283-85, State of Parties in England; Pitt; repeal of the Stamp Act, Hildreth, vol. ii, 533-36; p. 287, Townshend's Acts, Hildreth, vol. ii, 537-8; p. 288, Quartering Act in New York and Georgia, Hildreth, vol. ii, p. 540; p. 291, Replies to the Massachusetts Circular, Hildreth, vol. ii, 545; p. 295, Bernard's departure, proceedings in various Colonies, Hildreth, vol. ii, 551-2; p. 296, Boston Massacre, Hildreth, vol. ii, 555-6; p. 297, North's first attempt at pacification, Hildreth, vol. ii, 557-8; p. 298, Boston Committee on rights and grievances, Hildreth, vol. ii, 560-61; p. 305-6, Last Colonial General Court of Massachusetts, Hildreth, vol. iii, 36-7; p. 306, Continental Congress, Hildreth, vol. iii, p. 387, Massachusetts Congress, Hildreth, vol. iii, 47-8. We have passed by lesser excerpts, confining ourselves to the appropriation of entire paragraphs, or series of paragraphs, to the extent sometimes of a page or more. Considering this very free appropriation of unacknowledged passages, we are not surprised that by way of introduction to one of the few paragraphs admitted to be borrowed, [p. 277,] Mr. Hildreth is spoken of "as decidedly the most able and impartial of American historians." The question being to set out a table with borrowed meats, it is but natural that one should help himself to the best, or what he esteems such. But whether this casual compliment, apparently paid rather to serve a purpose of his own in giving additional weight to a particular observation, than out of any feeling of obligation or disposition to acknowledge it, will be, or ought to be, entirely satisfactory to the author, whose labors are thus freely appropriated, does not seem to us quite so clear.

Having thus referred to the sources whence Judge Haliburton has derived his leading ideas, most of his facts, and a large part of his very language, we are obliged to add that his method of stating and maintaining the argument, leaves his readers, such of them as depend upon him for their information, entirely in the dark, as to whether or not there is any force in it, or grounds for the conclusion which he seeks to draw. Everybody who knows any thing of America, knows that Massachusetts and the New England States are not the only States in the Union. It was not by those States alone that the revolution was sustained, and the Federal Constitution formed, nor have they alone enjoyed the benefits of self-government. Everybody who knows any thing of American history, knows that the Union included, from the beginning,

two other groups of States, in many respects exceedingly different both from New England and from each other. The group of Middle States, (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware,) differed from the New England States in several particulars, to which, in his argument, Judge Haliburton ascribes great importance. The inhabitants were not of "common origin, speaking the same language." They included Dutch, Germans in very considerable numbers, Scotch and Scotch-Irish, immigrants from England, and immigrants from New England, very discordant materials, and by no means free from prejudices and antipathies of race and class. There was a much less degree of that social equality, which prevailed in New England, and to which so much importance is ascribed in the argument. There were no free schools, and a large part of the population was entirely uneducated. There was a large class of indented servants, or those who had been so; there was a body of wealthy landed proprietors, forming a natural aristocracy; then, as to religion, another point to which a great political importance is ascribed, there was no public religious establishment of any sort, or but a very partial one; and the people were divided among a multitude of sects, not without the jealousies, hostilities and rivalries naturally growing out of such a state of things. Thus the mutual rivalry of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians produced a strong effect on the politics of New York.

The group of Southern States, (Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,) presented a very different aspect. Here there was still less of social equality or means of general education. Nearly half the population, in some districts more than half, were slaves. There was a large body of indented servants or their descendants. In the back settlements of the Carolinas, there was as great a mixture of races as in Pennsylvania—a large proportion of them recent immigrants from Europe. In their religious ideas and establishments, these Southern States differed greatly from those further North. The inhabitants were good Churchmen; the Church of England was established and supported in all these Colonies by law. The Roman Catholics of Maryland, were but a handful; the dissenters, once numerous in the Carolinas, had, before the revolution, conformed in a great measure to the Established Church; and, perhaps, in no part of the British dominions were the doctrines and discipline of that Church more generally acquiesced in than in Virginia. Not that there was any special Church zeal; for there was little or

nothing to call it out. But there *was* a general spirit of acquiescence, undisturbed by doubts or questionings, such as perhaps cannot readily be pointed out elsewhere.

Now our author has simplified the argument,—but at the same time totally destroyed the force of it,—by leaving the middle and Southern States entirely out of the account. He has confined himself to New England, and even to Massachusetts. From the great length at which he goes into the Puritan church system, and the stress which he lays upon it in the argument, one would suppose him to think that none but Puritans could ever make republicans, and that only dissenters and fanatics are capable of self-government.

But here arises this pregnant question, which every thoughtful reader will be apt to put, and to which the book before us furnishes no answer whatever: How happened it then that the Cavaliers and Churchmen of Virginia were just as forward and as active in the work of the revolution, as the Puritans of New England? Patrick Henry was a Churchman, and Samuel Adams a son and representative of the old Puritans; but both were as decided in politics as in their religious opinions. Who more steady and unyielding in most trying times than John Jay? The religious body that adhered as a body, as well as by its individual members to the side of the mother country, was not the Church of England, but the society of Quakers. The wild Scotch Highlanders and the German population proved far more adhesive than those of English descent. Indeed, the native born Britons, resident in the colonies, furnished a supply of active and conspicuous leaders, very large in proportion to their whole number. It is plain then that Judge Haliburton's collection of facts is not broad enough to sustain the argument founded upon it. He shows, or attempts to show, how and why republicanism sprang up and grew in New England, and why it succeeds there; and if New England were the whole of the United States; or if Puritanism, education by common schools, equality of ranks, and all the peculiarities which he dwells on in his book, had been, or were now, common to all the rest of the States, then his argument would be entitled to weight. But vulnerable and defective as it stands, it will, we very much fear, have but little influence with those inclined to republican innovations; and just as little with the British ministry and parliament, to induce them, which seems to be one chief object of it, to abandon the system of "responsible government" lately introduced into the principal British colonies, very much as it appears to Judge Haliburton's disgust.

Did occasion call for it, we think we could make an historical argument quite equal, at least, to any thing brought forward in this book, tending to show that this very system of "responsible government" is not only the strongest possible political assimilation between the social system of the colonies and that of the mother country, but is altogether the most promising method yet suggested of continuing with comfort and satisfaction to both parties their political connection; a connection which, for various reasons, we desire to see continued for at least a considerable period; not only out of our friendly regard for both the parties more immediately interested, but also out of special motives of our own, as citizens of the United States.

But at present we shall advert only to one point, as to which Judge Haliburton seems very anxious, and that is, the restoration wished for of the old method of the appointment of counsellors and other officers solely by the governor, who comes into the colony a stranger, or by the colonial minister at home, who must always be a stranger, uninfluenced (as under the new system) by the advice, or rather the dictation, of a colonial ministry, who owe their places to their power to command a parliamentary majority.

There will no doubt be a sufficiency of bad appointments by either method; but the choice really being between appointments at the dictation of a little colony "clique" or "family connection"—phrases which Judge Haliburton does not seem much to like—who contrive to get and to keep the ear of governors and colonial secretaries, and the dictation of those who for the time being possess the confidence of the majority of the electors,—there does not really seem any occasion to hesitate.

There are, no doubt, strong objections to concentrating too much power in the hands of an assembly, so as to enable them to control all departments of the government. Judge Haliburton quotes (p. 334) a strong passage from Jefferson, written while he was governor of Virginia, or shortly after, denouncing such a concentration of powers as a despotism. Yet it is worthy of remark that such continued to be the form of government in Virginia for seventy-five years from the declaration of independence down to the forming of the new constitution, which has just been carried into effect. Nor does the political experience of the United States induce them to get rid of this evil, by going back to the old idea embodied in the Federal Constitution and in several of the

State Constitutions, of vesting the appointing power in the chief magistrate alone,—who, as is proved by experience, will, and commonly does, act, not according to his own conscientious judgment, but at the dictation of political cliques. On the other hand, some of the most conservative of our statesmen are inclined to look with favor on the experiments recently tried by several States, of avoiding such influences as much as possible, by referring the selection of all important officers directly to the popular vote; which method Judge Haliburton will no doubt think is jumping from the frying-pan into the fire.

As to his idea, that by any method of appointment, it is possible to constitute in the colonies a body answering in any thing but name and form to the British House of Peers, or that mere life tenure of office can give a social weight and position independent of other support, we beg leave to refer him to the very judicious observations upon that head, made by Wilson in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, a reference to which he will find on p. 493 of the third volume of Hildreth's History.

But while our author will fail, we fear, to make much impression either upon advocates for republicanism, whether in Europe or America, or upon the British government, we are somewhat apprehensive, lest in the ardor of his zeal, he may have got himself personally into a predicament, or if not personally, at least in his capacity as an author. He has fairly thrown down the glove to our New England brethren of Puritan descent and sympathies, attacking their fathers as to their doings both in Church and State, with very little of moderation. Now, if the Judge did not know it already, at least his shrewd old friend, Sam Slick, might have whispered in his ear, that the Yankees of the present day, like their Puritan progenitors, are men with whom one may not safely get into a quarrel, whether to be decided by blows or words, without good preparation; and even then he must be pretty adroit at fencing who shall escape wholly unscathed. We think the Judge himself refers to an uncomfortable practice early introduced into Massachusetts of "whipping and cropping the ears of such as slandered the government and churches, or otherwise gave a bad report of the country." Now we do not suppose that the Judge's back or his bodily ears are in any great danger, even should he be caught, like another Morton of Merry Mount, walking the streets of Boston, or even attempting, like that eminent worthy, to set up a maypole in that

vicinity,—an exploit to which the Judge refers with gusto,—though, should he undertake to carry out the precedent by “broaching a cask of wine and a hogshead of ale,” and should the Maine temperance law be enacted in the mean time in Massachusetts, which is not improbable, we cannot tell how that attempt might turn out. But we do look, every day, with fear and trembling, expecting to see our unfortunate friend stuck fast, nailed up by the ears in some critical New England pillory. And we must privately tell him, without going into particulars here, lest it might give an advantage to the enemy, that in the excess of his zeal against dissent and disloyalty, and out of a very unnecessary and superfluous effort to gild the refined gold and to paint the lily of Puritanism, he has fallen into some unfortunate mistakes and misrepresentations as to matters of fact, and quite unwarranted inferences as to motives, which one who knows how to make so good a use of Mr. Hildreth’s “able and impartial history,” ought to have avoided; and which we are afraid may, first or last, expose their author to some pretty severe critical castigation. That painful duty falls not to us. It would indeed be a great work of supererogation, not to say of impertinence, to interfere on behalf of those so abundantly able to defend themselves and their own. We might expect to be rebuked in the words of Othello—

Put up your swords!
Both you of my inclining, and the rest.
If it had been my cue to fight, I should have known it
Without a prompter!

Yet we cannot quit this topic without suggesting to the Judge the safety and expediency, as well as the justice, of giving even the — his due.

If any thing, however, could justify, as it certainly does tend to provoke, extravagance of attack, it would be the absurd lengths of defence, and even of eulogy, which the pious sons of the Puritans are ready to go, bearing off their fathers, like Æneas of old, out of the very midst of the flames, and in spite too of the most apparent danger of being themselves not a little scorched in the process.

One of the most remarkable specimens which we recollect ever to have seen of this ultra-pious self-sacrifice, almost equal indeed to the self-devotion with which Hindo widows mount the funeral piles of their husbands, is exhibited in the publication which stands second at the head of this article, purporting to be a Review of Hildreth’s History of the United States,

the three volumes of the first series, and the first volume of the second.

We must confess to have felt a little curiosity before reading it, as to what the contents of this article might be. Anybody of any critical discernment, who had read Mr. Hildreth's work, could not fail to perceive, that he was at least a person of some originality, evidently not belonging to any of those cliques or "societies for mutual admiration," as they have been sometimes called, into which the literati of our modern Athens are divided. It is plain that the school of elegant mediocrity and Boston common place, over which the North American Review authoritatively presides—a periodical which in its whole seventy-three volumes does not contain, to the best of our recollection, one single article which the world will not willingly let die—cannot claim him as one of their number. Neither does he seem much disposed to indulge in those transcendental flights, a sort of revived and modified Hutchinsonianism and Gortonism, in which young New England delights to expatiate, reminding one of Satan's famous journey through Chaos:

Nigh founder'd, on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half-flying; behoves him now both oar and sail.
As when a gryphon through the wilderness
With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimasian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd,
The guarded gold: so eagerly the fiend
O'er bog or steep, thro' strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

Indeed we should judge him to be one of those men ill adapted to command the special favor of any party, sect, or clique, from a habit he has of probing things to the bottom, stripping off disguises, and stating matters as they seem to him really to have been, careless apparently whom they may tell against, or whose sympathies and antipathies they may conflict with. Yet as we all like to know the real character of our neighbors, however little disposed to understand our own, this is a quality, which though it may not secure for this History the enthusiastic admiration of any particular sect or party, is well calculated, in the long run, to gain the confidence and respect of the public. For it is very certain that an honest historian must not only have no disposition to deceive others—a quality perhaps sufficiently common—but no disposition to deceive himself, one of the rarest things under the sun.

Fingunt simul creduntque, says Tacitus, and this description will embrace a very large proportion of those who write or compile histories, including nine out of ten of those who have written on American affairs. Bishop Thirwall describes Mitford's Greece as "a work which though cast in an historic form, was intended to convey not historic information, but first of all opinions, and then such facts as could be made to square with them;" and this criticism will apply with great exactness to the two best known predecessors of Mr. Hildreth in the relation of American colonial affairs, Grahame and Bancroft. Grahame was indeed a man of honest purpose, but of very limited capacity, and so defective in taste as to find in Mathers' *Magnalia*, a classical history. He admires with such blind confidence, as seldom to see any thing wrong in his heroes; and therefore so far as mere facts are concerned, he generally states matters with as much fulness as his limited resources in that respect would admit; and with as much clearness and precision as the great disadvantages under which he labored as a foreigner, and his own muddy conception of things and most tedious style will allow. Bancroft brings forward, or keeps back his facts with the skill of a practised rhetorician, of which we stop here to notice only this curious instance. He devotes more than fifty pages to a very extravagant and excessive glorifying of the theory of Quakerism, as set forth, not so much in America as in England, with an account of Penn's ante-American career, and an elaborate contrast between him and Locke, much to the disadvantage of the latter; neither of them however, being figures entitled to appear with such labored conspicuity in our American History; while the actual account of the colonies of Pennsylvania and Delaware, to which all this is to serve as a portico, is disposed of in less than forty pages, devoted almost exclusively to the two visits of Penn to America, less than four years in the whole. Of the curious and very instructive colonial history of Pennsylvania for the remaining sixty years, embraced in Bancroft's volumes, hardly any notice whatever is taken. We have full length portraits of Penn and of Quakerism, according to the author's conceptions of them, but the colony of Pennsylvania, and the actual flesh and blood Quakers there living, we hardly catch a glimpse of. Why, is pretty obvious—for even that slight glimpse is in most striking contrast to the labored eulogium, whether on Penn personally or on Quakerism, by which it is preceded. Penn's theory of government might have been, in theory, as superior to Locke's as Mr. Bancroft represents, but in prac-

tice it does not seem to have succeeded so remarkably better. Reason enough why so very little about its working should be found in Mr. Bancroft's pages.

But it is not alone from the want of historians, upright in intellect as well as honest in will, that our American History has been exhibited under false lights. There was a practice in Rome of pronouncing funeral orations over the dead of illustrious families; and the orators, for want of any thing great in the dead man before them to eulogize, were often obliged to go back to his ancestors. Thus removed beyond the check of living memory, and with little regard to the obscure records of obscure times, every great Roman family invented for its ancestors a multiplicity of triumphs, and battles, and wonderful achievements, furnishing the staple out of which Livy spun his first ten books; from which three-fold cord of crimson and gold, the wonderfully patient and ingenious Niebuhr labors, almost in vain, to disentangle the single homely fibre of truth. Our history too is in similar danger from a similar source; and when in his preface, perhaps with a little too much of reckless valor, which considering the multitudinous array on the other side, may look something like bravado, Mr. Hildreth declares open war against "centennial sermons and Fourth of July orations," he assumes to himself a task equal to at least two of the labors of Hercules; those of cleansing the Augean stable, and of cutting off the constantly multiplying heads of the hydra of the marsh of Lerna. Nevertheless it is a good and much needed work; and we bid him God speed in it. This perpetual eulogy on our ancestors is but another way of praising ourselves; a ministration to that national vanity, which if it does no other harm, which is a great deal more than we would be willing to answer for, makes us perpetually ridiculous in the eyes of other nations.

To paint all in blazing and brilliant colors, as in the tombs of Egypt, exhibits but the infancy of art. It is only by the judicious laying on of shadows, that the real proportions, the true perspective begin to appear. Still the artist who shall first go about to curtail the monstrous proportions under which the idols and deified heroes of any nation have been usually exhibited, who shall venture to remove the distorted mask under which the true features have been hid, to cut down the high heeled buskins which elevated ordinary mortals into giants, and to withdraw the gorgeous drapery, in which, according to the ideas of upholsterers, beauty mainly consists, will hardly escape being called most severely to account for this daring piece of impiety.

Was it *Praxiteles*, or what other eminent sculptor of ancient Greece, who was near being banished on a charge of atheism, because he had left out some traditional deformity from his statue of Zeus, whom he chose to represent as the perfection of manly dignity? Our temerarious and unfortunate historian, having been guilty of a similar piece of impiety towards the household gods, and canonized fathers of Puritan New England, at least so far as the stripping off of drapery is concerned, seems in danger of sharing a like fate. The *North American Review* raises against him the damaging outcry of irreligious irreverence, so that he stands exposed, not only to perpetual banishment from that delectable Parnassus, over which that Review so worthily presides; but, the good-old Puritan law against blasphemy being, as it seems, still in force in Massachusetts, for aught we know, he may be subject to indictment and condemnation, and thus be made to expiate his sins, not merely like Judge Haliburton in a critical pillory, but in some good stone jail—if indeed the sentence of the court do not carry him to the state prison, which we believe the law warrants.

There is reason however to hope that this extreme penalty may be escaped; since while zealously defending the law in its origin, when it had the penalty of death attached to it, as well as its present retention on the statue book, the reviewer admits "that in most Christian countries throughout the world," and the case seems to be the same even in Massachusetts, the old laws against blasphemy, which means any thing that people do not like, "have been of late years but seldom enforced."

Possibly also the culprit might escape on the ground of what the lawyers call duplicity, involving in this case also inconsistency in the indictment. In the very first sentence of the *North American Review*, Mr. Hildreth's history is slightly disposed of, as merely "a plain and well written narrative of public events, mostly in the order of their occurrence, without any attempt to generalize them, or to deduce from them the broader lessons of experience." And the Review proceeds to inform us that such a "naked record of facts must be untrustworthy; not merely incomplete, but deceptive, giving rise to unfounded impressions, and creating false judgments,"—a pretty good argument, it would seem, against having any histories at all; since infallibility is chiefly confined to churches and reviewers; nor are we aware of any criterion, by which a reader not qualified himself to form a



judgment on the facts laid before him, can be enabled to determine whether the interpretation of them furnished to his hands by the historian, is not quite as unfounded and false as any he might be led to make for himself.

But in the very third paragraph of the Review, the matter appears in quite a different light. Mr. Hildreth is no longer the plain narrator of events, "mostly in the order of their occurrence." He is changed all at once, in this reviewer's squint-eyed vision, into a cold and stealthy disciple of Gibbon, arranging his facts with such consummate art, that "without one false assertion or positive misstatement," the reader is unconsciously drawn along to the wished for conclusions. And so far from not "generalizing," or "deducing the broader lessons of experience," the whole history is represented as written with the express purpose of exposing "the evils of a theocratic form of government, and the folly and hypocrisy of rulers who profess to act upon religious principles." And all this because Mr. Hildreth has written the history of the attempted theocracies of New England,—a species of government extinct, we believe, in Christendom, except in the dominions of the Pope—without stopping to apologize for, and explain, if not indeed to justify, every piece of harsh and cruel bigotry, every act of domineering intolerance, every fierce, brutal, bloody crime, with which those annals, sorry we are to say it, are too piteously blackened. To find any fault with the persecuting spirit and the blood-stained enactments of these Puritan Commonwealths, or rather not to defend and to eulogize them, is, we are told by this worthy representative and advocate of those ancient persecutions, to misrepresent, to distort, to discolor! It is to do so by omitting to take into view the spirit of the age! As though the spirit of the age, however a reference to it may temper our judgments as to individual character, ought ever to make anybody an apologist for cruelty and injustice!

What indeed can be more cruel and unjust, or a greater proof how bigotry and partisanship will extinguish every sense of shame, than the apology put forth by this reviewer for the New England persecutions? With singular boldness he does not hesitate to tell us that they only "banished from the colony the few separatists who would not conform to their high standard, and be as pure, self-denying and devout as themselves!" p. 414. As though it were any want of purity, self-denial, or devotion, that caused the banishments, yea the whippings and hangings complained of! As though there were any

grounds for this malicious and unmanly insinuation, in the character and conduct of the two Brownes, John and Samuel, whom Endicott shipped off in the very first year of the Massachusetts Colony, "as factious and evil conditioned," because they adhered to the book of Common Prayer, and would not conform to his new fangled service! Or in the character of Roger Williams, a very Puritan of the Puritans, obliged to fly in mid winter into the woods, to escape being shipped off to England, because he had told his Puritan brethren that they had no authority to punish men for matters of opinion or worship; or in the character and conduct of Mrs. Hutchinson and her numerous adherents; or of Samuel Gorton and his followers; or of the "godly Lady Moody" and her numerous Baptist associates; or of John Clarke and Obadiah Holmes; or of William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, Mary Dyer, and William Leddra hanged for Quakerism! A rather formidable list though a very small part of the whole, for thirty years of a colony, which did not number at any period of that thirty years seven thousand adult inhabitants. No wonder that with such a list staring him in the face, this teacher of the true art of writing history, should endeavor to inculcate the opinion that a plain statement of facts is very dangerous, and quite sure to mislead!

But it is not thought safe to rest the apology for these Puritan prosecutions on the spirit of the age alone. Considering indeed the rebukes which the Massachusetts Puritans received at the time from such men of their own number as Roger Williams and Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Henry Vane, and the example which they had all the time before their eyes of comparative religious freedom in the colony of Rhode Island, this would not be very safe. Another defence is therefore suggested, original indeed; and as a specimen of the doctrines of natural law and moral right in vogue in Cambridge and that vicinity, worthy of all admiration.

It is an easy matter to understand how the Papal Church, believing itself to be God's vicegerent on earth, and the infallible judge of religious truth, might esteem itself authorized to subject heretics to punishment. Nor is it much to be wondered at that the Church of England might conceive herself endowed with something of the same power transmitted with the ordination of her Bishops from Apostolic times. But how men, whose only pretence or warrant for assuming themselves to be in any way a Church, was a mere internal assurance of their own to that effect, should undertake, on that basis

alone, to domineer over the internal assurance of other men, to all outward appearance as pious and as much internally enlightened as themselves, is not so easy to understand. Such, in fact, was the view taken by the Anabaptists and the Independents in their partial advocacy of religious freedom; and such was the substance of that "noble letter," as Mr. Hildreth justly calls it, addressed by Sir Richard Saltonstall to Cotton and Wilson, the ministers of Boston; their reply to which, with all due deference to the *North American Review*, does certainly amount, as Mr. Hildreth suggests, to nothing more nor less than that very assumption of infallibility which Saltonstall charged upon them and they denied. On what else was it if not precisely on this ground, that they were certainly right and everybody else certainly wrong, that the New England Puritans themselves justified their persecuting laws? They were right; they knew they were. They were God's chosen people and New England was the promised land; and they must imitate all the provisions on the subject of worship, to be found in the Jewish Law. It is very true, as the Reviewer says, that they did not punish opinions merely, but only the expression of opinions—and such, according to his gloss upon it, is the present operation of the Massachusetts law against blasphemy. A palpable distinction certainly, but in practice not worth much;—for what is the practical value of liberty of opinion to a man who is not at liberty to express his opinions?

Were we reduced to the disagreeable alternative of being obliged to defend either the theological creed of the New England Puritans, or the moral beauty and rectitude of their conduct, we should certainly prefer, by all odds, to defend their creed. But it is not so with our North American contemporary. The conduct of the Puritans appears to him very holy and lovely. They do not seem ever to have done a single thing, at least in their public career, which he is not ready to excuse, to defend, to justify, if not indeed to eulogize. But it is not so with their creed. The Puritan creed has gone out of fashion in that New England circle which the *North American Review* represents. Thus incapacitated from justifying the persecuting laws of the New England Puritans, on that basis of the infallible interpretation of scripture, on which they themselves placed it, he has recourse to an ingenious device of his own, to which we have already called attention, as in a remarkable degree striking and original, and coming from the source it does, worthy of special notice.

The old Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts was, so this reviewer informs us, "an association as homogeneous in religious faith as is that of the Mormons in Utah, and whose only purpose in emigrating was like that of the Mormons, to separate themselves by many leagues of a pathless waste from all contact with other religious sects, and to build up for themselves a new Church in the wilderness, where their faith and practice might continue pure, because removed from contaminating influences. *Who will deny that such an intention is an honest and reasonable one? Who doubts that it would be an unjustifiable intrusion for a band of emigrants of a very dissimilar faith, or of no faith at all, to insist upon removing to the same spot, and planting a Church or a Synagogue within a stones' throw of the new Mormon Temple, on the shores of the great Salt Lake?* IN SUCH A CASE, WHO WOULD ACCUSE THE MORMONS OF ANY LACK OF CHARITY, OR OF BREAKING THE PRINCIPLES OF PHILOSOPHIC TOLERATION, IF THEY SHOULD BANISH SUCH INTRUDERS FROM THEIR TERRITORY, AND MENACE THEM WITH IMPRISONMENT AND STRIPES, EVEN WITH DEATH, SHOULD THEY RETURN?"

Now, in the first place, as to the facts,—those horrid facts, arranged "mostly in the order of their occurrence," which our Professor of Philosophical History holds in such contempt and detestation, as so liable "to give rise to unfounded impressions, and to create false judgments." The Massachusetts Company purchased of the council of Plymouth a tract of country on which, as they very well knew, a considerable number of the King's subjects had been settled for years before—most of them under prior grants; and instead of undertaking to establish a government based solely upon their own inherent power, or on the consent of the members of it, like that of New Plymouth, "a private religious association," as this reviewer expresses it, whose affairs might "properly be regulated in a different manner from those of an organized Commonwealth," they obtained a royal charter from Charles I, which they always put forward as the basis, and sole basis, of their rights of legislation and powers of government. Yet one of the very first things which they did on setting up their government, was, to compel the "old planters," as they were called, to conform to all their new fangled and illegal arrangements, or, if "incorrigible," to quit the country. Some were seized and sent to England, without ceremony, as "unfit to inhabit there." Others were driven off by fines, whipping, and cropping of the ears—a fate which even the good natured and hospitable Mavarick, to whose kind-heartedness

Winthrop, as well as Josselyn, bears witness, only escaped by submitting to pay numerous fines imposed on him.

Then, again, as to excluding unwelcome and uninvited intruders. With his usual contempt of facts, this reviewer, presuming we must suppose on the ignorance, credulity, or prejudices of his readers, ventures to say, "The persons thus warned off, or expelled, did not suffer loss or wrong. They were not spoiled of their property, nor driven from the houses and graves of their ancestors." But in fact they were spoiled of their property. It was the custom in Massachusetts, to begin with enormous fines, for the very purpose, as Savage suggests, in his notes on Winthrop, of filling up their empty treasury. Then they proceeded to imprisonment and whipping, and then to banishment, and finally to death. Thus, one Dand was fined £200, which might be considered equivalent to five or ten thousand dollars now, because a copy of a certain obnoxious petition to Parliament for equal rights, had been found in his study; and was kept in prison a whole year, because he could not pay it. Other enormous fines were imposed on the same occasion. John Clarke, a man of education, a physician, one of the early emigrants to Massachusetts, was fined £20, because coming into the Colony from Rhode Island, on a visit to an aged Baptist brother, he had ventured to give a public exhortation at that brother's house; and he was kept in prison, under threat of a whipping, till the fine was paid. Obadiah Holmes, who had accompanied Clarke, and who had been for many years an honored member of the Salem Church, was fined £30, which refusing to pay, or to allow his friends to pay for him, he was brought to the whipping post. "I had such a spiritual manifestation," so writes Holmes, in an account which he has left of this proceeding, "that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength, (yea, spitting in his hand three times, as many affirmed,) with a three corded whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart, and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, I told the magistrates, 'You have struck me as with roses,' and said, moreover, 'Although the Lord hath made it easy to me, I pray God it may not be laid to your charge.'" John Hazel and John Spur, who came up and shook hands with the prisoner after his punishment, smiling and saying, 'Blessed be God,' they were arrested on the spot, for contempt of authority, fined forty shillings

and imprisoned.—(See Hildreth, vol. i, p. 381.) Gorton and his seven companions arrested by an armed force, while quietly living beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and at a distance of many miles through pathless forests, from any of her settlements, which they had left for the sake of peace, were brought by force to Boston, and being tried on the vague charge of being “blasphemous enemies of true religion and civil government,” were sentenced to be kept at hard labor in irons in seven different towns, under pain of death, if by speech or writing they attempted to publish any of their “blasphemous and abominable heresies ;”—and their cattle were seized to pay the costs, taxed at £160.—(See Hildreth, vol. i, p. 296.) And yet this reviewer, with this case staring him in the face, and of which he undertakes a special vindication, (p. 421,) has the hardihood to write, (p. 418,) “They did not seek to bind or restrain the consciences of men ; they punished no one for heresy. But they claimed the ownership and jurisdiction of the territory granted to them in their charter, and they exercised *an undoubted right* in excluding from it all those whose presence was distasteful to them. Those who did not agree with them in doctrine, were required to leave this territory, and profess their obnoxious opinions elsewhere. The continent was broad enough ; its long line of sea coast, its interminable reaches of forest, the rich meadows extending along its magnificent streams, afforded space where every proscribed sect, and the people of every lineage, denomination, and tongue might form colonies of their own. Practically this was soon accomplished to a great extent ; the Anti-pædobaptists obtained a home in Rhode Island ; the Roman Catholics in Maryland ; those of the English Church in Virginia ; the Quakers in Pennsylvania. Every sect might find a home *where it would be secure,*” &c.

Very pretty rhetoric, truly ! But then, again, those ugly facts ! Nothing is more certain than that Massachusetts, and the other three Puritan commonwealths in confederation with her, strove by every means to extend their jurisdiction on all sides, and to absorb and subject to their domineering authority all the little neighboring Colonies, formed by religious exiles from their bosom. Thus the three New Hampshire settlements, Dover, Portsmouth, and Exeter, were absorbed, one after the other ; Wheelwright, who, driven from Boston, had founded Exeter, being obliged to fly again to Wells ; and soon perceiving that Wells, too, was to be “annexed,” forced at last, in order to prevent further flight, to submit, recant,

and make his peace. All the numerous independent settlements on the coast of Maine were absorbed, one after another, and the use of the Common Prayer, and celebration of the English Church service, suppressed therein. There were endless intrigues and efforts,—now by stirring up internal dissensions, now by threats of non-intercourse and Indian war, and now by attempts in England to get a recognition of their unfounded claims—to absorb and annex the territories of Providence and Rhode Island ;—to guard against which Williams was obliged to make two voyages to England, and Clarke to reside there for years. The outrageous assumption of jurisdiction over Gorton's settlement at Shawomet, has already been noticed. It was only with the utmost reluctance, after Gorton (that "convicted swindler, hypocrite, and false prophet," as our Puritan apologist, descending in the warmth of argument to foul mouthed slander of the historic dead, politely calls him, and without the slightest pretence for it) had visited England, had there secured the respect and regard of such men as Vane, and though not "a university man," and on that account opposed by the Presbyterians, had yet been duly recognized and had preached in London as "a minister of the Gospel," and had obtained from the Parliamentary Council, or committee for Colonial affairs, letters of safe conduct, and authority to take possession of his territory of Shawomet, (which he gratefully named Warwick, after the President of the Council ;) it was only after all this that Massachusetts reluctantly disgorged that usurped possession ; not even then leaving the Gortonists in peace, but, as they complained, stimulating the Indians to attack them. Meanwhile, the aggressions on the Dutch of New Netherland, in whose territory many of the New England exiles had taken refuge, were a complete counterpart to, and as it were forerunner of, more recent encroachments, in our day, upon our weak neighbors of Mexico, as to which, if we recollect right, we have read some diatribes in the *North American Review*, but which, nevertheless, might all be easily sustained by good New England Puritan precedents.

Nor did these untiring propagandists stop here. Upon application from a little nest of Puritans among the settlers in Virginia, they sent thither three missionary ministers. These were presently silenced and sent out of the colony, because they would not use the Book of Common Prayer. Their parishioners being soon after obliged to follow their example, removed to Maryland, where they presently fomented a re-

bellion against the proprietary. Nor did they rest, (being constantly strengthened by new accessions,) till in the course of the next forty years the proprietary was stripped of his authority, because he was a Roman Catholic; the son regaining it only by renouncing his hereditary faith; the unfortunate Roman Catholic settlers being completely disfranchised, and subjected to a severe code of persecuting laws, in the very colony they had planted. Even in Virginia, where the Churchmen were a hundred to one, the Puritan Commissioners, sent out by the Long Parliament, suppressed the Book of Common Prayer, and overturned the whole Church organization.

Then, again, as to the slight hardship of being merely obliged to change one's abode among those delightful "woods and forests, and rich meadows, and river banks," and so forth. Let us see. The Lady Moody, "a wise and anciently religious woman," as Winthrop calls her, settles at Lynn. But having presently adopted Anabaptist opinions, she finds it necessary to remove to Gravesend on Long Island, under the Dutch. Just as she arrives there, an Indian war breaks out, and her settlement is attacked; but a guard of forty men enables her to defend it. The famous Mrs. Hutchinson banished from Boston, but still pursued with rancorous hate, not thinking herself safe at Newport,—which Massachusetts was intriguing not without a prospect of success, by fomenting disputes among the inhabitants, to get under her control,—flies in alarm to Greenwich, now of Connecticut, then the nearest Dutch town. Her house too is attacked by the Indians, and, less fortunate than the Lady Moody, she herself and all her family, to the number of eighteen persons, are massacred, except one young daughter, carried off a prisoner. Over which event the pious Welde exulted at the time as "an apparent exhibition of God's hand" "to pick out this woeful woman, to make her and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavy example," and over whose hard case this no less tender hearted reviewer coolly speculates, as really exhibiting no hardship at all!

There are, however, we freely admit, some analogies between the case of the Mormons and the New England Puritans. These last emigrated to a country which they recognized as belonging to the English crown; they claimed to carry with them the English law; they still admitted their obligation of allegiance. The Mormons, in like manner, have settled in a territory which they admit to belong to the United States, to which they also admit their obligation of allegiance.

And are we to understand the *North American Review* to maintain that if any number of Churchmen, Baptists, or Methodists, citizens of the United States, shall also take the liberty of planting themselves in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, even should it be "within a stones' throw of the new Mormon temple," the Mormons there will be at liberty to compel these new comers to conform to Mormonism, "under pain of imprisonment, stripes, banishment, even death if they return?" Whether, in taking this course, the Mormons would exhibit any "lack of charity," or would "break the principles of philosophic toleration," opinions may differ. But we can tell this reviewer what they would break, and that is, the law of the land. Any citizen of the United States has just as good a right as the Mormons to settle in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake, and freely to enjoy his religious opinions. And every subject of Charles I, had just as good a right as the Massachusetts Puritans to settle within any English dominion and to enjoy there the worship of the Church of England, established by law as the religion of the realm.

In more respects than one this allusion to the Mormons is unfortunate. Mr. Hildreth is taken severely to task because he has not indulged in omissions over the "heroism, conscientiousness, and self-denial" of the Puritans in going into the woods to establish a Church of their own,—a topic, one would suppose, amply enough dwelt upon elsewhere. But is it this in which the glory of the Puritans consists? If so, the Mormons have fairly outdone them, whether in patience of endurance or energy of accomplishment. And some hundred years hence, when the State of the Salt Lake shall be, to borrow the reviewer's description of Massachusetts as it now is, "a populous and flourishing community, numbering among its population believers and unbelievers, the followers of almost every faith that can be found on earth, all of whom live together harmoniously," Mormonism being forgotten or sunk into a small minority, its partisans showing their teeth now and then, but no longer able to bite, shall it then happen that Salt Lake reviewers, themselves renegades from the Mormon Faith, but for all that, professors perhaps, or ex-professors of history, in that University of Utah to whose library, at the solicitation of the Territorial Delegate, we made the other day a contribution of books; shall these future Utah reviewers attempt to make up, as it were, for that lapse, or to put it out of sight, by elevating their Mormon forefathers to the level of the New England Puritans, and accusing all

who shall differ from them in this respect, of irreverence and irreligion?

Wherein is the essential difference between the Puritans and the Mormons—leaving the latter, after all is said and done, and though all wonder at and admire their achievements, mere vulgar fanatics, and elevating the former to the rank of heroes? This is a question most fit to be answered by those more learned than we in Puritan lore, and more in sympathy with the Puritans than we can be supposed to be. Yet should they decline to answer, or fail in the attempt, we perhaps may try. And here we leave the matter, throwing out this single suggestion,—that Saul of Tarsus the Jew, educated at the feet of Gamaliel, eaten up with zeal, and sincerely believing that in persecuting God's servants he was doing God's service, though well worthy in many respects to be admired and even applauded, is yet by no manner of means to be confounded with Paul the Apostle.

Considering that Mr. Hildreth's historical studies and "un-philosophical" regard for facts must have led him to a pretty close examination of the New England Theocracies, and a pretty thorough knowledge of them, it would be a very natural thing, that he might have conceived even an undue prejudice against such systems, thus giving some color to the reviewer's charge of making his history "one uniform record of the pernicious consequences of allowing the state even to recognize the existence of Christianity, or to adopt any measures which look to its observance and support," and of having selected as his favorite topics "the evils of a theocratic government, and the folly and hypocrisy of rulers who profess to act upon religious principles." But our readers must, we think, be satisfied by this time that the statements of this reviewer, however brilliant in philosophy, so far as they involve any mere matter of fact, are to be taken with some grains of allowance. We have not observed that Mr. Hildreth, at least in the first series of his History, is apt to charge any body with folly or hypocrisy, though perhaps some instances of both may be developed in the facts which he finds it necessary to relate. We should look in vain through his volumes for any thing approaching to an instance of the gross impropriety—even if the facts afford color for it, which in this case they do not—into which the reviewer himself falls, in denouncing Gorton as "a convicted swindler," in hopes, by raising a prejudice against him, to cover up the gross wrongs of which he was the victim. Mr. Hildreth has occasion to speak of a

great many religious leaders, but we do not recollect that he finds it necessary to discharge his bile or to prove his orthodoxy by denouncing any of them, as this reviewer does Gorton, as "hypocrites and false prophets." This, however, we suppose is what they call at Cambridge the "philosophical" delineation of character, made up not of paltry facts, but of sounding epithets.

It is true that Mr. Hildreth has developed with a good deal of care and labor the whole course of colonial legislation on the subject of religion. And the reason of this we think very obvious. He sets it out in his preface as a leading object with him "to trace our institutions, religious, social, and political, from their embryo state; to show, in fine, from what beginnings, by what influences, and through what changes the United States, are what they are." Now there is no more striking fact in the social polity of America, as it now exhibits itself, than the establishment by law of religious toleration, and not only toleration, but equality, and the professed total separation of Church and State. Yet, at the same time, appear some facts not easily to be reconciled with this theory; the adoption of tests in several of the States, tending to exclude from all offices, Jews, Papists, and Universalists, and a number of laws on the statute books of almost all the States, by which the State does directly interfere with religious worship and observances, and even with religious opinions, or at least the expression of them. How these discrepancies originated, and how the existing religious equality was introduced, especially into such stern old theocracies as Massachusetts, is a very curious inquiry; and on all these subjects the reader will find ample details in Mr. Hildreth's volumes.

James Madison held that the clauses in the Constitution of the United States excluding any legislation respecting "an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," absolutely forbade any legislation on the subject whatever; and on this ground he placed his veto on two acts of Congress, one incorporating an Episcopal Church in the District of Columbia; the other granting a piece of public land to a Baptist Church in Mississippi. Similar, generally stronger, clauses of the same sort are to be found in all the State Constitutions, and to those in the Constitution of Virginia, an interpretation, the same with Madison's, had already been given. We do not understand Mr. Hildreth to go this length. We do not understand him even to oppose a general tax for the support of religion, like the school tax, and to be defended on similar grounds, namely, the interest which the State has in

the moral education of the people; such tax to enure to the benefit of such church or society as the tax payer shall elect. There are some considerations on this subject urged in his fifth volume, pp. 459-62, which it does not seem so easy to answer. But while thus admitting the right of the State to make such laws merely affecting property as the public good shall seem to the legislature to require, it is also perfectly evident that Mr. Hildreth regards as conflicting with the theory and the right of religious liberty, all those numerous enactments, and even in some cases constitutional provisions going to affect the holding or expressing of opinions, or the mode or time of worship. Being apparently one of those resolutely bent on investigating and judging for themselves, he is at least consistent in claiming the same liberty for others.

But he pokes fun occasionally, as the reviewer complains, at the attempts of semi-Socinian ministers to pass themselves off as good Calvinists. He does, no doubt, occasionally indulge in a vein of quiet sarcasm, from which the Church of England among the rest does not escape, but rather good natured, we should call it, than "bitter," as the reviewer seems to think—but he evidently has all the ultra-puritanical horror of a laugh or a joke. The perception of the ridiculous is as much a distinguishing attribute of humanity as reason itself; indeed more so; for there are many half-reasoning animals, but no laughing animal; unless it be the laughing hyena, whose sardonic grin rather reminds us of certain critics, than of any thing to be found in Mr. Hildreth's volumes. A man so starched, so grim, so entirely self-satisfied, that he can neither laugh himself nor allow others to laugh at his foibles and frailties, is in a very bad way; and amid the tragedies with which history abounds, a little comic intermixture, now and then, is, to our view at least, very refreshing.

This article has spun out to a length which we never intended. But seeing Mr. Hildreth beset on the one side by a High Church Tory, who appropriated his goods, as it appeared, without any kind of conscience, and on the other by a sort of Puritan Guy Fawkes, desperately bent upon blowing him up *in toto*, Christian charity did prompt us, without first stopping to inquire whether he belonged to "the Church" or not, to put in our testimony in his behalf, as to what he is in the only character in which he has subjected himself to our judgment; namely, an historian who means to tell the truth; possessing also the intelligence and the industry, and having access to the documents necessary to ascertain it; and gifted at the same time with competent skill in laying his discoveries before the public.

AMERICAN EPISCOPATE BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

- ART. III.—Rt. Rev. Dr. KENNETS' *Account of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, &c.* London: 1706. 4to. pp. 97.
- Rev. Dr. DAVID HUMPHREY'S *Historical Account of the Incorporated Society, &c.* London: 1730. 8vo. pp. 366.
- HAWKINS' *Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England, in the North American Colonies, &c.* London: 1845. 8vo. pp. 448.
- BOUCHER'S *Thirteen Discourses on the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution.* London: 1797. 8vo. pp. 596.
- HAWKS' *Ecclesiastical Contributions.* New York: vols. I and II, 1836, 1839. 8vo. pp. 614, 523.
- Six Pamphlets on the Apthorp Controversy.* By Rev. Dr. MAYHEW, Rev. Dr. CANER, Rev. Dr. JOHNSON, and Rt. Rev. Archbishop SECKER. 1763-4.
- Rev. Dr. CHANDLER'S *Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America.* New York: 1767. pp. 127.
- Minutes of Convention of Delegates from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and the Associations of Connecticut, from 1766 to 1775.* Hartford: 1843. pp. 68.
- Massachusetts Historical Collections, First, Second, and Third Series.* Boston. Thirty volumes. 8vo.
- Colony and Province Laws of Massachusetts Bay, &c.* Boston: 1814. 8vo. pp. 830.
- TRUMBULL'S *Colonial Records of Connecticut, from 1636-1665.*
- LORD MAHON'S *History of England.* New York: 1849. In two Volumes. 8vo. pp. 567, 589.
- Rev. Dr. COIT'S *Puritanism: Or a Churchman's Defence against its aspersions, by an Appeal to its own History.* New York: 1845. 12mo. pp. 528.
- GREENWOOD'S *History of King's Chapel.* Boston: 1833. 12mo. pp. 215.

CHANDLER'S *Life of Rev. Dr. Johnson.* London: 1824.
8vo. pp. 209.

UPDIKE'S *History of the Narragansett Church.* New York:
1847. 8vo. pp. 533.

HILDRETH'S *History of the United States.* Four volumes.
New York.

THE fact which stares us in the face, startling and almost incomprehensible to the Churchman, is, that from the year 1607, when the first successful settlement was made in the Virginia Colony, down to the year 1784, a period of upwards of *one hundred and seventy* years, during all which time these Colonies remained under British rule, not a single Bishop was legally consecrated for the American Continent. And when, at length, that boon was first obtained, it was not the gift of that Church whose "nursing care and protection" our Prayer Book has commemorated; and was only finally conferred by her on children, whose political relations had made them forever aliens, and even then, when jealousy of the Scotch Episcopate was no unimportant motive. This is the fact which must forever stand on the page of history. To what extent this deprivation was owing to State policy, will appear in the progress of this discussion. The result, however, in this case, was such as to dissuade from a repetition of it in similar circumstances. And while we cannot doubt that the plan of Colonial Bishops recently adopted, is merely a matter of State expediency—the same policy which is ready to sacrifice the chartered rights of the Church in one part of Canada, and guarantee the safety of Popery in another; which legitimates Presbyterianism in Scotland, Episcopacy in Australia, Buddhism and devil-worship in Ceylon, and then sets Papists and Jews to guard the mongrel Establishment—still the Providence of God is evidently overruling it, and blessing the Missions of the Church connected with it, to the most beneficent ends.

During the one hundred and seventy years, of which we have spoken, the project of an American Episcopate never ceased to be agitated, although its friends were as continually foiled in their plans. We propose to glance at the history of these efforts, abortive as they proved. Some of the convictions which have fastened themselves upon us, in pursuing this investigation, we shall record. Some things are only matter of conjecture, and may well be left unsaid. The list

of publications with which we have prefaced our sketch, are a part only of the authorities on which we base our statements.

Although the founders of the Virginia Colony landed at Jamestown, in 1607, and although one of the petitioners for the charter, and one of the first emigrants, was a clergyman of the Church of England, (Rev. Robert Hunt,) and although one of the alleged reasons for granting the charter, was the "propagating of Christian religion," still, for half a century, we find no evidence that the planting the Church in its integrity in Virginia, formed any part of the design of the English Church or Government. The Legislature of the Colony, in 1619, gave to the Church the privileges of an establishment, and the then Bishop of London began to exert himself to procure clergymen for the destitute parishes. And out of this fact, grew up the jurisdiction of that Prelate over the Church in this country, which continued down to the time of the American Revolution. It is noticeable, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, that to the apathy, or actual opposition to an Episcopate, on the part of Virginia Churchmen, no small part of the responsibility belonged, of defeating subsequent efforts to secure, what earnest Churchmen, in the Colonies, and in England, sought so perseveringly, yet vainly, to obtain. The first effort for an American Bishop, was not in behalf of the Church Colony of Virginia, but the Puritan Colony of Massachusetts. It was under Charles I, and in the year 1638, that, as Hawkins says, (*Missions of Church of England*, p. 376,) "the sagacious mind of Laud had conceived a design for the remedy of an evil, then at its rise, by sending a Bishop to New England; but the scheme was thwarted by the outbreak of troubles in Scotland." It is not improbable that this was part of a plan already partially adopted and which had failed. The "Council of Plymouth," in London, had appointed Capt. Robert Gorges, son of Sir Fernando Gorges, General Governor of the fishermen and planters in New England. In the words of a New England Chronicler, "He accordingly came over hither in 1623, with several families, intending to make a settlement at Wessagusset, now Weymouth, on the bay of Massachusetts, which failed of success. He brought with him William Morell, an Episcopal Clergyman, who had a commission from the Ecclesiastical Court in England, to exercise a kind of superintendency over the Churches which were, or might be, established here. Gorges stayed in the country but a short time, and at his departure

left Morell behind at Plymouth, where he continued about a year, making enquiries and observations respecting the country, but made no use of his commission, or even mentioned it, till just before his departure."—(Mass. His. Coll., 1st Series, vol. 1st, p. 125.) (New England's Memorial, p. 108.)—Why this and other attempts to form a settlement on the part of Gorges, failed, we have no room to show : it involves some curious points in Puritan history. But that Laud had a hand in sending over Morell, is almost certain. He was already on his high career of activity ; and it was only a short time after Gorges' return, that he became (1627) one of the King's Privy Council.—(Biographia Britannica, Art. Laud.) This fact, in the history of Laud, is worthy of remembrance. We are no blind admirers of the character of one who has been more cordially hated, and more industriously maligned, than almost any man who has lived on the page of history, and who even now, in the estimation of multitudes, was the very incarnation of evil. Yet, Laud was earnestly and deeply religious ; and at a period in the English Church, when the Puritan element was active and spreading, he was raised up in the Providence of God, to arrest its progress, though at the sacrifice of his life. The noble and determined stand which that Prelate took in defence of the Episcopacy, rallied the drooping conservatism of the Church ; and it was the great secret of that intense bitterness of passion, which was finally slaked in his heart's blood. Such was the depth and extent of the animosity, that even from the shores of New England, many sallied forth to the struggle which brought both him and his royal master to the fatal block.*

In the troublous times that followed, the project of an American Episcopate, of course was lost sight of. Immediately, however, after the Restoration, 1660, the subject was revived. A proposal to send over a Bishop, says Hawkins, was made "by Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and so fully approved by the King, that a patent was actually made out, constituting Dr. Alexander Murray, Bishop of Virginia, with a general charge over the other provinces. But this noble project, which, if carried into effect, would doubtless have exercised a sensible influence on the religious and political institutions of America, was defeated by the accession to power of the "Cabal Ministry."—(Hawkins, p. 376.) Secker states, from an ex-

* For a list of several New England Colonial Officers, who fought under Cromwell, see Haliburton's *Rule and Misrule*, p. 85.

amination of Bishop Gibson's papers, that the failure was owing to the endowment being made payable out of the customs.—(Works, vol. xi, p. 355.) Boucher bears witness to the same general fact. He says, "Under Charles II, a patent was actually made out for supplying a Bishop of Virginia. By some fatality or other, (such as seems forever to have pursued all the good measures of that unfortunate family,) the patent was not signed when the King died."—(Discourses, p. 92.) Hutchinson also corroborates this testimony. He says, "A Bishop with a suffragan," was selected to be sent out. This on the authority of a letter written in 1662.—(Hutch. Mass. 3d Ed. vol. i, p. 207.)

There ought also here to be mentioned, the Missionary Society, incorporated by Charles II; which, although it actually accomplished little, shows that the duty of propagating the Gospel was clearly recognized. Dr. Kennet thus speaks of it: "After the happy restoration of Monarchy and the Church of England, there was a new spirit given to these good designs; and King Charles II, in the 4th year of his reign, 1661, was graciously pleased to incorporate several persons into one Society or Company, for the propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the parts adjacent in America, by an express Charter," &c. The sphere of this Society's labors was New England, and the parts adjacent, and the objects of its charities were the Heathen natives and their children. The first Governor of this Society, was the Hon. Robert Boyle, who, at his death, left an annual salary to be forever appropriated to the preaching of eight sermons a year, by some learned Divine, "for proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels." These Lectures are still continued.—(Kennet's Account of the Prop. Society, p. 9.)

The turmoils, political and religious, which attended and followed the accession of James II, (1685,) and which were only quelled by his abdication, and the new elements of discord which agitated the consciences of many Churchmen, now absorbed attention, and the American Episcopate passed, for the time being, out of view. The progress of the Church in the Colonies was necessarily slow. The accessions to their population, as well from the Continent as England, being mostly of an excessively anti-Church character, were not such as to accelerate her growth. Still the Church had an existence; and the watchful eye and warm heart of the Bishop of London, (Bishop Compton,) never for a moment lost sight of her present and prospective importance. The distinguished Prelate,

who held that See, for thirty-eight years, from 1675 to 1713 seems to have been raised up in the providence of God, and to have been spared to set on foot a train of measures for the ultimate and effective planting of the Church in all parts of this country. As early as 1679, says Humphrey, "Bishop Compton made inquiry how the foreign plantations were provided with clergymen, and found, upon search, that there were not above four ministers of the Church of England in that vast tract of North America, and only one or two of them regularly sent over. To remedy this sad defect, the Bishop made proposals to several of those places to supply them with clergymen; and had generally encouragement to do so."—(Humph. His. Prop. Soc., Ch. 1, Sec. 5.) And Bishop Kennet, in his "account of the Society for propagating the Gospel," relates that "when the state of religion began to prosper in our Foreign Plantations, then, for the better order and increase of it, the Lord Bishop of London did constitute and appoint the Rev. Mr. James Blair to be his Commissary in Virginia; and did afterwards send over the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray as his Commissary to Maryland. * * * And to encourage these endeavors, a *private Society* was formed to meet, and consult, and contribute towards the progress of Christianity in Foreign Parts."—(Kennet's Account, &c., p. 14.) The successful labors of these men, and the necessity for a more systematic plan of operations, for the support and direction of American Missions, led to the Incorporation of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701—the very last year of William and Mary; and the future efforts for an American Episcopate, were made in connection with the efforts of that Society, to which we now turn.

Among the very first letters of the Missionaries to the Parent Society, the want, the absolute necessity of an Episcopate for the American Colonies, was urged upon the attention of the Society, and the authorities of the Church at home. A few extracts from these letters will show their spirit and urgency. The Rev. John Talbot, writing from New York, in 1702, says, "We have great need of a Bishop here, to visit all the Churches, to ordain some, to confirm others, and to bless all." And the next year "he speaks of many falling away into dissent for want of a lawful ministry; while those who were willing and qualified to serve, shrunk from the loss and hazard of a voyage to England, to obtain holy orders." Writing in 1704, he says, "Mr. John Lillingston designs, it

seems, to go for England next year. He seems to be the most fit person that America affords for the office of a Suffragan; and several persons, both of the Laity and Clergy, have wished he were the man; and if my Lord Bishop of London thought fit to authorize him, several of the Clergy, both of this Province and of Maryland, have said they would pay their tenths unto him, as my Lord of London's vicegerent, whereby the Bishop of America might have as honorable provision as some in Europe."—(Hawkins' His., pp. 376–7.)

The Rev. Thoroughgood Moor, in 1704, appeals to the Society in this language: "Excuse me to the Society, if I am in earnest with them for a Suffragan, and that they would have a particular regard to the unanimous request of the Clergy in all parts of America upon their account."—(MSS. Letters in Hawkins, p. 377.) In 1705, a Memorial to the Archbishops and Bishops in England, was agreed upon, and signed by *fourteen* Clergymen assembled at Burlington, New Jersey; praying for the "presence and assistance of a Suffragan Bishop, to ordain such persons as are fit to be called to serve in the sacred ministry of the Church;" and stating that they had been "deprived of the advantages which might have been received of some presbyterian and independent ministers that formerly were, and of others that still are, willing to conform and receive the holy character for want of a Bishop to give it." They add, "the baptized want to be confirmed."—(Appendix to Journal in Hawkins' History, pp. 377–8.)

The motives which the Missionaries urged upon the Society, and upon the authorities of the Church at home, for the gift of the Episcopate, both then, and afterwards, were of the most weighty character. Episcopacy, they regarded as a part of the Christian System; and which they therefore in conscience had a right to demand. The ordinances of the Gospel, the ratification of the Baptismal vow, the regular and orderly admission of the baptized to the Lord's Supper, the Ordination of Deacons and Priests, the exercise of a vigilant and effective discipline, all required the presence of a Christian Bishop. Many persons desiring to enter the ministry were deterred, by the dangers and the expense attending a hazardous journey of 3000 miles. A writer in an English publication, of that day, stated, "Out of 52 or 53, who have come hither for holy orders, 42 only have returned safe. There never was a persecution upon earth that destroyed a fifth part of the Clergy."—(Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 39, p. 262.) Dr. Chandler corroborates this statement.—(Chandler's Ap-

peal, p. 34.) Some of these candidates for Orders, as Wilson and Giles, perished by shipwreck on their journey. Some died from diseases or exposure. Indeed, both Churchmen and their opponents knew that the Church system could not exist in this country, in its integrity, even if it could long exist at all, without the presence of Bishops; and hence the earnestness on both sides.

The Venerable Society, moved by these representations, determined on a Memorial to Queen Anne in 1709, which was as follows: "We cannot but take this opportunity further to represent to your Majesty, with the greatest humility, the earnest and repeated desires, not only of the Missionaries, but of divers other considerable persons that are in communion with our excellent Church, to have a Bishop settled in your American plantations, (which we humbly conceive to be very useful and necessary for establishing the gospel in those parts,) that they may be the better united among themselves, than at present they are, and more able to withstand the designs of their enemies; that there may be Confirmations, which, in their present state, they cannot have the benefit of; and that an easy and speedy care may be taken of all the other affairs of the Church, which is much increased in those parts, and to which, through your Majesty's gracious protection and encouragement, we trust that yet a greater addition will daily be made. We humbly beg leave to add, that we are informed that the French have received several great advantages from their establishing a Bishop at Quebec."—(Appendix to *Journal in Hawkins*, p. 378.) In the following year, 1710, the Governor of Virginia, Col. Nicholson, declared in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that unless a Bishop be sent, in a short time, the Church of England will rather diminish than increase in North America."—(MS. Letters in *Hawkins*, p. 379.)

By such appeals, the authorities of the Church of England seem at length to have been thoroughly aroused; and it appears that "at a meeting held Jan. 20, 1711, and attended by the Archbishop of York, (Sharp,) the Bishops of Bristol (Robinson) and St. Davids, (Bisse,) Dr. Atterbury, prolocutor of the lower house of Convocation, and Drs. Smalldridge and Stanhope, to deliberate upon what measures it might be suitable to submit to the consideration of Convocation, Archbishop Sharp, after certain points had been agreed upon, would have 'added another proposal concerning Bishops being provided for the plantations;' but as my Lord Bishop of London, who

had a right to be consulted on the project, was not there, the thing was dropped."—(Life of Archbishop Sharp, vol. i, p. 352, in Hawkins, p. 379.) This appears to have been the last action, ever taken, or contemplated, by Convocation for the relief of the American Churches.

The Society, still feeling more and more deeply the necessity of that for which the Missionaries were incessantly pleading, at length matured a comprehensive plan for providing the Church in the colonies with Episcopal Government, which on the 24th of March, 1713, was presented to her Majesty, who was pleased to return a favorable answer. The great object was now on the point of being obtained, when the unexpected death of the Queen put an end to the arrangement. This plan, as contained in the Memorial which was afterwards (1715) presented to George I, was briefly as follows: It provided that *four Bishops* be sent to America; two to the West Indies, one located at Barbadoes, and the other at Jamaica; and the other two to the continent; one of whom was to be established at Burlington, New Jersey, and the other at Williamsburg, in Virginia; the former to be over a "district extending from the east side of Delaware river to the utmost bounds of your Majesty's dominions eastward, including New Foundland;" and the latter over a "district extending from the west side of Delaware River, to the utmost bounds of your Majesty's dominions westward." It ought to be observed that the Society had previously, in 1710, determined to make Burlington the seat of an Episcopal residence, and had already purchased a house for the Bishop's accommodation.

This application to Queen Anne, on the part of the Society, was greatly enforced by an appeal to the Society, made in the same year, 1713, from the ministers, wardens, and vestry of King's Chapel, Boston, Mass.; signed also by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of the Province; and also by a letter to her Majesty of the same date, in which they reiterate their request in the following language: "To complete our felicity, we humbly entreat of your Majesty to provide for our spiritual concerns, and to establish Bishops and Bishoprics within your Majesty's Plantations in America." And they add, "Nothing can more tend to make religion flourish amongst us."—(Greenwood's His. King's Chapel, pp. 168, 9.)

There must be mentioned here, a petition which at about this period was addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England from another quarter. It was dated June 2d, 1718, and was signed by order of the vestries of

Christ Church, Philadelphia, and St. Ann's, Burlington, N. J., as also by the clergy and many of the laity in Maryland; and which therefore may be regarded as expressing the sentiments of Churchmen in those colonies. It speaks of Churches unconsecrated, of baptised persons unconfirmed, of vacancies in the ministry unsupplied, of congregations becoming desolate, the light of the Gospel therein extinguished, the country filling up with fanatical teachers, and of ignorant persons led astray for want of proper religious instruction. Such were the representations urged upon the heads of the Church in the Mother Country. Alas, Queen Anne was dead; who, though a weak-minded, capricious woman, who could dismiss a cabinet-minister because he appeared before her "in a tie-wig instead of a full-bottom," (Mahon's *His. of England*, vol. i, p. 15,) yet, there is no doubt, was prepared to accede to a measure which should meet the just demands and real interests of the Church in the Colonies.

The accession of a new Sovereign gave an entirely different aspect to affairs. The hopes of the Pretender were strong. The heart of the Nation secretly yearned for a legitimate King, instead of "a constitutional abstraction." Many of the Bishops, and a large proportion of the parochial clergy, as well as of land-holders, were known to be active Jacobites. The entire University of Oxford, and a large minority of Cambridge, were in their interests. Bishop Atterbury, whose name was a tower of strength, offered to head the procession in proclaiming James at Charing-Cross, in his lawn sleeves. Stinging libels were thrown broadcast among the people from unknown sources. Stanhope was watching the movements of foreign troops. Bolingbroke—the eloquent, accomplished, unprincipled infidel, whose courtly, polished style became the study and model of such men as Pitt and Burke,—had been Secretary of State, the ruling spirit at the Court of Queen Anne, and had made Christianity too contemptible for a gentleman. Swift—indelicately virtuous and irreverently devout, the very soul of wit and humor, who was neither a Whig or Tory, a Jacobite or a Republican, and yet the boon companion and confidant of each, whose whole character was a strange medley of irreconcilable paradoxes, and whose last days were a providential commentary upon, and a fitting end to, his unenviable life; of whom the Earl of Nottingham said in the House of Lords, "who is hardly suspected of being a Christian, is in a fair way of being a Bishop,"—had been advanced to the Deanery of St. Patrick's, and, but for the

Queen's dislike, would have been Bishop of Hereford.* It was an age of open infidelity or of religious indifference. George the First,—a heavy, awkward, stupid Dutchman,—was already advancing to three-score years, ignorant of the English language as of the English Church, and fonder of low buffoonery and of his ugly mistresses, than of his official duties. In Literature, Pope, Bolingbroke, Swift, Gay, and Prior, had sown the seeds of irreverence or of infidelity in the hearts of the people. Apathy had paralyzed the soul, not only of the Church, but of Dissent. Christianity had almost ceased to be the subject of inquiry. In religion, the conscience and the intellect of England were settling down into that slumber of death, which called forth at length, and was aroused by, the trumpet tones of John Wesley, and the resistless, truthful eloquence of Bishop Butler.

Such were the circumstances in which the Church was now placed. From the Reformation down to the time of the Revolution, the great contest of the Church had been, not abroad, to spread the victory of the Cross in distant lands, but at home, battling for "her altars and her fires" with those two classes of her foes, which still exist in England; who either hate, and hate malignantly, the name Reform, or who hide, under it, a ruthless, exterminating Radicalism. From the House of Hanover, and the elements of power which would gather around it, the Church had not much to hope for. The Puritans knew this and exulted over it. Bancroft well says, "To the children of the Puritans the accession of the House of Hanover was the triumph of Protestantism, and the guaranty of Protestant liberties."—(Bancroft's *United States*, vol. iii, p. 322.) And yet Churchmen, if they anticipated little from George, had cause enough for fear in the Popish Pretender; and on the whole, moderate Churchmen were disposed to settle down quietly. On his accession, an Address was sent over from Churchmen in Massachusetts, which breathed a spirit of sincere loyalty; and the members of the Church in this country generally would have been satisfied with Bishops favorable to the Hanoverian interests.

It was at this period, that an event occurred in the Colonies of great significance. The Rev. John Talbot of New Jersey, long one of the most ardent and laborious of the Society's

* Lord Mahon's *Hist. of England*, vol. i, p. 440. Swift himself says he lost his Bishoprick for having written the "Tale of a Tub."—*Biog. Britannica*, vol. v, p. 3863.

Missionaries, for twenty years the only clergyman in West Jersey, and whose requests for the establishment of the Episcopate in America, had been unceasing, became discouraged at the prospect; and seems to have hit upon a plan, demanded as he thought by the exigences of the times. Despairing of obtaining the Episcopate with the consent of the British Government; the appeals of the Missionaries, of the Society, and of the Church at home, steadily disregarded, he thought of the non-juring Bishops of England; and determined to seek that relief from them, which the Government persisted in withholding. In 1720, he went to England; and returned after an absence of two and a half years, accompanied, or immediately followed, by the Rev. Robert Welton. Dr. Welton was invited to Christ Church, Philadelphia, and Mr. Talbot still made his home at Burlington. Both these gentlemen made journeys into the other colonies; and there is no doubt that both had received Consecration at the hands of the non-juring Bishops. Dr. Hawks says, "there is direct evidence from the letters of some of the missionaries, that they at least administered confirmation, and wore the robes of a Bishop."—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 183.) "Very soon an order came to Sir William Keith, the Governor of Pennsylvania, enclosing his majesty's writ of privy seal, addressed to Welton, and commanding him, upon his allegiance forthwith to return to Great Britain."—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 183.) Mr. Talbot was at the same time discharged from the service of the Venerable Society; and died in 1727. This movement on the part of Mr. Welton and Mr. Talbot, seems to have received little or no countenance from Churchmen generally in this country. The principle of loyalty had not yet been shaken; hopes of obtaining the Episcopate in an orderly manner were still cherished; and, in any event, the secret and unauthorized course of these gentlemen, acting neither in concert with, or at the request of their brethren in the colonies, in so important a matter, was little calculated to conciliate favor, or secure coöperation. Still the error of Mr. Talbot was of the head, rather than of the heart. As Bishop Doane says, "he had not learned to wait." We have taken some pains to trace the Episcopal labors of these men, but without success.

This movement on the part of Mr. Talbot, served to increase the ardor of colonial Churchmen for an Episcopate, and stimulated to fresh exertions. In 1725, six of the Clergy of New England, including Dr. Caner and Dr. Johnson, sent

a fresh memorial to the Society ; and in addition to the religious wants of their congregations, began to complain of "the annoyance and opposition to which those who, for conscience' sake, united themselves to the Church, especially by imprisonment for non-payment of taxes towards the support of dissenting teachers."—(Hawkin's Hist. p. 387.) Several of the Clergy of Maryland, too, fearing that a schism might be introduced by the Non-jurors, made their appeal with unprecedented earnestness. The Rev. Mr. Henderson wrote to the Society offering his houses, lands, &c., at a price much below their value, for the support of a Bishop ; and the Clergy of the colony made a strong appeal to the Bishop of London, (1726.) The Bishop upon this wrote to the Rev. Mr. Colebatch, a missionary of that colony, inviting him to England to receive consecration, and then return to Maryland as his Suffragan. Here, however, fresh difficulties arose. The Clergy of Maryland were becoming involved in a quarrel with the Colonial civil government. The character of the Clergy had alienated the feelings of the laity. "It was too much the fashion," says Dr. Hawks, "to send over to all these colonies the refuse of the English clergy. The clergy themselves owned a sort of double allegiance to the proprietor, Lord Baltimore, and to the Bishop, of which the limits were not very clearly defined. And the Governor (Benedict Leonard Calvert) sided with the people against the clergy. When, therefore, the Bishop of London's letter arrived, for the Rev. Mr. Colebatch to proceed to England for consecration, a writ of *ne exeat* was sued out, and the courts of the province prohibited his departure."—(Hawks' His., vol. ii, p. 196.)

We have now arrived at the period in the history of the efforts for the Episcopate, when new elements begin to be mingled in the struggle. We allude, of course, to the means used in this country, by the Puritans and other sectarians, to hinder the planting, and prevent the growth of the Church in the colonies ; and especially to defeat the attempts to obtain the Episcopate. We cannot however well describe these efforts of the Puritans, without first showing the *animus, the spirit* by which they were actuated. And here we are obliged to encounter the stereotyped eulogium upon Puritanism, echoed alike by Bancroft and Emerson, in huge octavos and in school-books, in Lyceums and Newspapers, in our Halls of Congress and at Plymouth-Rock dinners, that the Puritans fled "to this howling wilderness to establish freedom of conscience to worship God." And again we say, that, taking this

language in its ordinary acceptation, it is a gross, unmitigated falsehood; and every man who knows any thing upon the subject, knows it to be such. Political demagogueism and sectarian bigotry may, and doubtless will, chime together in ringing changes upon this thread-bare theme; and so long as the Church is covertly wounded by this stupid or malevolent mendacity, so long are Churchmen forced to the unwelcome task of contradicting it. What we complain of is, that some who call themselves Churchmen, had rather wear upon their craven breasts the silly slander of the Church of their fathers, than have it contradicted.

We shall quote briefly from the Colonial Laws of the Puritans, that they may speak for themselves. And we shall then be better prepared to resume the thread of our narrative. We cite first the Colonial Laws of Connecticut:

"This Court orders that henceforth no persons in this Jurisdiction shall in any way embody themselves into Church estate, without consent of the General Court and approbation of the neighboring Churches." 1657.—(Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut. 1636-1665. p. 311.)

"This Court orders that there shall be no ministry or Church administration by the inhabitants of any plantation in this Colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which is openly and publicly observed, and dispensed by the settled and approved minister of the place, except it be by approbation of the General Court and neighboring Churches."—1657. (Ib. p. 311.)

For behaving contemptuously "towards the word preached or the messengers thereof"—it was ordered—"And if a second time they break forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the public treasure, or stand two hours openly upon a block or stool, four foot high, upon a lecture day, with a paper fixed on his breast, written with capital letters, *AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GOD'S HOLY ORDINANCES*."—1650. (Ib. p. 524.)

"It is ordered and decreed by this Court, and authority thereof, that whosoever the ministry of the word is established, according to the order of the Gospel throughout this jurisdiction, every person shall duly resort and attend thereunto respectively upon the Lord's day, and upon such public fast days, and days of Thanksgiving, as are to be generally kept by the appointment of authority. And if any person within this jurisdiction, shall, without just and necessary cause, withdraw himself from hearing the public ministry of the word, after due means of conviction used, he shall forfeit for his absence from every such public meeting, five shillings."—(Ib. p. 524.)

For the support of this Puritan establishment, it was ordered as follows,—
"And do order that those who are taught in the word, in the several plantations be called together, that every man voluntarily set down what he is willing to allow to that end and use: And if any man refuse to pay a meet proportion, that then he be rated by authority in some just and equal way; and if, after this, any man withhold or delay due payment, the civil power to be exercised as in other just debts."—(Ib. p. 545.)

In respect to *Heretics*, the General Court of 1656 ordered that every town should pay a penalty of £5 per week for entertaining them, and the Magistrates were to have power to send them to prison until they could be sent out of the juris-

diction. In the following year, 1657, this law was made more stringent against "loathsome heretics, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or some others like them." Every person who unnecessarily spoke with them "more or less" was fined five pounds. And every suspected person was to be examined by the Magistrate or Assistant, or Constable assisted by the Elder or Elders, and if found to be heretics they were to "forthwith send them to prison or out of this jurisdiction."—(Ib. p. 303.)

Here surely was not only a religious establishment, but the prohibition besides, by pains and penalties, of every system of religion "separate from," or "in opposition to," it. And that these laws were not a dead letter, Churchmen in Connecticut realized full well. Thus in 1709, more than fifty years after the enacting of this Law, attempts were made to crush the little parish which was growing up at Stratford. On the 12th of December, the Puritan authorities of that town seized Timothy Titharton, a Warden of the Church, and John Marey, a Vestryman, at about midnight, and hurried them off, the distance of eight miles, to the common jail, where they were kept closely confined, without fire or lights, until they at last, after three days of suffering, paid such sums as the jailor demanded. Other Churchmen of that town, were treated with still more barbarous cruelty. Nor were these solitary instances of persecution in Connecticut. In the following year, an earnest appeal for relief was made to the General Court at Hartford, *but to no avail*.—(MSS. Ven. Soc. in Ch. Record, vol. i, pp. 329–30.) It may be said that these laws were subsequently modified; and so they were at the last; but not until they had disgraced the pages of the Statute book, from half a century to a century; and not until the representations of Churchmen and others in England, had put in peril the Charter which the Puritans were perverting. It was not until 1818, that they were finally and fully repealed; nor even then with a good grace.

The Laws of the Massachusetts-Bay Colony were more severely intolerant than those of Connecticut. The laws against opposers of "the word preached and the messengers thereof," and the penalty to be inflicted, and also the law enforcing support of the Puritan ministry, were precisely like those already quoted from the Colonial laws of Connecticut.—(Col. Laws, Ch. xxxix, Sec. 14, 16.) But the establishment itself was more thoroughly exclusive, and guarded by more stringent enactments. Of this, the following are sufficient proof:

"It is ordered that henceforth no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this Commonwealth, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of this Commonwealth." May 1631.—(Mass. Bay Col. Laws, Ch. xlix, Sec. i.)

"It is therefore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that whosoever shall be found observing any such day as Christmas or the like, either by forbearing labor, feasting, or any other way, upon any such account as aforesaid, every such person so offending, shall pay for every such offence, five shillings, as a fine to the County."—(Ib. Ch. l, Sect. 2d.)

"This Court doth order and enact that every person or persons of the *curst* sect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended (without warrant, where no Magistrate is at hand,) by any Constable, Commissioner, or Selectman, and conveyed from Constable to Constable, until they come before the next Magistrate, who shall commit the said person or persons to close prison, there to remain without bail until the next Court of Assistants; where they shall have a legal trial by a special jury, and being convicted to be of the sect of the Quakers, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."

"Every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, * * * and refusing to retract and reform the aforesaid opinions and practices, shall be sentenced to banishment upon pain of death."—1658. (Ib. Ch. li, Sec. 9.)

The method of executing the banishment was as follows:

The Quaker was to be "directed to the Constable of the town wherein he, or she, is taken, or in absence of the Constable to any other meet person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and tied to a cart's tail, and whipped through the town, and from thence immediately conveyed to the Constable of the next town towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as their warrant shall direct; and so from Constable to Constable, till they be conveyed through any the outwardmost towns of our jurisdiction."—1661. (Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. 10.)

We may add, that this law was soon after made much more intolerable. "Any Quaker, after the first conviction, if a man, was to lose one ear, and the second time the other; a woman, each time to be severely whipped; and the third time, *man or woman, to have their tongues bored through with a red hot iron.*"—(Haliburton's Rule and Misrule, p. 102.)

Hildreth also gives an account of "the young husband of one of them, following the cart to which his wife was tied, and from time to time interposing his hat between her naked and bleeding back and the lash of the executioner!" *—(Hildreth's United States, vol. i, p. 473.)

"And if after this, *he or she*, shall return again, then to be proceeded against as incorrigible rogues and enemies to the common peace, and shall immediately be apprehended and committed to the common gaol of the country, and at the next Court of Assistants, shall be brought to their trial, and proceeded against according to the law made Anno. 1658, for their punishment on pain of death."—(Col. Laws, Ch. li, Sec. 2.)

* Gough has preserved an actual warrant directing three women to be whipped through eleven towns, which would have been a distance of eighty miles.—(Gough, vol. ii, pp. 36, 37.)

"It is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court, that if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall go about to subvert and destroy the Christian faith and religion, by broaching and maintaining any damnable heresy, as denying * * * that Christ gave himself a ransom for our sins, * * * every such person continuing obstinate therein, after due means of conviction, shall pay to the common treasurer, during the first six months, twenty shillings a month, and for the next six months, forty shillings per month, and so to continue during his obstinacy."—(*Ib.* Ch. li, Sec. 13.)

"It is ordered and enacted by authority of this Court, that no Jesuit, or spiritual, or ecclesiastical person, (as they are termed,) ordained by the authority of the Pope, or see of Rome shall henceforth at any time repair to, or come within this jurisdiction; and if any person shall give just cause of suspicion, that he is one of such Society or order, he shall be brought before some of the Magistrates, and if he cannot free himself of such suspicion, he shall be committed to prison, or bound over to the next Court of Assistants, to be tried and proceeded with, by banishment or otherwise, as the Court shall see cause.

And if any person so banished, be taken the second time within this jurisdiction, upon lawful trial and conviction, *he shall be put to death.*"—(*Ib.* Ch. liv.)

Such were the laws of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, against Romanists, Quakers, Socinians and Churchmen. Such was Puritan "*freedom of conscience.*" As the historian says, "*Toleration was preached against as a sin in rulers, which would bring down the judgments of Heaven upon the land.*"—(Hutchinson, vol. i, p. 75.) And when they had six Quakers in prison, and were deliberating on their fate, Rev. Mr. Chauncey, in a sermon said, "Suppose ye should catch six wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; and now you have them they will neither bark or bite, yet they have the plain mark of wolves. Now I leave it to your consideration, whether you will let them go alive; yea or nay."—(Gough's *His.* i, p. 365.—Coit's "*Puritanism,*" p. 311.) On the 27th October, 1659, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson were publicly hung at Boston, and their naked bodies cast ignominiously into a hole in the earth. The aged Mary Dyer suffered the same fate. William Leddra, whose last words of meekness to his brethren, should have caused his murderers to blush for shame, was added to the number of witnesses to "*freedom of conscience*" in Puritan Massachusetts.*

What renders their conduct towards the Church still more

* The reader will find a mass of facts well substantiated in Dr. Coit's *Puritanism*; a work which has been sneered at, but never answered; and for the best of reasons. See also Haliburton's *Rule and Misrule*. Hildreth's *Colonial History*. Neal's *History of New England*, vol. i, p. 311. Hutchinson, vol. i, p. 197. Hazard, vol. i, pp. 630-32. Bancroft, vol. i, pp. 451-58. Also the Quaker accounts by Besse, Gould, and Sewell. For an account of the banishment of Roger Williams, see Callender's *Historical Discourse*, edited by Rev. Romeo Elton, D. D. Boston, 1843.

noticeable, is the fact that they had obtained the Charter of 1628, under which they were living, only under the pretense that they were sincere and devoted members of the Church of England; a Church which, in setting sail for America, they said, among other strong protestations of affection and attachment, they could not leave "without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes," "who esteem it an honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear Mother," and "blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, and shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her," &c., &c.—(See Governor Winthrop and others' Letter from the "Arabella," in Mass. His. Col., 2d Ser., vol. v, pp. 126-7.) This was the "*Episcopal persecution*" from which the Puritans fled! as described, not by their descendants, but by themselves. Of course the King was completely blinded by this duplicity, (for duplicity it certainly was,) as to their real intentions. And yet so effectually did they exclude Churchmen from the Colony, that in 1686, there was but one in the Government. And when, under Governor Andross, a Church Clergyman first attempted to read the Burial Service over a grave, Haliburton says, "a crowd of persons, led on by an infuriated Deacon, drove him from the grave, and loaded him with insult and abuse, calling him, 'Baal's priest,' and his prayers, 'leeks, garlicks, and popish trash.'"—(Rule and Misrule, p. 144.)

We have cited these laws from the early Statute Books of the Colonies, and these facts, that our readers may have the evidence before them of what the Puritans meant by "*freedom of conscience*," and that they may better appreciate the struggle which the Church was now obliged to meet.

The Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was, meanwhile, entering in earnest upon its work. Its Missionaries were found at almost every important point on the Atlantic coast. "In 1725," says the Secretary, Mr. Hawkins, in his late Address at the Jubilee meeting, "they had increased to 36; in 1750 to 70; and the largest number ever maintained by the Society in the old North American Colonies, was 101." An open war of extermination was too bold a step, for the Church was the established religion of the Mother Country. What could not be accomplished directly, might be reached in some other way. In the year 1723, Mr. John Checkley reprinted "*Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists*," to which he appended a discourse concern-

ing Episcopacy. For this he was arrested as a *libeller*, and disturber of the public peace. The Jury acquitted him of the other charges, but brought in a hypothetical verdict of guilty on the charge of libel, that is, "if the book on Episcopacy be a false and scandalous libel." The Court immediately decided that it was a libel; sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty pounds; and bound him over in recognizances for six months.* All this for publishing a little tract on Episcopacy! It was during this year that the learned and accomplished President of Yale College, Dr. Cutler, and Tutor Daniel Brown, with two neighboring Ministers, declared for Episcopacy. Such an event, says President Woolsey, "filled the minds of men with apprehension and gloom—feelings which extended into the neighboring Colony."—(Historical Discourse, 1850.)

In that "neighboring Colony," in the winter of 1724, we find *Cotton Mather* memorializing the Legislature to call a much larger Convention than usual, to ascertain "what may be the most evangelical and effectual expedient to put a stop unto these, or the like miscarriages."—(Hutchinson's *Mass.*, vol. ii, p. 292.) This calling of a Provincial Synod, was just one of those things which was by law prohibited, and the Puritans knew it. It was one of the *jura regalia*, or special prerogatives of the Sovereign. And as the rumor of the plan soon reached England, the scheme was at once rebuked and abandoned. The Memorial, though offered in open Legislature, was yet kept a profound secret, especially from Churchmen; who became only the more anxious to get a look at it.

When it was at length obtained for *Mr. Checkley*, by a member of the Legislature, from the Secretary, that member was expelled, and the Secretary turned out of office.—(Coit's *Puritanism*, Note 103, p. 503.) In 1727, Mr. Checkley went to England to obtain Orders. Here however a new trouble awaited him. The Rev. John Barnard, Congregational Minister of Marblehead, Mass., as he says in his *Autobiography*, determined to thwart Checkley's plans. He wrote to Bishop Gibson, secretly accusing Mr. Checkley of being not only an ignoramus, and intolerant, but a Non-juror to the British Government. Mr. Barnard carried his point, and he adds, exultingly, "Thus our town, and the Churches of this Province, *through the favor of God!* got rid of a turbulent, vexa-

* For an account of Checkley, see Updike's "History of Narragansett Church," pp. 205-11.

tious and persecuting-spirited Non-juror.”—(Mass. His. Coll. 3d Ser., vol. v, p. 229.) Mr. Checkley was, however, at the age of *fifty-nine years*, ordained in 1739, by the Bishop of Exeter, (Weston,) and fulfilled a laborious and useful ministry of fourteen years at Providence, R. I.

♥Meanwhile, applications were still kept up in behalf of Bishops for the Colonies. In 1729, the Rev. Dr. Cutler, of Boston, writing to the Society, says, “ Might we but welcome a resident Bishop, (as we apprehend multitudes, many more than are generally known, are ready to do,) the Church might be a retreat from these miseries and disorders, and effectually invite all but the incurable.”—(Hawkins’ Missions, p. 186.) Nor were the heads of the Church at home indifferent to these appeals. Bishop Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, in his Sermon before the Society in 1741, urged the matter from various weighty considerations. Bishop Sherlock, writing to Rev. Dr. Johnson, in 1749, says, “ I have been soliciting the establishment of one or two Bishops, to reside in proper parts of the plantations, and to have the conduct and direction of the whole. I am sensible for myself, that I am capable of doing but little service to those distant Churches; and I am persuaded that no Bishop residing in England ought to have, or willingly to undertake the province. As soon as I came to the See of London, I presented a memorial to the king on the subject, which he referred to the principal officers of State, to be considered.”—(Chandler’s Life of Johnson, p. 165.)

In the following year, 1750, the object so long sought seemed likely to be gained. The Church Clergy in New England, understanding well the difficulties which had been thrown in the way of an Episcopate for this country, agreed upon, and sent to England “ Proposals relating to American Bishops,” carefully matured. In this document, they noticed every real objection which had been urged, and specified the objects sought to be attained. This letter was signed by the Rev. Messrs. Timothy Cutler, D. D., Ebenezer Miller, Henry Caner, D. D., Charles Brockwell, and William Hooper.—(Chandler’s Life of Johnson, p. 160.) This appeal gained the attention of Bishop Butler.

Whatever may have been the character of Queen Caroline, she had this merit, that she knew how to appreciate talent and learning, and through her influence Bishop Butler was raised to a position where, in a century of slothfulness and indifference, he, with Bishop Berkeley, stood forth as almost

the only bright exceptions.* Bishop Butler drew up a plan, embodying the proposals of the memorialists, and so carefully guarded as to disarm all reasonable hostility. Alas! the hostility of that day to the Church was not reasonable. Bolingbroke, too, was still alive. The young Pretender was lurking secretly in England; and it is not strange, that between difference and hostility, the effort of Bishop Butler proved abortive.

Secker, writing to the Rev. Dr. Johnson, in 1754, says, "We have done all we can here, in vain; and must wait for more favorable times. * * * So long as they (the Dissenters) are uneasy, and remonstrate, regard will be paid to them, and their friends here by our ministers of State."—(Hawkins' *Missions*, pp. 390–2.) Here we have disclosed one secret spring in the workings of an opposition which proved so successful. An incessant attack upon Colonial Church Missions was kept up in England by the enemies of the Church in this country. Sometimes the number of Church people was represented as insignificant. Sometimes they were magnified into a source of faction and disturbance in the Colonies. Sometimes the Missionaries were represented as Jacobites, enemies to the reigning House of Hanover. Sometimes hints were thrown out, more or less obscurely, of a more ominous character, should the Government at home accede to the request of Colonial Churchmen. The stormy conflict, which, even then, was gathering in the political horizon, and which soon broke forth in all the horrors of that bloody war, made the Government cautious of arousing a new source of discontent in the American Colonies.

But that war was now at an end. By the "Peace of Paris," 1763, tranquillity was once more restored to England. George III, unlike his two predecessors of that name, had some religious sensibility, and was at least decently moral. George II, had even said of him, "the boy is good for nothing but to read the Bible to his mother."—"Georgian Era," vol. i, p. 66.) The wants of the Church in the Colonies were still urged unceasingly by the Venerable Society and its missionaries, and a still more vigorous opposition to the American Episcopate now began to show itself. At this period, com-

* In respect to the character of Queen Caroline, see "Lord Chesterfield's Letters," vol. ii, pp. 434–8; and Lord Mahon's *History of England*. Chesterfield says, "After puzzling herself in all the whimsies and fantastical speculations of different sects, she fixed herself ultimately in Deism, believing a future state."

menced what is known as the "APTHORP CONTROVERSY," which was kept up for nearly three years. The Rev. East Apthorp, Missionary at Cambridge, Mass., had published a small and modest pamphlet, containing some "Considerations respecting the Society for Propagating the Gospel," &c., in which he vindicated the conduct of the Society in establishing missions in New England. This was the signal for an attack upon that Society, waged with not less ability than determination. The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D. D., Congregational minister at Boston, opened the controversy, in a volume of 176 pages; in which he aimed to show that the Society "have, in some respects, counteracted and defeated the truly noble ends of their institution." He labored to show that "the planting Episcopal Churches * * in New England" was a misapplication of the funds of the Society. Dr. Mayhew expended his whole strength at first against the planting of the Church in New England. The Puritans had already taken good care to occupy the whole ground. To be a freeman a man must be a Church-member. Every man must support and attend upon their ministrations. No new Church organization could be formed without the consent of their ministers. Roger Williams, the Baptist, was banished. The Quakers were hung, at least enough of them to teach them their true position. The Romanists could not touch their shores without incurring the penalty of death. And now, the great object seemed to be, to exclude the humble missionaries of the Church, whom, in leaving England they declared to be their "DEAR MOTHER," and acknowledged "that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breast."—(Hubbard's *New England*, pp. 126, 127.) This pamphlet of Dr. Mayhew was immediately reprinted and circulated in England, for which country it was evidently more particularly designed. It was meant as a tool to be put in the hands of dissenters there; and also as an instrument with which to operate on a vacillating and time-serving government. For such purposes it was admirably calculated.

To this attack on the Society, the Rev. Henry Caner, D. D., their Missionary at King's Chapel, Boston, replied in a pamphlet of 80 pages; to which the Rev. Dr. Johnson added a brief appendix.—(Chandler's *Life of Johnson*, p. 111.) Dr. Caner, who also had the reputation of a popular preacher, showed himself fully equal to the defence of the Society. He proved, that the Society perfectly well understood the import

of their own Charter, and the religious wants of the colonies; and followed up the charge by maintaining that so far from the missions interfering with the "*established*" religion of the Puritans, that in fact "the Church of England is, and all along has been established here." This was carrying the war into the enemies' camp. The Rev. Dr. Johnson, though prevented by a physical infirmity from leading on the van, yet never drew his bow at a venture. He bore testimony to the just claims of Churchmen, in New England and elsewhere, on the charities of the Society; and contended that Churchmen in the Colonies had a right, in conscience, to the Episcopate, as necessary to the full enjoyment of their religion.

To these productions of Dr. Caner and Dr. Johnson, Dr. Mayhew immediately replied in an elaborate pamphlet of 144 pages. He showed himself in this contest a bold, if not a gallant knight, and wielded a keenly pointed weapon. Difficult as was his task, of defending the Puritan policy, and of opposing the Missions of the Society, he said all that could be said in behalf of such a cause.

At this same time, an answer to Dr. Mayhew's attack upon the Society, appeared in England; which, though anonymous, is known to have proceeded from the pen of Archbishop Secker. This learned dignitary had taken a warm interest in the affairs of the Society, was familiar with its operations, and was able to vindicate it from the aspersions of its antagonist; which he did in a most satisfactory manner. He seems to have thoroughly understood the character of the opposition to the Society's missions; and like an accomplished Surgeon knew how to probe the wound effectually, yet in a very gentlemanlike way. The necessity and right of an Episcopate for the Colonies, he boldly asserted and clearly vindicated. He stated moreover, and he spoke authoritatively, that the plan of an American Episcopate was not designed to interfere, in the slightest degree, with the civil or religious privileges of any portion of the Colonists, and even declares that during "the fifty years that sending Bishops to America hath been in agitation, I believe no single person, there or here, hath once named or thought of New England as a proper place for the residence of one."—(Archbishop Secker's Answer, &c. pp. 56–57.)

This able argument of Archbishop Secker, brought out Dr. Mayhew again, in a *third* pamphlet of 86 pages; in which he acknowledges that the scheme proposed for American Bishops is "more plausible" and "less exceptionable." Still he sees in it only a trick "to serve a present turn, or to lull us into

security as to Bishops here, till, by the *real*, and much more *fatal* scheme's, being carried into execution, it is too late to remonstrate."—(Mayhew's Second Defence, &c. p. 60.) *Obsta principiis*, was the Puritan motto in respect to an American Episcopate, and in this, at least, they acted consistently.

To this pamphlet of Dr. Mayhew, the Rev. Mr. Apthorp, whose little *brochure* was the occasion of such a protracted and violent tempest, replied in a "Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks," &c., and his temperate and able production ended this controversy.

The subject which had been so thoroughly discussed in New England, aroused attention in other parts of the country. Churchmen in New York and New Jersey saw the necessity that the subject of an Episcopate for the Colonies should be clearly understood. Dissatisfaction with the mother country was already increasing. Pains were industriously taken to identify British intolerance with the scheme of American Episcopacy. A newspaper had been established in New York, the "*American Whig*," which was conducted altogether by "Dissenters," and especially by Mr. Livingston, (afterwards Governor,) and which was "*aimed at first chiefly against Episcopacy*."—"Boucher's Discourses," p. xxv.) Under these circumstances, the Clergy of New York and New Jersey, being assembled, with others of the Clergy from the neighboring Provinces, determined after a free consultation to address the public on this subject. The Rev. Thomas B. Chandler, D. D., of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was appointed to this task. The title of the work which, in 1767, and in pursuance of this appointment he sent forth, was as follows; and it is the best description which can be given of the work itself: "*AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC in behalf of the Church of England in America: Wherein the Original and Nature of the Episcopal Office are briefly considered, Reasons for sending Bishops to America are assigned, the Plan on which it is proposed to send them is stated, and the Objections against sending them are obviated and confuted*." This able and manly work of Dr. Chandler, forms an important item in the history of the Church in this country. It was replied to, in 1768, by the Rev. Charles Chauncey, D. D., of Boston, who was much more successful as the advocate of Universalism, than as the antagonist of Episcopacy. In the following year, Dr. Chandler replied to this and other attacks upon his Appeal, and had the honor of standing forth, the champion of the Church, at the very eve of the crisis which closed our colonial history.

The project of an American Episcopate was obliged to encounter a still more formidable opposition in another quarter. It is a scrap of history, which, until lately has been buried in concealment; and which even now is not generally known. We speak from published and authentic documents, and our statements, if not strictly true, can easily be disproved.

The Clergy of New York and New Jersey had entered into a voluntary union, known as the "United Convention of New York and New Jersey," (of which Bishop Seabury was Secretary,) and in 1767, had appointed the Rev. Dr. Cooper, then President of King's (Columbia) College, and the Rev. Mr. M'Kean, Missionary at Amboy, New Jersey, to visit the Southern Colonies to secure the coöperation of their brethren there in procuring an American Episcopate.—(Hawks' Virginia, p. 126.) This movement, and the consequences which were likely to grow out of it, unless counteracted, aroused the attention of the opposers of the Church. Accordingly, at a General Association of the Congregational Ministers of Connecticut, in 1766, a minute was read from the Presbyterian Synod Book of New York and Philadelphia, proposing a meeting of Commissioners from these two bodies, for some special object, which is hinted at in general terms as follows: "to promote and defend the common cause of religion against the attacks of its various enemies;" * * "a general agreement in any measures that may be adapted to preserve our religious liberties against all encroachments."—"Minutes of the Convention of Delegates, from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and from the Associations of Connecticut; held annually from 1766 to 1775 inclusive," p. 6.) What these "attacks," and "encroachments" upon "the common cause of religion," were, will appear in the sequel. The Connecticut Association seem to have understood the matter, and at once acceded to the proposal, and appointed their delegates. The first meeting of the Convention was held at Elizabethtown, N. J., in Nov. 1766; and was attended by nine clergymen from Connecticut, and *twenty-two* from New York and Philadelphia. A glance at the published list of names, shows that no ordinary purpose summoned that body of men together. A "Plan of Union" was formed, and "Articles" were adopted. The "design" of this Convention was declared to be, (in part,) "defending the religious liberties of our Churches, to diffuse union and harmony, and to keep up a correspondence throughout this united body, *and with our friends abroad.*" (*Ib.* p. 10.) At the same meeting, a letter was formally adopted,

to be sent "to the Brethren of the Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island governments and the Dutch Churches."—(*Ib.* p. 11.) In this letter they say, "*We greatly desire that the union should extend through all the Colonies.*" Of course, these "Minutes" are brief, and contain what was *done*, not what was *said*. But with the published Minutes, is a letter addressed by the Rev. Francis Alison, D. D., of Philadelphia, to the Rev. James Sproat, of Connecticut, which lets us into the whole secret; and explains the subsequent action of the Convention. The letter, *which was written partly in short hand*, opens thus: "You desired me to let you know why we are persuaded in this city, *that there is a determination, or a fixed resolution to send Bishops to America.*" He then gives as his authorities, a letter which he had before him written by Dr. Chandler; the known determination of Archbishop Secker; the petitions from the New York and New Jersey Clergy; and the plan which he had seen of Bishop Butler to send Bishops, &c.—(*Ib.* p. 15.)

The next meeting of the Convention was held in Sept. 1767, at New Haven, Ct.; at which there were present, *fifteen* from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and *eighteen* from Connecticut. The Massachusetts Clergy replied to this Convention, declining to join the Union, but approving its objects. They also transmitted the following vote of that body. "That the aforesaid Committee be desired in the name of the Convention *to write to the Committee of Deputation of Dissenters in England*, to thank them for the concern they have expressed for our religious liberties; and to desire that they would give us their assistance, and use their influence for the preservation of the same, *and in particular that a Bishop may not be sent among us.*" At this meeting, Committees of Correspondence were appointed, and especially "to carry on an epistolary correspondence with our friends in Great Britain, particularly with Dennis Herbert, Esq., and Mr. Samuel Smith, merchant, in London."—(*Ib.* pp. 18, 19.)

At the meeting in the following year, 1768, at Elizabethtown, N. J., a draught of a Letter to the Dissenting Committee in England, was read, corrected, approved, and ordered to be sent. Similar Letters were sent in the years 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773, copies of which are published in these "Minutes." The following extracts from these Letters are quite intelligible.

"It is very evident that it is not that harmless and inoffensive Bishop which is designed for us, or the missionaries among us request; and therefore we cannot but

be apprehensive of danger from the proposed Episcopate, however plausible the scheme may be represented. * * * *Nothing seems to have such a direct tendency to weaken the dependence of the Colonies upon Great Britain, and to separate them from her.* * * The Episcopal Provinces of Maryland and Virginia, do not appear to desire Bishops among them; it is only the request of a few discontented missionaries in the Middle Colonies."—(*Ib.* p. 23.)

"We are still greatly alarmed. The whole Bench of Bishops, and many bigots with you are constantly teased by our missionaries to procure an American Episcopate. * * No act of Parliament can secure us from the tyranny of their jurisdiction, as an act of Parliament may, and no doubt will be repealed at the importunate solicitations of the Bishops and others. * * It seems highly probable that it will in time break that strong connection which now happily subsists between Great Britain and her Colonies, who are never likely to shake off their dependence on the mother country until they have Bishops established among them."—(*Ib.* p. 34.)

"If the intelligence we propose to send you should be communicated to the public through the channel of some of your newspapers or magazines, which circulate farthest through the kingdom, we presume it might give more just ideas of the true state of things on this continent, than it is probable many at present have."—(*Ib.* p. 39.)

The letters from the "Dissenting Committee" in England, in reply, show that the business there had been placed in trustworthy hands. In 1772, the Committee say, "the persons in power do not seem to be at all for it at present, and we hope never will."—(*Ib.* p. 36.)

Here are the details, and the results, of a plan, of which absolutely nothing has been generally known. It was an "Anti-Episcopal League." It was started in New York and Philadelphia. It was the creature of some of the ablest, shrewdest men in the country. It apparently worked in the dark. By Churchmen it was felt, but not seen. It was designed to embrace "all the Colonies." Through its Sub-Committees, and its letter-writers, it aimed at enlisting an active opposition throughout the entire country against the Church. It then brought its concentrated strength to bear upon the English Ministry and people. And the one main point, never lost sight of, year after year, was, to deprive the Church in the Colonies, already growing amidst persecution and obloquy, of the benefit of the Episcopate. To gain that end they threatened the English Government with a Colonial War. The issue which they made was, dare to send us Bishops and we raise the standard of revolt.

Looking at this scheme from the present distance, its comprehensiveness, its concentration of energy, its steadiness of purpose, and its efficiency, we pronounce it, as a stroke of policy, worthy of Napoleon himself; whatever we may think of its justice or its charity. Indeed, we cannot but have some suspicions of its honesty, when, only a few years later, we find

so many of these Episcopal Jacobites! proving loyal subjects of the House of Hanover; while these devoted petitioners are busy in preaching and fanning the flames of insurrection. We dismiss this whole matter with asking two simple, but not unmeaning questions. First: Did this Comprehensive Union between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, which was kept up for nine years, and down to the Revolution—*an event which they clearly foresaw*—contemplate *something a little more positive* than the negation of Episcopacy? Second: Has the scheme first conceived by the Presbyterians, to merge all doctrinal and disciplinary differences, and make common cause with Congregationalism, merely in order to get up a crusade against Episcopacy,—we ask, has, or has it not, found its natural reward in the jarring history of Presbyterianism for the last twenty-five years? Perhaps this latter question can be answered by our friends at Princeton.

We are now brought down to the time, when the claims on the Mother Church for the Episcopate, if urged at all, must be urged on other grounds. The Revolutionary War broke that peculiar tie which had so long bound together the Mother and the Daughter; and that Daughter at once assumed her position, and strove, and strove successfully, to gain a name and a praise in the earth. The policy of the English Church, as such, had been cold and heartless, faithless and time-serving. She learned from it some lessons of instruction, which she is now reducing to practice. Still the record of the charities of her noble sons, is redolent of blessed memories, and it were ungrateful in us not to acknowledge it to her, and to God.

In speaking of the efforts made to obtain the Episcopate for the Colonies, we had hoped to quote the importunate language of a larger number of the Missionaries themselves. Men, known and loved in the Church, have, in these letters, published and unpublished, left a witness of their faith and zeal. Evans, Leaming, Mansfield, Hubbard, Scovill, Lyon, Caner, Cooper, Macsparran, Beach, Inglis, Muirson, Seabury, Neill, Ogilvié, Miln, Honyman, Cutler, Barnett, Cupples, Hall, Moir, Urmston, Thomas, Le Jau—these, and such as these, are the men, whose names, with Chandler and Johnson, are engraven on the foundation-stones of the American Church, and there they will live till the Church militant is lost in the Church triumphant. There was nerve and sinew, strength and firmness, in their character; wisdom in their far-reaching plans and aims; and in their vow of self-sacrifice upon the

altar of Christ, a passport—not to false position, inglorious ease, and the ephemeral eclat of the fickle multitude,—but to hardships, reproach on earth, and a crown of glory on high. May they never want successors.

It is also a part of our appropriate work, to notice the hindrances to obtaining the Episcopate, which were thrown in the way by the *Episcopal Colonies*, Maryland and Virginia. It is a sad blot on our escutcheon. The Legislature of Virginia *unanimously* voted the thanks of the house to certain of the clergy for the “wise and well-timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen; for introducing an American Bishop.”—(Hawks’ History of Ch. in Virginia, p. 130.) In Maryland the opposition was scarcely less general or virulent. The original cause of this opposition must be found, alas! in the character of the clergy themselves. Of the Virginia clergy, Dr. Hawks says, “but few clergymen of merit were found willing to make it their permanent habitation. Clergymen emigrated, indeed, but so far as the Colony was concerned, better had it been had they remained at home. Many came such as wore black coats, and could babble in a pulpit, roar in a tavern, exact from their parishioners, and rather by their dissoluteness, destroy than feed their flocks.”—(Hawks’ Virginia, p. 64, and “Hammond’s Leah and Rachel,” there quoted.) And Dr. Chandler, writing to the Bishop of London, after his return from a visit in Maryland, says, “The general character of the clergy, I am sorry to say, is most wretchedly bad. * * * It would really, my Lord, make the ears of a sober heathen tingle to hear the stories that were told me by many serious people of several clergymen in the neighborhood of the parish where I visited: but still, I hope that some abatement may fairly be made on account of the prejudices of those who related them.”—(Hawks’ Eccl. Contributions, vol. ii, pp. 249–50.) The well substantiated reports concerning some of the clergy, fully justify the above description.

Here we see reason enough for opposition to an efficient Episcopate. Here we see the secret of the failure of the Church in Maryland and Virginia; of the growth of Dissent; of the alienation of the people; and of the ultimate spread of that rampant infidelity, which swept over that whole region, the home of the chivalric Cavalier, poisoning Virginia’s noblest sons, and planting seeds of death which have not yet done bearing fruit. Could a vigorous discipline have guarded the sacred altars, what a field of beauty and of promise might

not the abundant wealth now lost to the Church, the enlightened warm-hearted piety in those States have this day presented. Thank God! for the stout hearts, rallying at length around the Flag of the Cross; whose ample folds, long dishonored, trailed in the dust, are thrown once more to the winds of Heaven. And there we trust they will wave in beauty, till the trumpet's tones shall proclaim, that the victory of the Cross is complete.

There are two other questions which we have had forced upon us in tracing this thread of history. What had the subject of an American Episcopate to do in causing, or in hastening, the American Revolution? And what would have been the effect on the civil state of the country, had the experiment of American Bishops been fairly made?

As to this latter question, there can be no doubt that the cause of loyalty would have been strengthened. Churchmen would have preached then, as they are preaching now, "*obedience to Law.*" Says Boucher, "In all the Colonies to the north of Pennsylvania, the clergy of the Church of England were, I believe, without a single exception, *uniformly loyal.*"—(Boucher's Discourses, p. xlviii.) Nor ought it to be forgotten, that loyalty at the north was not confined to Churchmen. In all the eastern and most thickly settled part of Massachusetts, a large majority of the *Congregational* ministers were loyalists. This fact we have from the unquestionable authority of one who has carefully examined the subject. In Pennsylvania and the southern Colonies, many of the clergy, as well as the leading laity, sympathized in the revolutionary movement. Still, whatever might have been the temporary result of a vigorous Episcopate, no sane man will now question the propriety, and the necessity of the act, which severed the Colonies from the mother country. That the government of the one hundred millions, who are soon to people this vast Continent, cannot, and ought not, to be administered by a court three thousand miles distant, is self-evident. The event of the American Revolution was as inevitable, sooner or later, as any other in the ordinary workings of the Providence of God. It resulted from one of those first truths, which lie at the basis of all human society, and which are as indisputable, as the right to breathe, or of the human heart to beat.

The other question, is one, which we have no room thoroughly to discuss. The elder President Adams said, "The apprehension of Episcopacy contributed, as much as any

other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of Parliament over the Colonies. This was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America."—(Morse's Annals, pp. 197–203.) We have also traditionary proof, that the "Stamp Act," and "tithes for the support of Bishops," were coupled together in the appeals of Puritan ministers, to excite the people to resistance against the mother country. That all such apprehensions were utterly groundless, the plan of the Episcopate, as carefully matured and settled in this country and in England, fully shows. That the Puritan Establishment in New England, thoroughly intolerant, saw something to fear from the growth of the Church, is probable. That it had somewhat to do in stirring up the cold blood of the Puritans to insurrection, is more than probable. But that it was one of the main exciting causes of the Revolution, is an utter absurdity. Those causes, as then published to the world, and echoed at this day in the hearts of millions, were of another kind. Intelligent men saw, as Franklin, before the Revolution, said, "this event [the introduction of a Bishop] will happen neither sooner nor later, for our being, or not being, under a royal government." We have also traditionary evidence, that when it became certain the separation of the Colonies from the mother country would take place, the Puritans adopted measures with a view to secure their religion as the established religion of the country. But a religious establishment of any kind was utterly impossible. At the period of the Revolution, the final issue of the struggle was yet quite too uncertain. The necessity of entire and cordial union of all the Colonies too imperative. The influence of the Church in some of the Colonies too decided. And thus freedom in religion, the severance of Church and State, under our Government, *was the result rather of Providential circumstances, than of religious conviction.*

Sacred as was the right, however, of Churchmen to the Episcopacy as a part of their religious system, and of which no power on earth could rightly deprive them; serious and multiform as were the evils of their deprivation of that right, still, it is not impossible, nay, is it not certain, that God, in withholding it temporarily, had a purpose of wisdom and mercy to the Church? It dissociated the Church, in the public mind and heart, from all ideas of regal oppression. It opened the way for the future organization of the Church, in more

complete harmony with the primitive model, than any other Branch of the Church now existing; the reactive influence of which the Mother Church herself is now beginning to feel. The Church came to this country with the first Colonists that set foot on American soil. The first hallowing voices of Prayer and Praise, echoing along the shores and in the primeval forests of Virginia and New England,—the sublimest spectacle of Christian worship since the early days—(*see Bishop Burgess' Address to the Convention of Maine, 1851,) the first Sacramental Rites, the first Preaching of Christ the Crucified, were hers. The Church and the State threw off their swathing bands at the same time, and both started on their infant race together. Providence has strangely linked their early history; and we believe the destiny of the one is closely connected with the destiny of the other. May God inspire the heart of His Church with a just conception of the magnitude of her present work: with Faith and wisdom to plan, with unity, and strength, and zeal to execute, deeds worthy the successors of the noble men who have gone before us.

*That the first acts of Christian Worship ever performed in New England, were those of the Church of England, there is no reason to doubt. The Rt. Rev. Bishop Burgess, in his late Address to his Convention, thus states the facts:

"In the very same year in which Virginia was settled, an English colony was attempted near the mouth of the Kennebec. It was led by men closely allied to some of the most eminent characters of that day; by a nephew of Raleigh and a brother of the Chief Justice of England. When these men landed, on the 11th of August, 1607, they returned thanks to Almighty God, and listened to a sermon, upon the shore. These services were unquestionably those of members of the Episcopal Church of England; and there can be no doubt that this first recorded instance of public worship in New England was attended by the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

"That enterprise was relinquished in the following year; but in 1617, another company wintered at Saco, under the patronage of Gorges, the first proprietor of the province, a warm Protestant and Episcopalian, of all whose plans the establishment of the doctrines and usages of his own Church formed a distinguished part. Two or three clergymen afterwards officiated at the earliest settlements along the coast; and William Morell, Richard Gibson and Robert Jordan are thus to be held in remembrance. *The colony founded in Maine was essentially Episcopalian, till its civil and ecclesiastical independence was gradually supplanted through the encroachments of the neighboring colony of Massachusetts; a result that was not fully accomplished till after half a century.*"

ART. IV.—CHURCH LANDS IN VERMONT.

HIS Excellency, Benning Wentworth, was commissioned Governor of New Hampshire in 1741. In his commission, the southern boundary of the Province was declared to run westward until it met his Majesty's other governments. This was indefinite language, and Wentworth claimed that his jurisdiction extended as far west, as the line that had been made the western boundary of Connecticut and Massachusetts. This claim was encouraged by the fact, that New Hampshire had been directed by the King, to provide for the support of Fort Dummer, built by Massachusetts, on the western side of the Connecticut, and which was afterwards found to be north of the limits of that colony. This was held to be an admission, that the territory of New Hampshire extended west of the Connecticut. Wentworth, in a letter to Gov. Clinton of New York, dated Nov. 17, 1749, informed him that he had been directed by the Crown to grant charters of the unimproved lands of New Hampshire. Accordingly, the same year, he made a grant of a township six miles square, on what he claimed to be the western line of his jurisdiction. This town was called Bennington, from his own name; and was the first town chartered in Vermont. In consequence of the exposure of the country to Indian depredations, charters were in but little request, and fifteen only were granted during the next four years. Confidence was again restored by the conclusion of the French war in 1760, and at the close of 1764, the New Hampshire grants west of the Connecticut amounted to one hundred and forty. These grants were, in the charter, divided into seventy equal shares. On the back of each charter the following reservation was inscribed. "His Excellency Benning Wentworth a tract of land containing five hundred acres; which is to be accounted two of the within shares. One whole share for the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. One share for a Glebe for the Church of England as by law established. One share for the first settled minister of the Gospel. One share for the benefit of a school in said town." This reservation is the origin of what have been long known as the Church lands in Vermont, or the Glebe and Propagation rights.

The right of New Hampshire to grant these charters was

denied by the Governor of New York, who claimed the jurisdiction of the territory ; he declared them null and void ; and gave charters for many of the lands to other settlers. Many of the settlers under the New Hampshire grants, fearful as to the validity of their titles, thought it prudent to take new charters, or a confirmation of these old ones, from the authorities of New York. To quiet these fears, Gov. Wentworth assured his grantees that as the dispute between the authorities of New Hampshire and New York was merely one of jurisdiction, even if the jurisdiction should be found to belong to New York, it would not affect their titles, as the King would undoubtedly confirm them. But after the decision of his Majesty in 1764, that the west bank of the Connecticut was the boundary between the two colonies, the New Hampshire grants being treated as void by the authorities of New York, the grantees sent an agent to England to procure a confirmation of their titles. The Propagation Society, having learned that their titles were disputed, presented a petition to the King in the spring of 1767, complaining that New York had deprived them of their lands. This petition was read before the King in Council, and a copy of it was ordered to be forwarded to the Governor of New York. This was done in a letter from Lord Shelburn to Sir Henry Moore. In this letter he was reprimanded and forbidden to make any more grants of land in the disputed territory, until the further expression of his Majesty's pleasure. This letter was presented to the Council of New York, at a meeting held in Fort George, June 10, 1767. To the complaint of the Society it was answered, that as the four towns which had applied to New York for new charters, had not produced their old ones, it was not known what reservations they contained—and the government were not aware that in the New Hampshire grants, it had been usual to reserve any land for public uses—and that as the new charters had not yet passed the seals, the usual reservations to the Society and other purposes, should be inserted. As soon as the Governor and Council discovered that such reservations had been made, the like were inserted into the grants which they issued.

In the irritation caused in New York by the order, suspending the power of the Governor of that Province to make grants in the territory in controversy, the prohibition was attributed to the impression made by the Society's influence ; and in a statement of the controversy, published by order of the Assembly of New York, Governor Wentworth is openly

charged with having spared no pains to preëngage the Society and the Clergy of the Establishment, by assigning in his charters a portion of land to their use. As this is an unsustained allegation, made in the heat of passion, it deserves no reply.

The troubles of the Revolution having begun soon after this time, emigration to these grants was checked, and the Society and other public rights lay in their state of nature, unappropriated and unimproved. The inhabitants of the grants in 1777, impelled by the necessities of their position declared themselves a free jurisdiction, independent both of New Hampshire and New York, adopted a constitution and organized a government. New Hampshire made no opposition to this movement, but seemed rather inclined to regard it with favor. New York manifested all its old hostility to the measure. As we are concerned only with the result, suffice it to say that in 1790, New York, for a satisfactory consideration, relinquished its claims to jurisdiction over any portion of Vermont, and agreed that all rights and titles to lands within the same under grants from the government of the Colony of New York, or from the State of New York, should cease, those excepted which had been made in conformation of the New Hampshire grants. Since that time the rights to property conveyed by those grants have remained undisturbed.

After the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, emigration to Vermont proceeded rapidly. The Society rights and Church Glebes soon attracted the cupidity of those who, having no attachment to the Church, would have been glad to sequester to other purposes, what had been designed for her support and extension. These lands having lain so long unclaimed it may have been supposed, that they had been abandoned. As to the Glebes, the probability seemed very remote that the Church would exist in many of the towns to take possession of them. The doctrine soon began to be maintained that the titles to the Propagation and Glebe lots, created by the New Hampshire charters, had been extinguished by the Revolution. The first direct attempt to sequester these lands, was made by President Wheelock and the Trustees of Dartmouth College in the year 1786. On Oct. 18th of that year, they made application to the Legislature, for a grant of Society and Glebe lots, as an endowment for that institution, enforcing the application by an offer to give an equivalent to the State in the education of its youth. This scheme, though at first it seemed likely to succeed, finally proved abortive. The joint Committee of the Council and of the Assembly, to whom the

proposal was referred, reported in its favor and recommended it as worthy the attention of the Legislature at its next session. The Report of the Committee is worthy of notice, as it shows what opinions had begun to prevail as to the ownership of these lands: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this Committee, the lands formerly claimed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in consequence of the Revolution, are now become the property of the citizens of Vermont." At the next session of the Legislature, in 1787, before the subject was again taken up, a petition was presented, signed by Nathaniel Chipman, then Chief Justice of the State, and by several others, setting forth, that there are within this State, many rights of land formerly granted to a Society in Great Britain by the name of the Society, &c., and that said Society have proposed to convey said land to a Society or Societies, to be incorporated under the direction of any State where such lands may lie, and praying that a Society may be incorporated for the purpose of communicating with the aforesaid Society in Great Britain, and of receiving from them a conveyance of the aforesaid lands.

The Propagation Society, on the 20th of May, 1785, had passed this resolution: "*Resolved*, That the Secretary do write to some one or more of the members of the Church of England in the States of America, in which the Society has any property, to take all proper care in securing said property; and further to inform such persons, that it is the intention of the Society to make over all such property to the use of the Episcopal Church in that country, in whatever manner or form, after communication with the several governments, shall appear most effectual for that purpose." This petition was not honored with so much as a reference, having been read and dismissed. The petition from the College was soon taken up and referred to a Committee with power to name commissioners, &c. The Committee reported in favor of referring the subject again to the next Session. This recommendation was adopted: but the same day, it was reconsidered by a vote of twenty-four to twenty-three, when it was resolved, "That the proposals from the College are such as cannot be accepted." It seems to be to this that the President of the University of Vermont refers in his Inaugural, where he says of some of the prominent statesmen of that day, "That they disdain the craven policy of exchanging the public domain for the privilege of educating the sons of Vermont on the soil of a sister State." At this same Session a petition from Guilford

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prayed for a lease of the Society lot in that town ; and another from Weathersfield, "that this right of the Society there might be granted to that town for the purpose of schooling children and youth ; and maintaining the Gospel ministry." The avidity to get the occupancy of the Church lands, manifested in these petitions, suggested to the Legislature the Act of that Session, empowering and directing the Selectmen of the several towns, to take the lands under their care, eject by legal process those who had taken possession of them—lease them out and apply the rents and profits to their improvement. This Act was to be in force for seven years. The towns, however, paid no attention to an Act from which they were to derive no advantage, and which Act made no provision for the expenses incident to its execution. An additional Act was therefore passed for this purpose in 1789, but it did not secure any greater attention to the lands.

The few Churchmen dispersed through Vermont, began about this time to consult, as opportunities offered, upon the propriety and the means of urging the claims of the Church to the lands which had been granted for her use. A primary Convention was held at Arlington, in Sept. 1790. This Convention was attended by only two Clergymen. A Committee, however, was appointed to lay the Church's claim to the land by petition before the Legislature. In October, 1792, such a petition was presented at Rutland, from members of the Episcopal Church Convention, praying that all the powers and authority which the Selectmen have in the respective towns over Glebe and Society lands in this State, in which there are no settled and officiating Clergymen, given them by virtue of the Act of 1787, may, so far as respects the Glebe lands, be transferred to the Standing Church Committee appointed by the Convention, and their successors in office. This petition refers only to the Glebes, as the Church had no authority as yet to address the Legislature on the subject of the Propagation rights. It was referred to a Committee of one from each County to join a Committee of the Council. This Committee reported a Bill, entitled, "An Act incorporating and given certain powers to the Church Committee of the Protestant Episcopal Convention within this State." This Bill was read and ordered to be referred to the next Session. It does not appear from the Journal of that Session, that it was again taken up. The petition refers to a proviso in the Act of 1787, in which the Legislature so far respected the title of the Church to the Glebe lots, as to ordain that nothing contained in the Act,

should extend so far as to prevent any Episcopal ministers during the time of their ministry, that now or hereafter may be in possession of any Glebe lot or right, or actually officiating in said town where the land lies, and is an ordained minister of the Episcopal Church, from having the management of said lots and the avails arising therefrom during the present septenary.

While the lands were thus under the control of the Select Men, an effort was made in another quarter to get possession of them for educational purposes. A petition was presented to the Legislature, Oct. 14, 1794, from certain persons, in behalf of the University of Vermont, stating that the Propagation rights had merged in the Legislature! and as those rights were by the grantor intended for public and pious uses, and have not been appropriated; and that they may be made useful in extending a knowledge of the Scriptures, and the Arts and Sciences to this and the ensuing generations, the petitioners pray for liberty to bring in a Bill, appropriating these rights to the University. A Bill, upon permission granted, was brought in and laid upon the table, and not taken up again; as within a fortnight the Legislature passed two Acts; one giving to the Towns the use of the Propagation Rights for the support of Schools; and another giving them the Glebes for the support of religious worship.

The prefaces to these Acts are worthy of notice. The Act appropriating the Propagation lands is thus introduced: "Whereas, by the customs and usages of Nations, no aliens can, or of right ought to, hold real estate in a country to whose jurisdiction they are not, or cannot be made amenable or responsible; and, whereas, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, is a corporation created and existing in a foreign jurisdiction, to which they alone are amenable: by reason whereof at the time of the late Revolution of this and the United States from the jurisdiction of Great Britain, all lands in this State granted to the Society, became vested in this State, and have to this time remained unappropriated; and, whereas, it appears to this Legislature that said lands might be more useful if granted for the purposes of Education than in any other way, therefore, resolved," &c.

The preface to the Glebe Act is as follows:—"Whereas, by the first principles of our Government, it is contemplated that all religious sects and denominations of Christians, whose religious tenets are consistent with allegiance to the Constitution and Government of this State, should receive equal protection

and patronage from the civil power ; and, whereas, it is contemplated in the grants heretofore made by the British Government, commonly called Glebe rights, that the use of said rights should be to the sole and exclusive purpose of building up the National Religion of a Government, diverse from and inconsistent with the rights of our own ; for which reason, and on the principles of the Revolution, the property of said lots is vested in this State, therefore," &c.

These Acts did not discourage the Churchmen of Vermont. They still hoped that means might be devised to prevent the grants from being diverted from their original design. As the Society in England had expressed a readiness to convey its lands for the use of the Church in Vermont, the Convention at Rutland, Oct. 15, 1794, requested Col. I. A. Graham, whom it sent to England to procure the Consecration of Dr. Peters to the Episcopate, to address the Society on this subject. On his arrival in England he immediately addressed a note to Dr. Morice, Secretary to the Society, from Westminster, dated Feb. 4th, 1795, in which he stated that a strong party had sprung up in the Legislature to defeat the title to the Society's lands. He stated it as the opinion of the Convention, that the Society should quit claim its title to certain agents, to the use, and for the support of the Church ; the Society to execute a power of attorney to the Agents to prosecute and defend all suits in the name of the Society ; also power to compromise with the State and others ; and to sell lands to pay the expenses, and the Trustees to indemnify the Society. A reply was immediately given that the Society would take the matter into consideration. In a note to Mr. Graham, dated March 23, the Society declined the proposal. No further efforts were made for the next ten years to recover possession of the lands. The Act of 1787 secured any Episcopal Clergyman, who had or should take possession of a Glebe, in his occupancy. The Act of 1794 repealed this proviso and left every Clergyman, thus in the occupancy of a Glebe, liable to a suit of ejectment. The Glebes in four towns, Arlington, Manchester, Pawlet and Sandgate, were thus occupied. The town of Manchester brought a suit against the Rev. Mr. Barber, to recover to its own use the Glebe in that town. The suit was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States. The ground taken by the prosecution was, that the Glebe grants were void because the grantees named in the Charter were not in existence to receive. Against this it was contended, and so the Court ruled, 1798, that at the time of

the grants, the Church of England had a corporate existence. A distinguished Jurist says, that he well remembers the look and emphatic language of Judge Patterson, who was then on the Bench, as he said, "Legislatures are not omnipotent; they cannot take this man's property and give it to that man," and then pronounced the act of 1794 unconstitutional and void. The case was not appealed, and Mr. Barber retained his Glebe.

The Legislature, however, paid no respect to this decision; for in 1805 they passed the Act, which appropriated the Glebes also to the support of Schools. In 1810 the town of Pawlet brought a suit of ejectment in the Circuit Court, for the District of Vermont, against the person in the occupancy of the Glebe in that town. The Court not being agreed, the case was certified to the Supreme Court. It was there argued by the Counsel for the Plaintiffs, of whom the Hon. Daniel Webster was one, that the original grant was either void for the want of a Grantee, or if not void, as a public reservation, devolved to the State of Vermont at the Revolution. The Court decided that the Grant was not void: but remained as a "*Hereditas jacens*;" and that the fee remained in abeyance until the existence of a Grantee to take it; that it belonged exclusively to the crown; and after the Revolution, to the State of Vermont, to erect a Church in the town of Pawlet, and collate a parson who should become seized of the Glebe, and be a Corporation capable of transmitting the inheritance. The Episcopal Church in the town of Pawlet, therefore, was not entitled to the Glebe, as it was a voluntary association of individuals, and not erected by the crown before the Revolution, nor by the State since. By this decision, 1815, the Glebes were forever lost to the Church.

In 1805, the Convention of Vermont, again, upon the motion of the Rev. Mr. Bronson, directed its Standing Committee to renew the effort to obtain from the Society a conveyance of its lands. To give weight to the application, the Convention resolved to request the Bishop of New York to take the Diocese under his supervision. In July, 1806, the application was forwarded by Bishop Moore, of New York. This application proposed, that the Society should execute a deed of trust to certain persons named, as it had done in the case of its lands in New Hampshire. "As no answer was received," says Mr. Bronson to whom we are indebted for these facts, "at the close of the next year, I wrote to General Bradley, our Senator in Congress, requesting him to inquire



of the British Minister touching this matter. He wrote me in his characteristic style, that it was not probable that a man brought up in a corrupt court, had any more knowledge of the Messiah's Kingdom, than the Tartars in Asia." Bishop Moore, the same year, wrote to the Society; but was informed that the Society declined acting in the matter until they had learned the result of their action in the case of their lands in New Hampshire. The event proved this to have been a wise caution. The deed of trust did not succeed, and the Society was compelled to substitute a power of Attorney in its place. To satisfy the Society that it might safely convey the use of its lands for the benefit of the Church in Vermont, the General Convention of 1811, at the instance of the Hon. Rufus King, requested the Presiding Bishop to certify to the Society, in the name of the Convention, the regular organization of the Church in that State, as a part of the Eastern Diocese; and to express its conviction that any deed of trust to Agents nominated for that purpose would be executed in good faith.

The War with Great Britain soon came on, and nothing could be done in this business, until its termination. After peace had been declared, Rev. Mr. Stewart, afterwards Bishop of Quebec, who gave so many tokens of his interest in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these States, kindly offered to use his influence with the Society, to effect the desired object; and the result was, that in the Spring of 1817, a power of Attorney arrived in this country, constituting Right Rev. Bishop Griswold, Rev. Abraham Bronson, Rev. S. A. Safford, Hon. Daniel Chipman, and Anson J. Sperry, Esq., agents to recover the Society lands, lease them, and collect and distribute the proceeds for the support of the Episcopal Church in Vermont. It was not until 1819, that any suit was brought for the recovery of any Society right. In that year a suit was commenced in the Circuit Court of the United States, against the town of New Haven. The suit, though resolutely defended under an appropriation by the State Legislature, was decided in favor of the Plaintiffs; was carried to the Supreme Court at Washington; and the judgment affirmed March, 1823, by the opinion of six judges, against one dissenting.

In the course of that year, about one-half of the lands were recovered and leased. The Board met at Middlebury, soon after the decision of the Supreme Court had been given; and organized by the appointment of the necessary officers and of agents in the several counties. Although the Society's right to its lands had thus been settled, nevertheless the Agents were

subjected to a long course of vexatious and expensive litigation, which was not finally ended until the year 1841. Every effort was made, which sectarian bitterness could suggest, to defraud the Church of the benefit of its property. The towns seemed willing to incur any expense, provided they could subject the Agents to the same; and throw upon them a debt which should absorb the revenue from the lands for many years to come. Happily these suits are at an end, and the expenses which they involved, fully paid. The Church in Vermont is at present in the receipt of about \$3,500 from one hundred, out of the two hundred and forty towns in the State. The remaining forty rights are lost, both because of the Statute of limitation, which precludes suits of ejectment against persons who have been in adverse occupancy fifteen years, and also because of the impossibility of identifying the lots in some of the towns. In a few towns, the original records have been defaced, apparently with the design of defeating the Society's title. "As the proprietors had the whole management of laying out the lands, it is easy to imagine," says Mr. Bronson, "how the public right, which ought to be more than three hundred acres in townships six miles square, should prove in most cases to be less than half that quantity, and greatly inferior in quality to the private rights."

The present income from the Society's lands in Vermont may appear small. The lots have usually been leased at a rent considerably below their actual value; as it was thought expedient at the time, to renew the leases to the former lessees at the rent which had been affixed by the towns. The time may come when the Agents may think it their duty to the Church, to demand a rent approaching the real value of the lots. Of the original Agents, but one, the Rev. A. Bronson, is yet living. The Society have three times since the first power of Attorney was granted, appointed additional agents, to supply the vacancies occasioned by death and removals from the State. The present Agents are the Right Rev. John H. Hopkins, D. D., President of the Board, ex-officio, Rev. Joel Clap, D. D., Secretary, Rev. John A. Hicks, D. D., Jonathan Hagar, Esq., Hon. Dorastus Wooster, Hon. Isaac F. Redfield, Hon. George T. Hodges, Charles Linsley, Esq., Henry F. Greene, Esq. The Board meet annually at Middlebury, on the 3d Tuesday in July, to make their appropriations and transact other business. The powers under which they appropriate is expressed in this language in the instrument: "There shall be appropriated annually such parts and shares of

the surplus rents, and profits and incomes of the said several rights and shares of land, as the said Attorneys and the survivor and survivors of them, or a majority of them, shall judge just and proper, to the use and benefit of such person as is, or shall be, for the time being, duly and canonically, consecrated to the office of Protestant Bishop in the said State; and the remaining shares of land, or some part thereof, shall be appropriated according to the discretion of the Attorneys, to the use and support of a Clergyman, or Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in each of the aforesaid towns, in cases in which a Church has been or shall be formed therein, and the worship of God performed according to the Liturgy of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. And in the towns, in which no Church shall have been established, the said surplus rents, shall be appropriated to the support of such Clergymen, building of Churches and for such other purposes and uses, having for their object the benefitting such Protestant Episcopal Church in the state of Vermont, and the Clergy thereof, as the said Agents shall judge will best conduce to the welfare of said Church."

We have thus given a brief history of the Church lands in Vermont. The Churchmen of that diocese have especial reasons for an affectionate regard for the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and they will give a most hearty assent to the language of a distinguished prelate, who, in speaking of its incorporation by his Majesty King William III, says, that "as it was among the last, so was it one of the most beneficent acts of his illustrious reign." Rev. George Talbot, who attended the Rev. George Keith, in his tour of exploration through New England, as the Agent of the Society soon after its Incorporation, in a report of their proceedings, says of him, "He has set up such a light in these dark places, as by God's blessing will not be put out." The position which the Church now holds, where she was then scarcely known, is owing, under God, to the persevering labors of the Venerable Society, whose appropriations, which Mayhew said "were annually sunk in the Episcopal gulf of New England," have been productive of results that gladden the hearts of all who love the cause of primitive truth and apostolic Order. He had characterized the Church of England as "an enormous Hierarchy ascending by various gradations from the dirt to the skies"—adding, "We cannot well think of this Church gaining ground among us, and of seeing Bishops fixed among us." But the deed has been done, and the Church now stands among us, the strongest bulwark of Protestant Christianity.

ART. V.—THE REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL, D. D.,*

RECTOR OF THE CHURCH OF THE ADVENT, BOSTON.

How sacred is the sympathy of sorrow ! It is the "touch of nature," which "makes the world, all kin." It melted the humanity of Jesus, as He stood by that new grave. And, it is with Him, now, that He has "passed, into the heavens ;" and stands, where Stephen saw Him, "a great High Priest, touched with the feeling of our infirmities."

The river, which, at first, went out of Eden, is salt and bitter, since the Fall. It is the river, now, of tears : and waters, still, the world, which man inhabits. The electric spark, which, in twelve hours, had flashed your sorrows, on my heart, opened its secret sources ; and overflowed my manhood. I have wept, among my children. I have wept, beside his grave. And I am here, to weep, with you.

It was an ancient Roman superstition, that the place was sacred, which the lightning struck. How sacred must the spot be ever held, where I, now, stand : on which the lambent flame of love, from God, did but dissolve the bonds, which held it, here, to set the spirit of our beloved free ; and bid it welcome, to the Heaven, which Christ had opened for it ! And how cold and dead, must be our hearts, if, in the light of such an euthanasia, they be not waked from their dull dreams of earth ; and do not imp their wings, to take the upward flight, by which he went, to be with Jesus ! Oh, that the simple words, which I am now, please God, to speak, may have, through Grace, the unction of his life ; may bear, through Grace, the urgent warning of his death ; may win your souls, through Grace, to holiness, with the attraction, which drew him, to Heaven !

WILLIAM CROSWELL was born in Hudson, N. Y., on the 7th day of Nov., 1804. He was among that great company of the preachers, who were not born in the Church ; which their hearts have afterwards embraced, and to which their lives

* After the Bishop of New Jersey had consented to prepare a notice of the Rev. Dr. Croswell for this Review, he was requested by the Vestry of the Church of the Advent, to preach a Commemorative Sermon there. Hence the unaccustomed form of the present communication.

have been devoted. He was, thus, not baptized, till 1813; before which time, his father had removed to Albany, and had become a Churchman. A nobler Churchman does not live: nor one that has done better service to the Church, than the Rector of Trinity Church, New Haven. The lines, which William has recorded, with the date of his own two and thirtieth birthday, need no deduction, on the score of filial love; but are as true, as if they were not written by a Son.

"My father, proud am I, to bear
Thy face, thy form, thy stature;
But happier, far, might I but share
More, of thy better nature:
Thy patient progress, after good,
All obstacles disdaining;
Thy courage, faith, and fortitude,
And spirit, uncomplaining.

"Then, for the day, that I was born,
Well might I joy; and borrow,
No longer, of the coming morn;
Its trouble, or its sorrow:
Content, I'd be, to take my chance,
In either world, possessing,
For my complete inheritance,
Thy virtues, and thy blessing."

It is not now, the time, to dwell upon his childhood, or his youth. He was, throughout, a loving and obedient son. Singularly true and just, in thought, and word, and deed. Transparent in his conscientiousness, as purest chrystal. As an instance of it. When a child, at school, he was called up, by his Master, sharply; and reproved, for talking. "No, sir," his answer was: "I was not talking; but I was just going to!" The boy was "father of the man." He was devout, from his childhood: and, had read the Bible so constantly, that most of it was in his memory. The memories of home have never found a fitter utterance, than, in the lines—worthy of Burns; and like him—which he addressed, to his, when he had left it for the world.

"I knew my father's chimney top;
Though nearer to my heart, than eye:
And watched the blue smoke reeking up,
Between me, and the winter sky.

"Wayworn, I traced the homeward track,
 My wayward youth had left, with joy:
 Unchanged in soul, I wandered back;
 A man, in years; in heart, a boy.

"I thought upon its cheerful hearth,
 And cheerful hearts, untainted glee:
 And felt, of all I'd seen, on earth,
 This was the dearest spot, to me."

And, seldom has a pious Mother's influence been owned more feelingly and faithfully, than in the lines, addressed, to his; when he was thirty years of age.

"Oft, as I muse, on all the wrong,
 The silent grief, the secret pain,
 My froward youth has caused, I long
 To live my childhood, o'er, again.
 And, yet, they are not all, in vain—
 The lessons which thy love, then, taught;
 Nor, always, has it dormant lain—
 The fire, from thy example caught.

"And, now, as feelings, all divine,
 With deepest power, my spirit touch,
 I feel, as if some prayer of thine,
 My Mother! were availing much.
 Thus, be it, ever, more and more,
 Till it be thine, in bliss, to see
 The hopes, with which thy heart runs o'er,
 In fondest hours, fulfilled, in me."

We are reminded of St. Augustine's Mother, by these lines; and feel the assurance, which was given to her, that the child of prayers and tears, like hers, could not be lost. His early education was received, in New Haven,* and its neighborhood. He was, at one period, the catechumen of him, whom the whole Church, now, rejoices in, as Bishop of Western New York, Dr. DeLancey; then a student in Yale College: and he never ceased to speak, of his instructions, with the most affectionate and grateful reverence. He was, himself, also, a graduate of the same ancient and distinguished University;

* He was prepared for College by an excellent teacher, Mr. Joel Jones: since, greatly distinguished, as Mayor of the city of Philadelphia; a Judge, in its highest Courts; and President of Girard College.

having received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1822. His first communion was at the Christmas, in that year. He did not become a candidate for Orders, till 1826. Though, evidently, destined for the ministry, his diffidence and self-distrust kept him back. For a while, he contemplated the practice of medicine, as his profession. His theological studies were pursued, in part, at the General Seminary ; but, chiefly, under the direction of the excellent Bishop of Connecticut ; whom, now, my brother, it is my pleasure, also, to acknowledge, as my master in Theology. It was in 1826, that our intimate relations commenced. And man has never been in closer bonds, with man, than he, with me, for five and twenty years. A letter, from him, to a mutual friend, the witness and the sharer of our earliest years of happiness, brings down the tokens of his unswerving confidence, and perfect love, within the latest fortnight of his life. I do not hesitate to speak thus, personally ; because your invitation to me, to preach here, is predicated, mainly, on these intimate relations : and, only, for their dear sake, could I have left my duties, to be with you. He came to Hartford ; where I was, then, Professor, in Washington, now Trinity, College, at Bishop Brownell's instance ; to be associated, with me, in the direction of the *Episcopal Watchman*. I remember, as if it were but yesterday, our earliest meeting ; at a hearth, as bright and blessed,* as was ever kindled by the glow of Christian hospitality. And, never was a happier circle gathered, than met, almost nightly, there, for years. Our intercourse was intimate, at once ; and we never had a feeling, or a thought, to part us. His contributions to the *Watchman*, were chiefly poetical. The following Sonnet was the first :—

“O Thou, whom slumber reacheth not, nor sleep—
 The guardian God of Zion, in whose sight,
 A thousand years pass, like a watch, at night—
 Her battlements and high munitions keep ;
 Or else, the WATCHMAN waketh, but in vain !
 Him, in his station, newly set, make strong,
 And, in his vigils, vigilant. Sustain
 His overwearied spirit, in its long
 And lonely round, from eve, till matin-song ;
 And, of Thy charge, remind him—‘ Watch and Pray !’

* When I name Dr. Sumner's, how many hearts will answer ! She, who was its chiefest joy, was taken, from her loved ones, with as little warning, as our dear mutual friend. “ How grows, in Paradise, our store !”

So, whether coming, at the midnight bell,
Or at cock-crowing, or at break of day,
Thou find him faithful; and say, 'All is well;'
How rich is the reward of that true Sentinel!"

Could it have been any better, or any different, if he had been premonished, of his course, through life; or, if he had written it, on the day, on which his life was closed? His poetical contributions to the *Episcopal Watchman*, were numerous; in addition to his valuable services, as Editor: and they won for him a high and honorable place, among the very few, to whom the name of poet can be given. Every thing, that he ever wrote, in verse, was strictly occasional. It was so much of his heart-life, set to music. He lived it, every line. And it was all inspired, at the hearth-side, or at the Altar-foot. It was domestic, often; always, sacred. He fulfilled, in every verse, that beautiful suggestion, of the *Sky Lark*, to the mind of Wordsworth:

"Type of the Wise; who soar, but never roam:
True to the kindred points, of Heaven and home."

In that incomparable modesty, which set off, in its mild, opal, light, his virtues and his graces, he thought very poorly of these admirable productions: and has half suggested the desire, that they remain, still, fugitive. But, this must not be suffered. They are part and parcel of his nature, and of his office. As he lived them; so he preaches, in them; and will, while the Gospel shall be preached. What could more clearly vindicate, for him, the name of Christian Poet, than his lines, entitled "*The Ordinal*," written, on the day of his ordination, by Bishop Brownell, in his father's Church, at New Haven, St. Paul's Day, 1829.

"Alas, for me, if I forget
The memory of that day;
Which fills my waking thoughts; nor yet,
E'en sleep can take away!
In dreams, I still renew the rites,
Whose strong, but mystic, chain
The Spirit, with its God, unites;
And none can part, again.

"How oft the Bishop's form, I see,
And hear that thrilling tone,

Demanding, with authority,
The heart, for God, alone ;
Again, I kneel, as, then, I knelt,
While he, above me, stands ;
And seem to feel, as, then, I felt,
The pressure of his hands.

"Again, the priests, in meet array,
As my weak spirit fails,
Beside me, bend them down, to pray,
Before the chancel rails ;
As, then, the sacramental host
Of God's elect are, by ;
When many a voice its utterance lost,
And tears dimmed many an eye.

"As then, they, on my vision, rose,
The vaulted aisles, I see ;
And desk, and cushioned book repose,
In solemn sanctity ;
The mitre, o'er the marble niche,
The broken crook and key ;
That, from a Bishop's tomb, shone rich,
In polished tracery.

"The hangings, the baptismal font,
All, all, save me, unchanged ;
The holy table, as was wont,
With decency arranged ;
The linen cloth, the plate, the cup,
Beneath their covering shine ;
Ere priestly hands are lifted up,
To bless the bread and wine.

"The solemn ceremonial, past ;
And, I am set apart
To serve the Lord, from first, to last,
With undivided heart !
And, I have sworn, with pledges dire,
Which God and man have heard,
To speak the holy truth, entire,
In action and in word.

"Oh Thou, who, in Thy holy place,
Hast set Thine orders, three,
Grant me, Thy meanest servant, grace,
To win a good degree :

That, so, replenished, from above,
 And, in my office, tried,
 Thou may'st be honored; and, in love,
 Thy Church be edified!"

I had come to Boston, in 1828: and, in 1829, he came here,* to Christ Church, as successor to the Reverend Dr. Eaton; who, spared, in providential love, to wend his patriarchal way, among the children's children of his first parishioners, was strangely called to commend the parting spirit, of his son, and brother, in the faith and ministry of Christ, into the hands of Him, who gave it. He was ordained, a Priest, and instituted, Rector of Christ Church, on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1829, by the venerable Bishop Griswold. How he loved the very dust, that generations had gathered, upon that ancient edifice; how faithfully he did his Master's work, there, for eleven years; how much he attached, to him, the affectionate confidence of his parishioners; how many feet he gathered, within the fold, how many souls he knit into the faith, of Jesus Christ; there are those, here, who know, and can bear witness. How deeply his heart yearned, to leave its time-honored walls, when called to another scene of pastoral labor,† his loving spirit has borne testimony, itself, in one of his own most beautiful and touching lyrics. How warmly he had cherished, and how faithfully he had kept alive, the feelings of his ordination, another of them, bearing date, at noon, on the sixth an-

* A mutual friend, who knew him thoroughly, and loved him, even, more, reminds me, that my first remark, after being established, here, was, "Now, we must have Croswell!" On his first appearance, in Christ Church, another of the three, who were, to me, as Noah, Daniel, and Job, said, to him, "How do you like Mr. Doane's friend?" "Oh," was his prompt reply, "he looks as amiable as Dr. Watts!"

† He took with him, to the diocese of Western New York, the following dimissory letter:

DEAR SIR:—The object of this, is to transfer, from the State of Massachusetts, to your Diocese, the Rev. Wm. Croswell. Merely, to say, that, for three years last past, he has not been justly liable to evil report, for error in doctrine, or viciousness of life, though eminently true, seems, in his case, very unnecessary. He will leave behind him no Clergyman, more highly, more justly, or more generally esteemed, for those qualities which constitute and adorn the gentleman, the scholar, and the faithful minister of Christ. While, with many hundreds of others, I deeply regret his loss, to this Diocese; I may well congratulate you, on such an accession to yours. That, in his new situation, he may find friends, as numerous and as cordial as those he leaves, is the prayer of

Your friend and brother,

A. V. GRISWOLD.

To the Rt. Rev. Dr. DeLANCKY.

niversary of that event ; and, apparently, written, while alone, within its hallowed walls, most fervently declares :

“How swift the years have come, and gone, since, on this blessed day,
A victim, at the altar's horn, I gave myself away !
And, streaming, through the house of God, a glory seemed to shine ;
Invisible to other eyes, but manifest, to mine.
* * * * *

“Oh Father, Mother, Brethren, ‘Friends, no less than brethren, dear,’
Who promised, at this solemn hour, to be, in spirit, near,
Say, is it not your influence, in blended prayers, I feel,
As now, before the mercy seat, from many shrines, we kneel !

“I would my heart, might ever, thus, dissolve, with fervent heat,
As here, ‘fast by the oracle,’ the service I repeat :
That, ever, in my inmost soul, the same rejoicing light
Might burn, like Zion's altar flame, unquenchable and bright.”

Four years, he ministered, as Rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn ; earnestly, faithfully, most acceptably, and most successfully. But Boston had been the scene of the labors of his earliest love. His tastes and habits inclined him to a city life. The bonds of nature drew, this way. And, more than all, his heart was yearning to dissolve itself, upon a ministry, among the poor. It was no recent passion. It was the sacred fancy of his youth. Hours and hours, had we discoursed of it, together. His labors, while connected with Christ Church, had partaken largely of that character. He had been everybody's minister, that had no other. He had qualified himself, to be the servant of Christ's poor ; and, in his yearning nature, he could brook no other service. What could be plainer proof of this, than the following lines, which he wrote, in 1830 ; and which, ten days, before his death, he copied out, and sent to a Church paper, in New York, in which the claims of the poor find a devoted advocate :

“Lord, lead the way, the Saviour went,
By lane and cell, obscure ;
And let love's treasures still be spent,
Like His, upon the poor :
Like Him, through scenes of deep distress,
Who bore the world's sad weight ;
We, in their crowded loneliness,
Would seek the desolate.

“For Thou hast placed us, side by side,
In this wide world, of ill ;

And, that Thy followers may be tried,
The poor are with us, still.
Mean are all offerings, we can make :
But Thou has taught us, Lord,
If given, for the Saviour's sake,
They lose not their reward."

Who could have any doubt, as to where his heart was, who wrote these verses ; one and twenty years, ago ? Who but admires the steadfastness of purpose, and unrelenting self-devotion, to a sacred cause ; which, after one and twenty years, could re-produce, and re-adopt, and re-assert them ? Who, that loves him, or loves his Lord, would have his latest contribution, to the service of the Gospel, any other, in line or letter, than this is. Beautifully, feelingly, fervently, did he adopt, for the conclusion of the letter, which enclosed it—may we all have grace, to do so !—the admirable pre-advent Collect : "Stir up, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the wills of Thy faithful people ; that they, plenteously bringing forth the fruit of good works, may, by Thee, be plenteously rewarded ; through Jesus Christ, our Lord."

In 1844, these longings of his pious heart were met. A sufficient number of like minded persons was found, to organize a Church : whose sittings should be free, that all, who would, might come ; which should be supported, through the channel of the Weekly Offertory, that every one might lay up, on the Lord's Day, as the Apostle hath enjoined, according to his ability ; which should celebrate Daily Morning and Evening Prayer, in accordance with the order of the Prayer Book, and so be "a House of Prayer, for all people." The first meeting of the Corporation of the Church of the Advent, was on the evening of November 9, 1844 ; by a strange coincidence, the very day, whose seventh return was to take their Rector, from their head. The worship, for six months, was, as the earliest Christian worship was, in "an upper room." A suitable Hall was then provided and prepared ; which was in use, two years and a half. This present House of Prayer, secured and adapted, at the cost of \$17,000, was opened, at the beginning of the Advent season, in 1847. At the first service, about fifty persons were assembled. The present number of stated worshippers is computed, at ten or twelve times, that. The weekly offerings have continually increased ; and nearly equal the ordinary expenditure, for the service. Christ's poor, meanwhile, are not neglected. The pious purpose, of erecting a more Church-like and capacious structure,

has been kept in view ; and an accumulating fund begun, toward its accomplishment. While individuals have owned themselves the debtors of the Lord : one, in the offering of a costly service for the Holy Altar ; and others, in a valuable organ, and in other ways. The number of annual baptisms has increased, from ten, to fifty : and the number of Communicants, from seventy, to two hundred and twelve. The whole number of Baptisms has been 288 ; of persons confirmed, 109 ; and, of Communicants admitted, 333. From 75 to 100 children are reported as under Catechetical instruction.

These are encouraging statistics. This is a wonderful result. It is an enterprise, perplexed with hindrances. There is the prejudice, against it, that it is new. When, in fact, it is the Apostolic way. And there are private personal prejudices ; of pride, of selfishness, of incredulity, of inexperience, of settled habit. I never knew a man, that was so well fitted to contend with all these prejudices ; and overcome them. In the first place, he was filled, full, with the spirit of Christ. He was, emphatically, "a man of loves." His heart was large enough, to take in all the world. His generosity was unbounded. When he first heard of the undertaking, to relieve the institutions of the Church, at Burlington, from their indebtedness ; and so secure their perpetuity, he walked the floor, for very nervousness of joy : and said, that he had never so desired a private fortune ; that he might give it, all. And his kindness was as considerate and delicate, in all its details, as it was boundless, in its comprehension. He knew the very thing, to do ; the very word, to say ; the very time and place, to do it, and to say it. And, of this discriminating propriety, the poor have a most keen and accurate perception. And his faith was equal with his love. He was certain, that it was the ancient way ; and, *must* be right. With such a confidence, he could well afford to wait. He did not fix the time, for his results. He would go on ; and find them, when they came. Then, he was wonderful, in his humility. He esteemed every other, better than himself. He cared not, what the service was ; so he could do it. Nor, for whom it was ; so it would be received. And, from his humility, there sprang a beautiful simplicity ; which was a letter of universal commendation. He was a gentleman, not only ; but the gentlest man. No man ever was more acceptable, to the refined and intellectual. No man had, ever, easier access, to the poor, the ignorant, the vicious, the degraded. He won their confidence, at once. And, the more they saw of him, the

more they trusted. He was so considerate of their feelings. He was so charitable to their infirmities. He was so constant in his assiduity. He knew the strings in every broken heart ; and knew, from God, the medicine, to heal their hurts. He seemed, a ministering Angel, to them ; and they glorified God, in him. But, especially, he was so unreserved, in his self-sacrifice. One says, of him, "Dr. Croswell was instant, in season, and out of season. He never was known to refuse any call for service, or duty."* And another,† than whom no living man knows better what Christ's servant, with the poor, should be, speaks thus, of him, in words, which, coming, from the heart, go to it. "How they loved him ! Because he was like his Master." "Of Him, he had learned to be pitiful, to be courteous, to the poorest, to the humblest. How hard it is to be like him ; so true, so simple, in doing good. The distance was never too great, for him to go, to do good, for Christ's sake. The storm was never too severe, for him, to find his way, through it ; to relieve a tossed and beaten sufferer. The night was never too late, nor too dark, for him ; to find his way, to bear the Cross, with its consolations, to the bed of death." How plainly I can see him, now ; with his old cloak, wrapped about him, which he would gladly have given to the next poor man, if he had thought it good enough for him ; and with his huge overshoes, which, when he put them on, so deliberately, would always bring to mind, what the Apostle said, about having the "feet shod, with the preparation of the Gospel of peace." As he set out, upon his ministry of mercy, you might think him very slow ; and doubt, if he would find his way ; and wonder, when he would get back ; or, if he ever would. But, ere he slept, he would have threaded every darkest and most doleful lane, in the most destitute quarter of the city ; dived into cellars and climbed into garrets ; comforted a lonely widow ; prayed, by a dying sailor ; administered the Holy Communion to an old bed-ridden woman ; carried some bread, to a family of half-starved children ; engaged a mother, to be sure, and send her youngest daughter, to an infant school ; and "made a sunshine," in the shadiest places of human suffering and sorrow. And, when all this was done, if he had time for it, he would charm the most refined and intellectual, with his delightful conversation, and his pure and lambent playfulness. With a manner, that seemed quite too

* MS. letter.

† The Rev. E. M. P. Wells, of St. Stephen's House, Boston, Missionary to the poor ; in his last Annual Report of his labors, in the city of Boston.

quiet, there was an undercurrent of ceaseless, irrepressible, activity. And brightest thoughts, in happiest words, were ever oozing out, like fragrant gums, from some East Indian tree; as soft, as sweet, as balmy, as balsamic. "He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one." I may add, as justly, "Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading." He had an intuition for good books; and the best parts, of them; as he had, also, for good men.* With all, he did, and with the little, that he seemed to do—the very reverse of Chaucer's Sergeant, who "seemed busier, than he was"—he was at home, in all good English learning; with perfect mastery, among the poets. His classical attainments were much beyond the average. He was a well read divine; and beyond any man, I knew, was, "mighty in the Scriptures," and skillful, in his application of them. His sermons were entirely practical. The object of his preaching was apparent, always; to make men better. He sunk himself, entirely, in his theme: CHRIST JESUS, AND HIM CRUCIFIED. He had no manner. Yet, the perfect conviction, which he carried with him, from the first, that he was really in earnest, made him attractive, to all sorts of people: high and low, rich and poor, wise and simple, ignorant and learned; and profitable to all. And, whatever his discourse might be, in matter or in manner, there was the cogent application, always, of a holy and consistent life. His habits were simple, almost to severity. "Having food and raiment," he was "therewith content." What remained, after necessities were met, was so much for the poor. He was a Churchman, of the noblest pattern. A Churchman, of the Bible, and of the Prayer Book. A Churchman, with Andrewes, and Taylor, and Wilson. If he was least tolerant of any form of error, it was of that of Papal Rome. He would have burned, if need had been, with Latimer and Ridley. He made no compromise with novelties; but always said, "the old is better." There was no place for the fantastic, in his Churchmanship; it was taken up, too much, with daily work, and daily prayer, and daily caring for the poor. There was no antagonism, between his poetry and practice. His poetry was practical. It was the way-flower of his daily life: its violet, its cowslip, or its

* One of the keenest knowers, I have ever met, observed of him, that his knowledge of men was most remarkable. "It was hard to get his judgment," he remarked; "but, when you had it, it was a good one. He was a staff that you might lean on: sure, that it would neither bend nor break."

pansy.* It sprang up, where he walked. You could not get a letter, from him ; though made up of the details of business, or the household trifles of his hearth, that some sweet thought, as natural, as it was beautiful, would not bubble up, above the surface ; with prismatic hues, that marked it, his. His heart was wholly in the priesthood. He loved to pray. He loved to minister the Sacraments. He loved to preach. He loved to catechise the children. And, when he lifted up his manly voice, in the old hymns and anthems of the Church, it seemed, as if a strain of the eternal worship had strayed down, from Heaven. He was so modest and retiring, that few knew him, well. But, there is no one, that knew him well, that will not say, with me, " we shall not look upon his like, again." If he excelled, in any one relation, after his service to Christ's poor, it was in all the acts and offices of friendship. He was a perfect friend. So delicate, so thoughtful, so candid, so loving, so constant. More than my brother, for a quarter of a century, I dare not trust myself to speak, of what he was, to me ; of what, I know, I was, to him. I never heard words spoken, with sincerer pleasure, than when, the other day, his old heroic father—who might well declare, with aged Ormond, that " he would not exchange his dead son, for any living son, in Christendom"—said, to the coachman, who had driven us out, to weep together, by his grave : † " this is the Bishop of New Jersey ; the best friend, that my son ever had, on earth." I would not covet, for my child, a richer earthly treasure, or a higher human praise, than to be William Croswell's best and dearest friend.

And, " Lycidas is dead ; dead, ere his prime !" In the midst of his years and of his usefulness. When a keener enjoyment of his social and domestic comforts had been awakened, in him. When the work, which he loved, beyond his life, was prosperous, to his heart's content. When he was looking out, on life, after some years of trial and discouragement, not without physical suffering, with a more cheerful aspect. When the just estimate of his invaluable services, had placed his

* How fond he was of flowers ! Beautiful tributes, in this kind, went with him, into the grave. He was a fond lover of music, too. Indeed, he had the gift of music, as of poetry : and proved it, not only by the part, which he took, personally in it, but by the character of the music which he introduced into the Church ; and the whole air of that part of the worship. It is touching and solemn, in the highest degree.

† His mortal part rests, in the Burying Ground, at New Haven. It was his desire, recorded years ago, that he might be buried, " deep in the ground."

family, with him, in a convenient mansion, with becoming fixtures; so that he said to one, in his own pleasant way, "my feet are set in a large room!" When he had put in order his parochial and his personal papers. When he had planned, for the Advent season, in which he so delighted, the training of a class, for Confirmation; and had begun his course of teaching. When he had met his brethren and old friends, at Hartford, at the recent Consecration, there; and enjoyed them all, with a peculiar zest. When he had spent a happy day beside his father's hearth; glad that it rained, that he might stay at home, and have them all to his own self: and said, that he felt so much better, that he believed he would resume his old poetic trade. When he had spent, with his domestic dear ones, the interval of Sunday, with an even more than wonted cheerfulness; making his latest personal memorandum; and even dating the letter, which his little daughter was to send, to her Grandfather, next day. When he had secured, within the fold of Christ, the little child of a dear friend, whose baptism had, for weeks, been providentially delayed. When he was yet engaged, in the choicest work of his true pastoral heart, in feeding the lambs of Jesus; and had not yet wholly preached the sermon, which he had prepared, for little children: in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye—so that he gave the hymn, from memory, which he could not find, in his familiar prayer book;* and had to say the benediction, on his knees†—in an instant, "in the twinkling of an eye," "the silver cord" was loosed, the "golden bowl" was broken, the "pitcher" was "broken at the fountain, the wheel" was broken, "at the cistern: the dust" returned "to the earth as it was, and the spirit unto God, who gave it." A vein, that had been overtaken, in that majestic form—so beautiful, in death, that

* It is remarkable, that, in his embarrassment, though he gave out the first line of the eighty-eighth hymn, "Soldiers of Christ, arise!" he announced it, by number, as the *one hundred* and eighty-eighth; the third verse of which is, as follows:

"Determined are the days that fly,
Successive o'er thy head;
The numbered hour is on the wing,
That lays thee, with the dead."

In two hours, he was "with the dead."

† A Sermon preached by the Lord Bishop of Fredericton, in the Church of the Advent, three Sundays before the death of Dr. Croswell, contains the following sentence: "Suppose we were to be seized, with a stroke of paralysis, or of any sudden disease, where could we be found with so much comfort, *as on our knees, in public prayer?*"—A note reminds the hearers, that these words are printed, as they were preached. How strange a coincidence!

one described it, when it had reached New Haven, as resembling some exquisite master piece of statuary*—had yielded to

* Every one spoke of his singular beauty in death. He was buried in his customary dress, over which was the surplice. It was one that had belonged to his friend, and mine, the Rev. Edward G. Prescott; who died, at sea, on his voyage, to Fayal. He has scarcely written anything more beautiful, than this tribute to his memory.

ELEGIAC :

Written, in a copy of Milton, presented by the Rev. E. G. Prescott; who died on his passage to the Azores, on the third day after his departure, on the morning of the 11th of April, 1844.

Thy cherished gift, departed friend,
With trembling, I unfold;
And fondly gaze upon its lids,
In crimson, wrought, and gold:
I open to its dirge-like strain,
Of one who died, at sea;
And, as I read of Lycidas,
I think, the while, of thee.

Thy languid spirit sought, in vain,
The beautiful Azores,
But, ere it reached the middle main,
Was wrapt, to happier shores.
As, in a dream-like halcyon calm,
It entered on its rest;
Amid the groves of Paradise,
And islands of the blest.

Kind friends, afar, at thy behest,
Had fitted bower and hall;
To entertain their kindred guest,
In evergreen Fayal.
In greener bowers, thy bed is made,
And sounder is thy sleep,
Than ever life had known; among
The chambers of the deep.

No mark, along the waste, may tell
The place of thy repose;
Yet, there is One, Who loved thee well,
And loved by thee, Who knows!
And, though, now sunk, like Lycidas,
Beneath the watery floor;
Yet, His great might, that walked the waves,
Shall thy dear form restore.

the rushing current of the life blood, from the brain : and there was a widow and an orphan, in his house ; and sheep without a shepherd, in his fold ; his aged parents and devoted brothers were bereaved of their beloved ; the twin was taken from my heart ; "Christ's poor had lost a Croswell."* Can I conclude, in fitter words, than, in his own, when I had written him, in 1834, of the last hours of my dear friend, the Rev. Dr. Montgomery ? "Your last most touching letter has made me 'weep with them that weep ;' and left my heart more tender, than ever, to the sacred sorrows of this week of the Passion. The following lines, the sincere impulse of my feelings, arranged themselves, almost spontaneously, as they stand."

"My brother, I have read
Of holy men, in Christ, who fell asleep ;
For whom no bitter tears of woe were shed :
I could not weep.

"And thou, thyself, art one,
O man of loves, and truth, without alloy !
The Master calleth ; and, thy work, well done,
Enter thy joy.

"To such as thee, belong
The harmonies, in which all Heaven unite ;
To share the 'inexpressive nuptial song,'
And walk, in white.

"And, oh ! thy Church, thy home,
Thy widowed home ! Who shall forbid to grieve ?
How may they bear the desolating gloom,
Such partings leave !

"Great Shepherd of the flock !
Even Thou, whose life was given, for the sheep ;
Sustain them, in the overwhelming shock,
And safely keep !"

Though years must first pass by, no time
His purpose shall derange ;
And, in His guardianship, thy soul
Shall suffer no 'sea-change :'
And, when the depths give back their charge,
O, may our welcome be,
With thine, among Christ's ransomed throngs,
Where there is no more sea !

* The Rev. Dr. Wells' Report.

Three words, beloved, and I am done. His "home," his "widowed home;" will you leave that, un comforted? His work, his glorious work; will you leave that, to falter? His teaching, his example, the beauty of his saintly life, the perfect beauty of his glorious and triumphant death: shall they be lost, upon your hearts; shall they be lost, upon your lives?*

* Nothing could exceed the solemnity and impressiveness of all the arrangements, after his death. Hundreds visited the remains; most of them, of the poor, for whom he lived. The Church was filled with mourners; the Bishop of the Diocese, with the Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, and above sixty of the Clergy, being present. The following admirable resolution, well express the feelings of the Vestry and Parishioners.

Parish of the Advent, Boston:

Sunday, the 22d, after Trinity, A. D. 1851.

At a meeting of the *Wardens and Vestry*, holden at the Church immediately after evening service, the committee appointed to proceed to New Haven in company with the body of the late Rector of this Parish—the Reverend WILLIAM CROSWELL, D. D.—and to attend to its interment at that place, *reported*, that they had discharged the duty assigned them; the body having been buried at 11 o'clock, on the morning of the 13th of November, at the New Haven Cemetery, "*deep in the ground*," in accordance with the wishes of the deceased. The following resolution was thereupon adopted by a unanimous vote, and entered at large upon the record.

Resolved, That now, for the first time, when the last rites have been paid to the mortal remains of our beloved Rector, we will strive for a moment to control our grief, and to give expression, in some feeble degree, to what *no words can measurably express*.

Although it does not become us to sorrow as others which have no hope, yet we cannot behold the desolation of our House of Prayer, and remember the affliction which weighs upon the family of our beloved Rector, without offering to them the testimony of our sympathy and condolence.

We, therefore, the Church and Congregation whom he served, are ready to bear witness concerning our brother, appointed to the Priesthood, over us:

That he duly exercised his Ministry to the honor of GOD and the edifying of HIS Church:

That he considered well with himself the end of his Ministry towards the children of GOD, towards the Spouse and Body of CHRIST:

That he never ceased his labors, his care and diligence, but did all that lay in him to bring all such as were committed to his charge unto

Oh, for the testimony, if they are, that he will bear, against you, when you stand, with him, before the Judge. Oh, for the blessedness and glory, if you bear the cross of Jesus Christ, as he did, and conquer with him, in that sign, which shall be yours, when you shall enter, with him, the celestial fold; and be, with him, for ever, with the Lamb!

an agreement in the FAITH and knowledge of GOD, and to ripeness and perfectness of age in CHRIST:

That he was a faithful dispenser of the Word of GOD, and of HIS Holy Sacraments:

That without preferring one before another, and doing nothing by partiality, he did not shun to declare unto all, high and low, rich and poor, one with another, *the whole counsel of GOD*; warning us that, without exemption or dispensation, we must obey *both the greatest and the very least* of the Holy Commandments of JESUS CHRIST.

And now since we, among whom he had gone preaching the Kingdom of GOD, shall see his face on earth no more, we take record that he is *pure from the blood of all men*.

We remember that by the space of seven years he ceased not to warn every one, morning and evening, with his prayers, taking heed unto himself and to all the flock over which the HOLY GHOST had made him Overseer, feeding the Church of GOD, which He hath purchased with HIS own Blood.

And while we sorrow most of all for the words which we *must* speak—"we shall see his face no more"—we are consoled by the remembrance, that *when his LORD came he was found watching; as one that waiteth for his LORD; his loins girded about with priestly robes, and the spiritual lights of his Ministration burning*; and we therefore call upon his family to bow with us in humble resignation to the mysterious Will of GOD, and with us to—

BLESS HIS HOLY NAME for all HIS servants departed this life in HIS faith and fear; beseeching HIM to give us Grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of HIS heavenly Kingdom. Grant this, O Father, for JESUS CHRIST, His sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. AMEN!

Resolutions were also adopted, by the Clergy, assembled at the house of the Bishop, he himself presiding: and by the Vestry of Christ Church.

WILLIAM CROSWELL; POET, PASTOR, PRIEST:

ENTERED INTO LIFE, SUNDAY, 9TH NOVEMBER, (TWENTY-FIRST AFTER
TRINITY,) MDCCCLI.

I did not think to number thee, my Croswell, with the dead ;*
But, counted on thy loving lips, to soothe my dying bed :
To watch the fluttering flood of life, ebb, languidly, away,
And point my spirit, to the gate, that opens into day.

My more than brother, thou hast been, for five and twenty years,
In storm and shine, in grief and joy, in smiles, alike, and tears :
Our twin-born hearts so perfectly incorporate, in one,
That, not the shadow of a thought e'er marred their unison.

Beside me, in life's highest noon to hear the bridegroom's voice,
Thy loving nature fondly stood, contented to rejoice :
Nor boon, that ever bounteous heaven bestowed, on me, or mine,
But bore, for thee, a keener joy, than if it had been thine.

Thy fingers, at the sacred Font, when God my hearth had blessed,
Upon my first-born's brow, the dear baptismal sign impressed :
My second-born, thine own, in Christ, our loving names to blend ;
And, knit, for life, his father's son, in, with his father's friend.

And, when our patriarchal WHITE, with apostolic hands,
Committed, to my trembling trust, the Saviour's dread commands,
Thy manly form† and saintly face were, at my side, again ;
Thy voice, a trumpet to my heart, in its sincere *Amen*.

Beside thee, once again, be mine, accepted Priest, to stand ;
And take, with thee, the pastoral palm, from that dear Shepherd's
hand :
As thou hast followed Him, be mine, in love, to follow Thee :
Nor care, how soon my course be run, so thine, my rest, may be.

* The Friday before was his forty-seventh birth-day.

† "In person, Dr. Croswell was a very pattern of manly beauty."—*Boston Evening Traveller*.

Oh, beautiful and glorious death, with all thine armor on ;*
 While, Stephen-like, thy placid face, out, like an angel's, shone ;†
 The words of blessing,‡ on thy lips, had scarcely ceased to sound,
 Before thy gentle soul, with them, its resting place had found.

Oh, pastoral and priestly death ; poetic, as thy life :
 A little child to shelter, in Christ's fold, from sin and strife ;§
 Then, by the gate, that opens, through the Cross, for such as she,||
 To enter in, thyself, with Christ, forevermore, to be !

* The Epistle for the day contained St. Paul's graphic description of "the whole armor of God." His last words in giving out the Hymn, were,

"Soldiers of Christ, arise,
 And put your armor on."

† "He never looked so heavenly. His smile upon the infant, was ineffable in sweetness."—*MS. Letter.*

‡ Unable to rise, after the closing Collect, he said the Benediction, on his knees. He died, in two hours. A blood-vessel was ruptured, in his brain.

§ He had just baptized an infant ; and his Sermon was addressed to children.
 || "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

HUMPHREY'S HISTORY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY.*

3. The Society advise their Missionaries not to decline any fair opportunity of preaching to any number of people as may be occasionally met together from remote and distant parts, though it may not be on a Sunday or Holyday. That the chief subjects of their sermons should be the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, and the duties of a sober, righteous, and godly life, as resulting from such doctrines. That they should carefully instruct the people concerning the nature and use of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, as being the peculiar institutions of Christ, pledges of communion with him, and means instituted of deriving Grace from Him: that they should duly consider the qualifications of such grown persons to whom they shall administer Baptism, as also of those whom they admit to the Lord's Supper, according to the directions of the rubric in our Liturgy: that they take a special care to lay a good foundation for all their other ministrations, by catechising those under their care, whether children or other ignorant persons, and explain the Catechism to them in the most familiar manner: that they should be diligent to show to Heathens and Infidels, the necessity of a revelation, and the truth of the Christian, contained in the Holy Scriptures. *Lastly*, The Society direct their Missionaries to visit frequently their parishioners; and if their Parishes are of a large extent, that they should, at convenient opportunities, officiate in different parts of them, that so all the inhabitants, by turns, might more commodiously partake of their ministrations.

4. These are the instructions more peculiarly relating to their parochial care. With regard to the Corporation, the Missionaries are required to keep a constant correspondence with the Society by their Secretary; and to send over every six months, an account of the state of their respective Parishes; that so the Corporation may, from time to time, see the progress they make in the good work; and if any difficulties should arise, consider how they may apply proper remedies.

5. After mentioning the more peculiar rules the Society give their Missionaries for guiding their own conduct, it will not be unseasonable to intimate a particular or two, done by the Society, for the encouragement of their Missionaries, upon their engaging to go abroad. They advance them half a year's salary upon their setting out, and in case of mortality, pay their executors or assigns half a year's salary more. If the Society should think it necessary to dismiss any Missionary, provided it be not on account of any misdemeanor, they allow him a year's salary after his dismission is agreed on at the Board. They allow also every Missionary at his going abroad, ten pounds worth of books for a Library, if there is not such a Library already settled in the place to which he is appointed. They also write with him, a letter of recommendation to the Governor of the Colony, and to the people of the Par-

* Continued from p. 484.

ish where he goes, to intreat the Governor's favor and protection, and to bespeak the people's respect and kindness to him; and allow him five pounds worth of small Tracts, to distribute among the poorer people, as he shall judge most convenient. *Lastly*, When their Missionaries have been pressed with very distressing circumstances, on occasion of any public calamity, as war with the Indians, or the like, they have presented them with very considerable gratuities, beyond their salaries, for their due support; nay, when some of their Missionaries, who have behaved themselves worthily, died, and left wife or children quite unprovided for, the Society have also made handsome presents to the widows or orphans.

6. Having thus given a description of the religious state of the Colonies, and briefly mentioned some of the principal rules of the Society, in the choice of their Missionaries; it follows in the next place, to lay before the reader an account of the labors and success of the Missionaries in the several Colonies where they were sent.

7. But here it must be observed to the reader, that the Society, before they proceeded to appoint Missionaries to particular places, resolved to send a traveling Missionary or preacher, who should travel over, and preach in the several Governments on the Continent of the British America; by which means they hoped they should awaken the people into a sense of the duties of religion. For this purpose they sent the Rev. Mr. George Keith, who had formerly resided in Pennsylvania, an itinerant Missionary through the Continent of the British North America, with an allowance of £200 a year. He set sail from England on the 24th of April, in 1702, and arrived at Boston, in New England, on the 11th of June following. He performed his mission in two years, and returned to England, and published a full account of his labors there, of which I shall give the reader here a very short summary.

He traveled over, and preached in all the Governments and Dominions belonging to the Crown of England, betwixt North Carolina and Piscataway River in New England inclusively, being ten distinct Governments; and extending in length above 800 miles. During the whole time of his mission, he was very assiduous; he preached commonly twice on Sundays, besides on week-days, and the sermons were properly adapted to the hearers, before whom they were delivered. He had generally good success where he preached, the people in many places, were well disposed for receiving of the Gospel, and seemed to hear the word with great reverence, humility and zeal: they joined with him devoutly in the Liturgy, and all public prayers, and the administration of the Sacrament, and earnestly desired him to present their requests to the Society, to have Ministers sent among them. But he was especially successful in his preaching, and private and public conferences, in several places in Pennsylvania, the two Jerseys, Oyster-Bay in Long Island, and at New York, where he labored most, and continued the longest time. In the two first of these places a great number of separatist Quakers or Keithians, who had separated from the body of Quakers in the years 1691 and 1692, had quite relinquished

Quaker principles, and joined themselves to the Church of England members at Philadelphia; where the Rev. Mr. Evans, who had been sent thither by the Bishop of London, had now a very numerous congregation. These people, when they saw Mr. Keith, who had been the chief instrument and occasion of their forsaking the Quaker errors, coming again among them, and in the character of a Minister of the Church of England, they expressed great joy and satisfaction to hear him preach what tended to their farther confirmation in the Christian faith. Mr. Evans, the Minister of Philadelphia, acquainted him, he had baptized above five hundred men, women, and children, Quakers, in Pennsylvania and West Jersey. And Mr. Keith, during his continuance in those parts, together with the Rev. Mr. Talbot, who accompanied him as his associate in his labors, baptized at least two hundred in Pennsylvania, and West and East Jersey, New York, and in some places on Long Island, especially Oyster-Bay.

The Rev. Mr. John Talbot happened to be Chaplain to the Ship, the Centurion, in which Mr. Keith went over to America, together with Gov. Dudley and Col. Morris; and being very much affected with the good undertaking which Mr. Keith was engaged to carry on, he offered to go with him as his associate in his travels, and was accepted; several persons of worth transmitted to the Society a fair character of him, upon which he was supported with a salary, and Mr. Keith acquainted the Society, that he was very useful to him in his labors, very diligent and very zealous in discharging all the Ministerial duties.

There were now settled in Pennsylvania three Church of England congregations, which had convenient Churches at Philadelphia, Chester, and Oxford. The Rev. Mr. Evans, Minister of Philadelphia, preached occasionally at Chester, and the Rev. Mr. Rudman, a Sweedish Missionary, officiated at Oxford. At Philadelphia, they had public prayers not only on Sundays, but also on Wednesdays and Fridays, and by a mean computation there was an audience of five hundred persons from the town and country near Philadelphia, and more on great Festivals. At the Church at Chester, there assembled commonly two hundred persons, and at Oxford above one hundred and fifty. These Churches are within thirty miles distance of each other, and were frequented by a considerable number of late converts to the Church from Quakerism, and were persons of good note for their Christian conversation, devotion and zeal. There did usually assemble between two and three hundred persons, at Burlington in West Jersey, about twenty miles distant from Philadelphia, lying on the North side of Delaware river. Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot labored much among them, and with good success; the congregation which assembled there, became a religious people, and well affected to the Church of England, though formerly the greater part of them were a loose sort of persons, regardless of all religion. Several of these desired baptism, and had also their children baptized by Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot, or by Mr. Evans before their arrival, and had lately built a Church, and called it St. Ann's.

Mr. Keith labored also much among the other sort of Quakers called

Foxians, went to their meetings, and offered with all manner of good friendship to speak there, in ten several places; at three in New England, at one in Rhode Island, at Flushing in Long Island, at Shrewsbury in East Jersey, at Burlington in West Jersey, at Philadelphia, at Oxford in Pennsylvania, and at Herring-Creek in Maryland; but he found them obstinately attached to their own notions, and instead of showing any expressions of kindness, used much reviling language towards him.

In divers parts of New England, he found not only many people well affected to the Church, who had no Church of England ministers, but also several New England ministers desirous of Episcopal Ordination, and ready to embrace the Church-worship. Some of whom both hospitably entertained Mr. Keith and Mr. Talbot in their houses, and requested them to preach in their congregations, which they did, and received great thanks both from the ministers and from the people.

Mr. Keith, during his abode in these countries, printed also several sermons and tracts, in answer to books of Quakers and others, which were generally approved of, and seemed to have been very useful towards removing some prejudices against the Church of England.

Mr. Keith, in the conclusion of his narrative, represented to the Society, the want of a great number of ministers for a people dispersed over such large countries; and assured them that several congregations in many towns, had engaged him to present their humble requests to the Society, to send ministers to them. The chief of these were Amboy, Shrewsbury, Freehold and Elizabethtown in East Jersey, Maidenhead and Cohansy in West Jersey; Narragansett, Swansey, Little-Compton, or Seconet in New England; Rhode Island and Shrewsbury, by Chester River in Maryland; and Newcastle by Delaware River in Pennsylvania, where they were building a Church when he came away. And lastly, the people of Princess Ann's County, in the south parts of Virginia, which is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and had not one minister; though there were a great many people zealously disposed to the Church of England worship.

8. This is the sum of Mr. Keith's narrative; and from this, and the former accounts transmitted by many other hands, the Society thought they had sufficient light given them where to send Missionaries, which they proceeded to do, as from the following sections will appear.

CHAPTER V.

Missionaries sent to South Carolina: The places to which they were appointed; their labors and success: A War raised by the Yammo-sees and other Indians, against the English: The tranquillity of this Province happily restored: Thirteen Churches and four Chapels of Ease built: Salaries settled on the Clergy: Schools opened.

THE Province of South Carolina showed so earnest a desire of having Ministers of the Church of England, upon the first information they

received of this Corporation being erected, that the Society resolved very early to send Missionaries to this Colony, that so good a disposition of the people might be assisted as soon as possible. Accordingly in June, 1702, the Reverend Mr. Samuel Thomas was sent thither. The Society designed he should have first attempted the conversion of the Yammossee Indians, but the Governor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, and several other gentlemen there judging it not to be a proper season to enter upon this work, he did not engage in that mission; but after some small continuance in the Governor's family, he was appointed by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, to the cure of the people settled on the three branches of Cooper River, fifteen miles distant from each other; but to make Goos creek the chief place of his residence. Goos creek was one of the largest and most populous country towns, and settled by English families entirely well affected to the Church of England, and who formerly had for some time the Reverend Mr. Corbin for their Minister. The Parish is twenty miles in length, and from eight to fourteen in breadth; Mr. Thomas discharged his ministerial office with very good success; he acquainted the Society, that though his communicants at first were but five, they soon increased to thirty-two; that he had taken much pains also in instructing the negroes, and learned twenty of them to read. But in October, 1706, this worthy missionary died, (as several gentlemen of the country wrote word,) very much lamented for his sound doctrine, exemplary life, and industry; after having laid a good foundation for his successors to carry on the work he had begun.

The Society appointed the Reverend Dr. Le Jeau to succeed him. Upon his arrival in the country in 1706, he acquainted them, he had met with an extraordinary kind reception from his Excellency the Governor and the Chief Justice, and had received many tokens of great civility and goodness from several worthy persons. The people were then very busy in providing all materials for fitting up the Church and Parsonage House, which they soon after completed. He transmitted to the Society an account of the state of his Parish and other neighboring settlements, wherein he represented very earnestly, that it was the greatest pity imaginable, to see how many various opinions had been spread there, by a multitude of teachers and expounders of all sorts and persuasions; and yet he could find very few, that understood Christianity, even as to the essential parts of it; yet the parents and masters were endued with much good will, and a ready disposition, to have their children and servants taught the Christian Religion. He was not only very diligent in his proper cure at Goos creek, but also assisted in other places, where a Minister was wanting; the Church at Charlestown, being some time after his arrival vacant, he used to preach once a month there, where at Easter he had but twenty-four communicants, though there were above five hundred persons of age in the place. He sometimes visited the French settlement in Orange quarter, then entirely destitute of a Minister, and administered the Sacraments among them. This settlement consisted then of about thirty-two families, out of which there were fifty persons communicants. His own Parish had

about one hundred families, making up one thousand persons, much the greater number of which were members of the Church of England. He performed all parts of his ministerial duty with great diligence. The first year of his mission, he baptized twenty-one children, the second nineteen, and the number of the communicants increased to thirty-five. He instructed and baptized many negroes and Indian slaves; and whereas he found several parents had neglected to have their children baptized, because they paid some duties to the Minister, he acquainted them he desired nothing, and prevailed upon a considerable number of them to bring their children for Baptism; and by his private as well as public discourses, persuaded several persons of a grown age, to attend him to be instructed in the essential doctrines of Christianity, in order for receiving Baptism. He used frequently on week days to catechize the younger people at his house, as finding nothing conduced more towards promoting the Gospel, than this private instruction of the youth. The Doctor was not only very laborious in his function, but by God's blessing very successful, and happy in gaining the affections of his people. Soon after his being fixed among them, they made a voluntary subscription of £80 a year Carolina money for him. The Church they first built became too small for the growing number of his parishioners, and they erected a beautiful brick edifice. A Parsonage House was built by some public benefactions, which happening to be sometime after unfortunately destroyed by fire (all but the brick-work) the charitable country bestowed a very considerable sum for its repair. Captain Schencklingh, a worthy gentleman of the Parish, gave one hundred acres of good glebe land to the Church forever. The Doctor, after this, acquainted the Society, that his parishioners were much improved, and become of a very sober, civil, and edifying behavior, and that he had a full and constant appearance at Church; though there remained some few atheistical persons and scoffers at all revelation. His congregation grew still more numerous, the communicants increased, and in 1714, they arose to seventy English, and eight negroes. In the year 1717, Dr. Le Jean died; very much lamented by his own parishioners, and regretted by every one, who knew how useful and industrious he had been in promoting the Gospel in those parts. In the year 1720, the Society sent the Reverend Mr. Merry a missionary into Carolina, and the Church of Gooscreek being then vacant, the parishioners requested him to come and reside among them, which he did for some time, but stayed not long, and returned again to England. The Society, upon the request of the inhabitants of Gooscreek, soon after appointed another missionary, the Reverend Mr. Ludlam; he arrived there in the year 1724, and began his mission with great diligence. There were in his Parish a large number of negroes, natives of the place, who understood English well. He took good pains to instruct several of these in the principles of the Christian religion, and afterwards admitted them to baptism. He said if the masters of them would heartily concur to forward so good a work, all those who have been born in the country, might without much difficulty be instructed

and received into the Church. Mr. Ludlam continued his labors among the negroes, and every year taught and baptized several of them; in one year, eleven, besides some mulattoes. The English of his Parish were a very sober and well-behaved people, and duly attended divine worship. Some few, who had been of looser principles, and negligent of the ordinances of the Gospel, were persuaded to a due conformity to the Church, and several grown persons received baptism. The people continued regularly to bring their children to baptism, and devoutly frequented the Sacrament. Mr. Ludlam persevered in a diligent discharge of all the duties of his functions; but in October, 1728, he died; and in testimony of his regard to the Society's good designs, and his respect to the people of his Parish, bequeathed by his last will, all his estate, real and personal, to the Society in trust, *for erecting and maintaining a School for the instruction of poor children of that Parish.* His whole estate is computed to amount to about £2,000 Carolina money, after payment of his debts.

2. The Society sent the Reverend Mr. Maule, missionary to Carolina, in 1707; he arrived there the same year; he was not appointed to any particular place, but it was left to the Governor and Council to fix him where they should judge he could be most useful. Upon his arrival there, he met with a very favorable reception at Charlestown, from the Governor and other gentlemen of the Province. He was soon after fixed in St. John's Parish, on the western branch of Cooper river; it is a pleasant and healthful part of the country, and the planters there were generally good, sober, and teachable people; but settled at a great distance from each other, in scattered plantations. He was the first Clergyman of the Church of England, that resided there for any considerable time. Upon his preaching at his first coming, to a good number of Churchmen, he had several Independents and Anabaptists who came to hear him, and behaved themselves very devoutly and attentively, during the whole time of divine service. He took a great deal of pains in the discharge of his duty, and upon account of the distance between the settlements, was obliged to ride very often, which was exceeding fatiguing, (especially during the sultry season in that country,) as well as expensive to him. The good people were sensible of this difficulty he underwent in traveling, and to ease him as much as they could, did, without his knowledge, raise among themselves twenty-five pounds Carolina money, and bought a horse, and other accoutrements, and made him a present of them. Upon his first settling here, the English had no Church to perform divine worship in, but about ten French families had built them a small Church, and their Minister, Mr. Tuilliar, offered Mr. Maule the use of his Church, which he accepted, and preached often there; and such of the French as understood English, came to hear him. At other times, he preached up and down among the plantations, as the houses lay most convenient for the people to meet at. In the year 1706, an act of assembly had passed there for building eight churches in eight Parishes, and three

hundred and thirty-three pounds Carolina money was allotted for each. At length, about the year 1710, the English began to build a Church, and this sum was expended now in building one in St. John's Parish. All the outside was not finished till 1711. However, Mr. Maule resolved to begin to make use of it, though there was no conveniency of seats or pulpit, or other furniture. Soon after Colonel Broughton, a worthy gentleman and serious Christian, coming to reside in that Parish, he very generously adorned the Church, made a Communion Table, railed in the Chancel, made a Pulpit, Reading desk, and some Pews; all with cedar.

This good man's labors were attended with success; the people regularly came to divine service, and many frequented the Sacrament; and the whole body of them were influenced to lead more orderly and Christian lives. Among other causes of their religious improvement he mentions, that the books which the Society distributed among the people, by their missionaries, had a very good effect; and proved very instrumental in removing a great many prejudices out of the minds of some, and in making the whole people in general, more inquisitive about their spiritual concernment. Particularly, the Common Prayer Books which he had dispersed among the people, had influenced many to come to Church; and Dr. Beveridge's sermon of the excellency and usefulness of the Common Prayer, which he distributed with the Common Prayer Books, was of great service.

Thus he continued diligent in all parts of his duty, till the fatal Indian War broke out, in the year 1715, at which time all his parishioners were driven from their plantations. In this calamity he did not forsake them, but retired with them to a garrison, whither they fled for safety; and continued for above four months to perform all the offices of his function. He baptized their children, visited their sick and wounded, and buried their dead, preached every Lord's day, and read prayers twice every day in the week. The duty was much above his strength, especially as performed in a numerous crowd, confined in a small compass of ground, and in very sultry weather too. However he underwent it with cheerfulness. "Considering (as he expresses himself) that having hitherto lived among them in their prosperity, I could not, in conscience, desert them in times of danger and distress, that so I might learn them by example as well as doctrine, to submit with cheerfulness to the Will of God." Thus he persevered till the War grew less dangerous, and the people returned to their plantations. But this fatigue threw him into a bloody flux, through which, after many relapses, he died, very much lamented by all the country; and to express his hearty wishes to the Society's designs, he made them, by his last will, residuary legatees, from which they received above six hundred pounds Carolina money.

The Reverend Mr. Moses Clerk was appointed by the Society to succeed Mr. Maule: he arrived in Carolina in 1720, but a few months after, died. The Church-wardens and Vestry petitioned the Society for another missionary, and the Reverend Mr. Bryan Hunt was sent over,

but he was not successful in his mission : his contentious behavior gave great offence to many of the parishioners ; and in the year 1728, after many differences and contests, he left his Parish, and returned to England. The Society immediately after, in the year 1729, appointed the Reverend Mr. Daniel Dwight, missionary to this Parish.

3. The Society received requests from the people of St. Bartholomew's Parish for a missionary, and the Reverend Mr. Osborn was sent thither. He arrived in 1713, and was the first Minister of the Church of England, that had settled there. His cure proved very difficult, for the Parish was above thirty miles long from north to south, and forty from east to west ; there were about one hundred and twenty families in it, at his first coming ; the people were spread at great distances, in scattered plantations, over all this large tract of land ; which made the fatigue and labor of serving his cure very great. He was obliged, for the people's conveniency, to officiate at five different places, some of them twenty miles distant from the place of his abode. He acquainted the Society, the people were very ready to be taught and instructed in the Christian faith, that soon after his being fixed among them, he had baptized above seventy, many of them grown persons ; at first they had some scruples about receiving the Sacrament, but he began to remove them by private conferences. He continued very diligent in his duty, and was much respected by his parishioners. But in the year 1715, the unhappy Indian War broke out ; the savages destroyed all the plantations in his Parish, and also those of St. Helen's in Port Royal Island. The people abandoned the place entirely ; their houses and plantations were spoiled and burnt. The Indians made so sudden an irruption into these parts, that they were within less than three miles of Mr. Osborn's house, before they were discovered ; he just had notice to make a difficult escape to Charlestown, abandoning all that he had to the savages ; where soon after he died, with the general character of an honest and useful man. This Parish hath not yet recovered from the ravages of the Indians, many of the people did not return to their settlements ; the Society therefore have not fixed a missionary here ; but some of the Ministers of other Parishes have occasionally officiated among those who returned to their Plantations.

4. The Parish of St. Helen's in Port Royal Island, agreed in the year 1712, to have a Minister resident among them. They were acquainted with, and had a good esteem for the Reverend Mr. Guy, then assistant to the Reverend Mr. Johnson, the Rector of Charlestown ; they proceeded to elect him for their Minister, according to the Laws of this Province ; after having first obtained the consent of the Reverend Mr. Johnson, the Bishop of London's Commissary, then at Charlestown. Presently after, they wrote to the Bishop of London, and to the Society, an account of this election. They represented in their letters, that they were the most remote Parish in the country, and not well settled as yet ; that since their first fixing there, they never had a Minister resident ; and therefore prayed the Society, in compassion to their great wants, to allow Mr. Guy a salary. Mr. Guy was then in Deacon's Orders only ; he returned to

England in the year 1713, and received Priest's Orders; and the Society appointed him missionary there. He arrived in Carolina soon after, and acquainted the Society, that he had entered upon his cure. This Parish was very large and extensive, for the whole nation of the Yammossee Indians was included in it. Mr. Guy was very diligent in the discharge of all parts of his ministerial office; he instructed and baptized several grown persons, besides the younger children. Though there had been formerly some Anabaptist and Presbyterian teachers here, yet at his arrival, the people had no teacher of any persuasion, and lived all without using any kind of public divine worship. Notwithstanding which, they were very well disposed; and for their greater conveniency, Mr. Guy performed divine service in some of the parishioners' houses, sometimes in one part of the Parish, sometimes in another, that all the people, at times, might have an opportunity of coming to divine worship. Mr. Guy wrote to the Society, that he met with many favors from his parishioners, and that they behaved, both publicly and privately, very obligingly and kindly to him. But in the year 1715, both he and all his Parish, narrowly and very providentially escaped; being cut off by the Indians. The Yammossees inhabiting part of that Parish, rose suddenly and fell on the English; if there had not been a ship lying in the river, on board of which, the English got, and so escaped to Charlestown, they would have been all utterly destroyed by the savages. Some few who did not make a timely escape on board, fell into the Indians' hands, and were massacred.

5. Having mentioned before, this Indian war, and since I shall be obliged to take notice of it again, as a calamity, which not only very much stopped the progress of the Gospel in those parts, but very greatly threatened the civil state of that country, I shall give the reader here some short account of it. In the year 1715, the Indians adjoining to this colony, all round from the borders of Fort St. Augustine to Cape Fear, had formed a conspiracy to extirpate the white people. This war broke out the week before Easter. The Parish of St. Helen's had some apprehensions of a rising among the adjoining Indians, called the Yammossees. On Wednesday before Easter, Captain Nairn, Agent among the Indians, went, with some others, to them, desiring to know the reason of their uneasiness, that if any injury had been done them, they might have satisfaction made them. The Indians pretended to be well content, and not to have any designs against the English; Mr. Nairn therefore and the other traders continued in the Pocotaligat town, one of the chief of the Yammossee nations. At night they went to sleep in the Round-house, with the King and chief war-captains, in seeming perfect friendship; but next morning, at break of day, they were all killed with a volley of shot, excepting one man and a boy, who providentially escaped (the man much wounded) to Fort-Royal, and gave notice of the rising of the Indians to the inhabitants of St. Helen's. Upon this short warning, a ship happening to be in the river, a great number of the inhabitants, about three hundred souls, made their escape on board her to Charlestown, and among the rest, Mr. Guy, the

Society's missionary; having abandoned all their effects to the savages: some few families fell into their hands, who were barbarously tortured and murdered.

The Indians had divided themselves into two parties; one fell upon Port-Royal, the other upon St. Bartholomew's Parish; about one hundred Christians fell into their hands, the rest fled, among which, the Rev. Mr. Osborn, the Society's Missionary there. The women and children, with some of the best of their effects, were conveyed to Charlestown; most of the houses and heavy goods in the Parish were burnt or spoiled. The Yammosces gave the first stroke in this war, but were presently joined by the Appellachee Indians. On the north side of the Province, the English had at first some hopes in the faithfulness of the Calabaws and Creek Indians, but they soon after declared for the Yammosces.

Upon news of this rising, the Governor, (the Hon. Charles Craven, Esq.,) with all expedition, raised the forces in Colleton County, and with what assistance more could be got presently, put himself at their head, and marche' directly to the Indians, and the week after Easter came up with them, and attacked them at the head of the River Cambahee; and after a sharp engagement put them to flight, and stopped all farther incursions on that side.

In the meantime, on the other Northern side, the savages made an inroad as far as a plantation of Mr. John Herne, distant 80 miles from Gooscreek; and treacherously killed that gentleman, after he had (upon their pretending peace) presented them with provisions. Upon news of this disaster, a worthy gentleman, Capt. Thomas Barker, was sent thither with ninety men on horseback; but by the treachery of an Indian whom he trusted, fell into an ambuscade, in some thick woods, which they must necessarily pass. The Indians fired upon them from behind trees and bushes. The English dismounted, and attacked the savages, and repulsed them; but having lost their brave commanding officer, Mr. Barker, and being themselves in some disorder, made their retreat. Upon this advantage, the Indians came farther on towards Gooscreek, at news of which, the whole Parish of Gooscreek became deserted, except two fortified plantations; and the Rev. Dr. Le Jeau, the Society's Missionary there, fled to Charlestown.

These Northern Indians, being a body of near four hundred men, after attacking a small Fort in vain, made proposals of peace, which the garrison unwarily hearkening to, admitted several of them into the Fort, which they surprised and cut to pieces the garrison, consisting of seventy white people and forty blacks; a very few escaped. After this they advanced farther, but on the 13th of June, Mr. Chicken, the Captain of the Gooscreek Company, met and attacked them, and after a long action, defeated them, and secured the Province on that side from farther ravages.

The Society received these calamitous relations from Carolina with much concern, both on account of the distress of the inhabitants and of their Missionaries. They thought it incumbent on them to do

something towards the relief of the latter, who were sent by them to those places. Accordingly a letter was wrote to all the Missionaries, acquainting them, how sensible the Society was of the hardships they underwent, and that they had agreed to give half a year's salary to each of them as a gratuity, for their present assistance. That this bounty might be paid them with all speed, a letter was wrote by the same conveyance to Col. Rhet, a worthy gentleman in that country, desiring him, on the account of the Society, to pay each of their Missionaries and Schoolmasters half a year's salary; and in case the other Clergy of the Colony, who were not Missionaries, should be in great straits upon account of this public calamity, he should also pay each of them a sum not exceeding £30 sterling; which the Society presented them towards their support; and that he might draw upon their Treasurer for all sums paid. Col. Rhet was pleased very kindly, to pay all the Missionaries who applied to him, the money the Society had directed; and also to the Rev. Mr. Lapierre, and Mr. Richburg, two French Ministers, who were not employed by the Society, £30 each; they were both just preparing to quit the country, on account of their great want, but were prevented by so seasonable a relief through the Society's bounty.

6. Having given the reader this short relation of the Indian war, which brought so much confusion on the religious as well as civil state of this growing Colony, I shall now resume the first subject, and continue on the account of labors of the Missionaries in each Parish. The inhabitants of the Parish of St. Helen's, in Port-Royal Island, before mentioned, had been all drove from their settlements, by the Yammo-sees; but upon the suppressing of the Indian ravages, the people returned to their Plantations. They were encouraged to do so, the sooner, because Port-Royal Island had a very capacious and safe harbor, and was likely to become a place of great trade, as being a commodious station for shipping, and the country around, affording plenty of all provisions. Here are now computed to be above seventy families. They obtained a considerable sum of money from the Government there, towards building a Church, to which several worthy gentlemen added contributions, and in the year 1724, built a small Church, a neat brick building, in length, from the west end to the chancel, 40 feet, and in breadth, 30; the chancel is 10 feet square. The communion table, pulpit, desk, and some pews are made of cedar. There was a pressing occasion for having a Church here, because the inhabitants of this Parish live at a great distance from each other, and the nearest of them at least forty miles distant from any other Parish Church. The people, when they began to build their Church, requested the Society to send them a Missionary. The Rev. Mr. Lewis Jones was appointed hither in the year 1725. He hath behaved himself worthily in the discharge of all the duties of his mission, and instructed several grown persons in the Christian Faith, and admitted them to Baptism. He continues still here.

7. The Rev. Mr. Hasell was sent to the Parish of St. Thomas in 1709. He had been formerly employed by the Society, as Catechist in Charles-

town; which office he discharged with diligence. The first Church built here, (now used for a Chapel of Ease,) was called Pomkinhill Church, from a rising hill of that name, on which it was built; it is situated near the river side, made of cypress wood, thirty foot square, erected about the year 1703, at the charge of the neighborhood, and by the particular assistance of Sir Nathaniel Johnson. But the Parish Church of St. Thomas was built of brick, situated on a neck of land, on the northwest of Wandoe river, and southwest of Cooper river; in pursuance of an Act of Assembly made in 1706. The foundation of this Church was laid in 1707, and the building finished the next year; Mr. Hasell was the first Minister of this Church, elected by virtue of the above mentioned Act. There are in this Parish upwards of 600 acres of Glebe land, 200 of which adjoin to the Church; and 420 to the Chapel of Ease. There is as yet no Parsonage-house built in this Parish, but the money allowed by the Assembly for that use, is laid out at interest, till it shall arise to a sufficient sum to build one. There were, in the year 1713, about 120 families in this Parish, including the settlements in Orange quarter; but now the inhabitants are computed to amount to 565 whites, 950 negroes, 60 Indian slaves, and 20 free negroes, in all near sixteen hundred souls. Mr. Hasell had very good success in his ministry, and was respected and loved by his parishioners and a great many persons of unsettled principles were induced to hold a firm faith. A great many young persons, descended of dissenters of various tenets, conformed to the Church of England, and several young men of French parentage in Orange quarter, who understood English, constantly attended his Church. The books the Society sent to be distributed by him were of great use, especially the Common Prayer Books, given to the younger people of the French, and to dissenters' children. Mr. Hasell continues still in this mission, with a very advantageous character.

The District of Orange quarter is a French settlement, but in the first division of the country into Parishes, was part of St. Thomas' Parish; few of the people attended service in the English Church for want of the language. The major part of them usually met together in a small Church of their own, where they generally made a pretty full congregation, when they had a French Minister amongst them; they were poor, and unable to support their Minister, and made application to the Assembly of the Province, to be made a Parish, and to have some public allowance for a Minister Episcopally ordained, who should use the Liturgy of the Church of England, and preach to them in French. Accordingly, they were incorporated by the name of the Parish of St. Dennis, till such time as they should understand English. They have now a pretty good Church built about the time St. Thomas' was, and never had but one Minister, Mr. Lapierre.

8. In the year 1705, the Rev. Mr. Dun was sent to St. Paul's Parish, in Colleton County. A small but convenient brick Church was erected, about the year 1708, in length 35, in breadth 25 feet, situated on the head of Stono River, about twenty miles distant from Charlestown

to the southward. It is built on a piece of land given by Mr. Edmund Bellinger, a gentleman of that Parish; and a narrow piece of land near the Church, containing about seventy-one acres, was laid out for a Glebe. A little, but commodious dwelling house of brick, was built for the Minister, with an out-kitchen, and some necessary timber buildings; but this house, and the other out-buildings, were burnt in the Indian war. Mr. Dun wrote word that he found the common people very ignorant, and was obliged to stay some time to instruct them before he could properly administer the Sacraments. He did not continue long there, and Mr. Mateland succeeded him, about the year 1708, but died not long after. The Rev. Mr. William Tredwel Bull was appointed Missionary there in 1712. He demeaned himself with prudence and civility, and was so diligent in all parts of his pastoral care, that the Church considerably increased; and the flourishing condition of it at present is much owing to his labors. In the year 1721, the Vestry laid a petition before the General Assembly, setting forth, "That the number of the inhabitants and of the members of the Church of England was so much increased, that their Parish Church was too little for them, and that for want of room, some were forced to stand without the door, and others hang at the windows; and that having agreed among themselves upon the necessary enlargement, they found it would cost considerably more than £1000, when completed, with such decency as becomes the house of God: that they were willing to contribute to their utmost, though many of them had been great sufferers in the Indian war, and scarce able to build their own houses destroyed in that war." The General Assembly very generously allowed £500, and the people very liberally and cheerfully subscribed £1000 more, Carolina money; with which they made a very neat and regular additional building to their Church. Mr. Bull continued till the year 1723, very successful in the discharge of the duties of his function, and happy in having the love and esteem of his parishioners. He was obliged to return to England, on account of some family affairs, and having resolved to continue here, was, in consideration of his services to the Church abroad, promoted to a benefice here in England. In the year 1724, the Society sent the Rev. Mr. David Standish, Missionary to this Parish; he entered upon the duties of his function with diligence, and behaved himself so as to gain the esteem and love of his parishioners. His congregation increased, and several grown persons desired and received baptism. He extended his labors to other places, where there was no Minister; particularly in Edisto Island, where a large number of Churchmen and Anabaptists used to meet him. The people of his Parish made an additional building to their Church, and were so much satisfied with their Minister, that in the year 1727, they purchased a Glebe for him, of four hundred acres of land, joining to the Church, and very pleasantly situated on a large river, about twenty miles distant from Charlestown, with a house upon it, and some other necessary buildings; Mr. Standish continued diligent in all parts of his office, till the year 1728, in which he died.

(To be continued.)

ART. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris. By LORD MAHON. Edited by Henry Reed, Professor of English Literature in the University of Pennsylvania. In two Volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849. 8vo. pp. 567, 589.

A notice of this work, though somewhat out of date, will not be quite out of place, if it may aid in making better known a publication of permanent value. English history from the time of the Revolution in 1688, down through a period of almost ninety years, presents few points of special importance to an American reader. The Reigns of the two Georges' especially, First and Second, covering nearly fifty years, are to us almost barren of immediate interest. And yet no one can understand our own Colonial history well, without a thorough knowledge of the practical workings of the English Government during that time. The administrations of Townshend, Walpole, Stanhope, Pitt, and Bute; the perpetual restlessness of the people; the secret machinations or the open hostilities of the Pretenders; the activity of the Jacobites; the rebellions of 1715 and 1745; the war of 1756, which finally involved all of Western Europe—all these had to do with that neglectful or mistaken policy, towards the American Colonies, which gradually prepared the way for their insurrection.

In the volumes before us, Lord Mahon evidently aims to write in a spirit of entire impartiality. Himself representing one branch of the noble house of Stanhope, a Tory in politics, and a Churchman in religion, he appears everywhere ambitious only as an honest and faithful chronicler of facts. Macaulay, Professor Smyth, Sismondi, the London Quarterly, and the Edinburgh, have alike conceded to him the merit of untiring industry in examining his authorities. He had free access to the most valuable MSS., as the Stuart, Stanhope, and Hardwicke papers. He is exceedingly minute in his statements, without being heavy and tedious; and his numerous references show that while not a single point concerning either men or measures escaped him, yet he examined every thing with a discriminating judgment.

As Churchmen, we assure our readers that they can never appreciate the disabilities under which the English Church is now struggling, without a clear insight into the details of that Government, which can now, to quell the mutterings of outraged orthodoxy, abrogate the legitimate and organic action of the Church; and now, appoint to her Bench of Bishops, men whose special qualification is an acquiescence in its own time-serving State policy.

The chapters on English Literature, and the rise of Methodism, are exceedingly valuable. Men whose names are already familiar, have also their portraits cleverly drawn; as Bolingbroke, Swift, Addison, Atterbury, Steele, Sacherell, Pitt, Fox, and others.

The Author's style is admirable for a historian, without being as philosophical as Hallam, or straining perpetually after epigrams and antitheses with Macaulay. The flow of the narrative is always easy and graceful; never rising into the eloquent, or descending into the tame and commonplace. Indeed, these two massive and well filled volumes are a store-house of historic lore, which the careful student will not fail to appreciate.

THE HISTORY OF THE RESTORATION OF MONARCHY IN FRANCE. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE, Author of the "History of the Girondists." Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 580. New Haven: S. Babcock.

A glance at the map of Europe, will show that France was designed by Providence to play an important part in the world's history. Aside from her own nat-

ural resources, which afford all the elements of national greatness, she has, on one hand, the classic and oriental land of beauty and of fable; on another, the broad expanse inviting to commercial enterprise; on another, the hardy, indomitable spirit of her northern neighbors; and in the background, the presence of ambitious, restless spirits, whom she has had reason enough closely to watch. And yet what is the history of France but the history of a nation struggling with its own destiny! Says Lamartine, "I scarcely exceed the middle age of man, and I have already lived under ten dominations, or ten different governments in France. Between infancy and maturity, I have witnessed ten revolutions: the Constitutional Government of Louis XVI, the first Republic, the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, the first Restoration in 1814, the Second Government of the "Hundred Days" by Napoleon, the Second Restoration in 1815, the Reign of Louis Philippe, and the Second Republic." Why France has chosen to exchange a magnificent drama for such a mere puppet show, why the moral of her story has been only a lesson of warning from her madness or her weakness, is a great question which she would do well to ponder, if Frenchmen ever ponder. The curse of popery has been, and is the secret of her shame. Lamartine in these volumes, describes France from the Fall of Napoleon to the Restoration of the Bourbons. It is said he has an object in this history, to break the charm of hero-worship which still lingers around the name of Napoleon, and to give a new impulse to the love of order, if not of legitimacy. If a descendant of the Bourbons were once more to appear upon the stage, he might, beyond doubt, enact a tragedy. Lamartine is a genuine Frenchman. He writes with great elegance and impassioned earnestness. It is of vast importance that the *American people* should become intimately acquainted with the genius and the History of the French nation, with whom we may be brought into new and delicate relations. Whether *intervention* or *non-intervention* in European politics is to be our national motto, our *people*, our only sovereigns, must study, and study carefully, European history. For this purpose, Lamartine's "Restoration of Monarchy" should be read. It will repay perusal.

THE LITERATURE AND THE LITERARY MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. By ABRAHAM MILLS, A. M., Author of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, etc. In two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 8vo. pp. 576, 598. New Haven: S. Babcock.

More than twenty years ago, Mr. Mills, of New York, delivered by invitation, a course of Lectures on English Literature. These lectures, he says, have since been annually repeated; and they are here at length given to the public in two large closely filled octavo volumes. His object is to furnish a brief account,—all that the general reader will care to know,—of every writer of any distinction from the times of the old Celtic Poet, Ossian, down to the close of the last century. His list includes about four hundred different authors. A brief biographical sketch is given of each, also some description of their most important works, their general characteristics, criticisms upon their style, &c. The difficulty of such a labor is apparent at a glance; the requisitions on the part of him who would attempt it, must be of no ordinary character. To hold the scales with just and equal balance, when such materials are to be weighed, requires at least some strength of nerve. Mr. Mills seems to have appreciated the magnitude of his task: he has availed himself of every accessible source of information; and he exhibits, everywhere, great industry, and a very careful judgment. It is just such a work as every literary person needs to have by him, even if he has at hand—as few have—*Chamber's Cyclopædia*, and the *Biographia Britannica*. It is one of the public benefits which such a work confers, that it rescues many a name, and many a sparkling gem from the oblivion, to which external and unpropitious circumstances, alone, have consigned them. However it may be in politics, the world of letters is a republic.

THE FIFTEEN DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE WORLD, FROM MARATHON TO WATERLOO. By E. S. CREAST, M. A., Professor of Ancient and Modern History, in University College, London. New York: Harpers, 1851. pp. 364. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The leading idea illustrated in this work; of "those battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes," was suggested by Hallam. The idea itself, however imposing and captivating, needs paring down. Life itself does not consist in any fifteen battles, or any fifteen men. The unwritten history of the world is its true history; just as the life of an individual is not to be measured, either in its duties or its results, by a few heroic achievements. Neither do we believe any considerable number of careful readers of history, would have selected as "the decisive battles of the world," just those fifteen which Prof. Creast names. These are Marathon, Syracuse, Arbela, The Metaurus, Arminius' defeat of Varus, Chalons, Tours, Hastings, Orleans, The Spanish Armada, Blenheim, Pultowa, Saratoga, Valmy, and Waterloo.

Still, the book is a decidedly good one. It will awaken a deeper interest in the mighty past, of which a few land-marks are here set up. The writer shows familiarity with his subject; he sees clearly and describes graphically the great issues at stake; he knows how to be comprehensive without obscurity, and minute without sinking down into the mere annalist.

MOBY DICK; OR THE WHALE. By HERMAN MELVILLE, Author of "Typee," "Omoo," "Redburn," "Mardi," "White-Jacket." New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 635. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Those persons who believe in *laughing*, not the ceaseless school-girl titter, but the right-hearted, side-splitting explosion of genuine mirth, may be referred to "Moby-Dick." For certain complaints of the azure kind, and especially for a cold, north-easterly, sleety day, like that in which we write, this book and a plenty of anthracite may be prescribed. "Moby-Dick" is not an imaginary hero of the seas, by a great deal. Ask any old "Jack-tar," and he will meet you with as pitiable or indignant stare, as an old soldier would hear questioned the valor of the raw troops at Lexington. We remember, years ago, to have started the subject of "*Mocha-Dick*," (for that was the name then,) with an old "Whale-man," and at once the old soldier "shouldered his crutch to show how fields were won." "*Moby-Dick*," dear reader, is not a whale, by a great sight. He is *the* Whale, the very Napoleon of Whales. Indeed, Melville goes so far in this volume, as to discuss the question, not only of his ubiquity, but his immortality; and says it is reported that "though groves of spears should be planted in his flanks, he would still swim away unharmed." We submit to the Author, whether the diversity in the name to which we have alluded, does not bear upon this point, like the variety in spelling the name of Shakespeare, or the contention for the birthplace of Homer! On such a theme, Melville is in his element. His whole soul is rapt in his subject. In the true idolatry of a lover, the very mole upon his lady love's cheek is beautiful; and Melville writes a whole chapter upon Moby-Dick's *tail*. That Melville has genius, wit, mirth, a vigorous, imaginative style, great command of language, and uncommon power of description, is unquestionable. The book is not exactly a narrative. It abounds in episodes and marvels, of which Capt. Ahab is the great hero; whose enmity to Moby-Dick was a raging passion and cost him his life. Even some Whales of lesser note appear in the background of the picture, as "Timor Tom," and "New Zealand Jack;" great in their day, but small fish enough along side of "Moby-Dick." He is the presiding genius of the story; to whom the Author's pen turns as steadily as the needle to the pole.—We have heard Melville's orthodoxy questioned; and he is at times shockingly irreverent—without any great proof of wit—and repelling thereby some, whom he might, else, amuse. He is at least a believer in "Moby-Dick."

THE LILY AND THE BEE; an Apologue of the Crystal Palace. By Samuel Warren, F. R. S., Author of the *Diary of a Physician, &c.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1861. 12mo. pp. 267. New Haven: S. Babcock.

No book, recently issued, has called forth criticism so diverse and contradictory as "The Lily and the Bee." Some have met it with unsparing ridicule; pronouncing it a jargon of absurd rhapsodies; with its perpetual dashes, and emphatic capitals, and disjointed fragments of sentences, and its words solemnly paraded with their exclamation points like a company of raw militia, and its mere prose broken up into poetry of irregular and lawless measure. Others, see in all this only the eccentricities of the rarest genius; declaring the book to be "a strain of mingled Thought and Imagination—and all Poetry; words flowing like spray from a fountain, yet every drop a diamond, as solid, as brilliant, as precious, as beautiful;" "calling up rich trains of historic associations,—lofty thoughts and generous feelings—graphic and glowing descriptions." Whether Mr. Warren has, or has not, passed the fatal step between the sublime and the ridiculous, will depend upon the mood and taste of the reader. None, however, will deny that the work evinces a mind, enriched with varied reading, thoroughly loyal, deeply thoughtful, truly devout, and overflowing with benevolence. For ourselves we think "The Lily and the Bee,"—appropriate symbols of Beauty and Industry,—will prove an enduring monument of the Great Exhibition.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF SCOTLAND, by Agnes Strickland. Vol. 2. New York: Harpers, 1861. pp. 402. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The Queens of Scotland form an important element in that nation's history. This second volume continues and completes the memoir of Mary of Lorraine; and also gives the life of the Lady Margaret Douglass, Countess of Lennox. This history shows, as it proceeds, that it is from the pen of one who has the heart of a woman; and who sympathizes in the troubles, which, even to the last, chequered the unfortunate lives of the Subjects whom she describes. Her picture of Mary of Lorraine is drawn with great distinctness, and with a full appreciation of the delicacy of her position, from her birth, tastes, and religion, as well as the political strategy and the civil commotions with which her throne was surrounded. The work is written in an attractive style, and exhibits careful study of authorities.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, for the use of Schools and Academies. By J. Olney, A. M. New Haven: Durrie & Peck, 1861. Revised Edition. 12 mo. pp. 288.

In the style, artistic plan, and literary execution of this work it is admirable; and on these accounts it will sell, and be extensively used. But we do wish somebody would write a School History of the United States, which shall not teach Puritanism like Emerson, or Deism like Olney.

Three Sermons by Rev. Paul Trapier, preached in Charleston, S. C., 1847, 1848, 1849, on the religious instruction of Servants.

Two Pamphlets containing Articles from the "Southern Presbyterian Review," on the same subject.

A Sermon by Rev. J. H. Thornton, D. D., on the Rights and Duties of Masters: preached in Charleston, S. C., May 26, 1850.

Proceedings of Public Meetings in Charleston, S. C., in 1849, on the religious instruction of Slaves, &c.

This is an important collection of pamphlets. They satisfactorily prove the following facts. That a General Meeting of the citizens of Charleston, S. C. after a free discussion, and after eliciting a mass of information, from various parts of the entire South, *unanimously* passed the following proposition, "That the Religious Instruction of Slaves, combined with a prudent attention to the preservation of order, is a work highly acceptable, in a moral and religious view, and of great advantage to the Commonwealth."

These pamphlets also prove, that the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal

Church in South Carolina, has repeatedly and publicly enjoined upon the members of the Church the duty of instructing the Slaves in the Gospel of Christ.

These pamphlets also prove, that the various religious denominations in South Carolina, the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and the Baptists, are extensively and efficiently prosecuting the same work. We are satisfied that, at the North, there is no just conception of the extent, and success, of the efforts made to Christianize the Slaves at the South. We have heard it affirmed, and have no reason to doubt it, that there are more professing Christians among African Slaves in the United States, than there are Converts to Christianity in all the Protestant Missions of Christendom. African Slavery in this country, is Paradise itself in comparison with the degrading *white* serfdom in the Factories and Collieries of Great Britain. British philanthropy may shed its crocodile-tears over her own down-trodden millions, whose miseries Parliament can any moment relieve.

SERMONS FOR THE CHRISTIAN YEAR. By the Rev. W. H. Lewis, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, L. I. New York: C. Shepard & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 445.

A large octavo volume of Sermons by a Clergyman of the American Church is something new. This is a kind of literature *sui generis*; and is not to be criticised by rules and principles applicable to other species of composition. One of the most distinguished of American preachers is known, in revival, to prune his Sermons of those merely rhetorical beauties, in which his vigorous imagination in composition, had indulged itself; as unsuited to the place and the object. The writer and preacher of the Sermons before us, has the reputation of one of the most useful of our Parish Ministers. For a long course of years, comparatively, he has occupied the same position; gathering together a large and respectable Congregation, and giving proof, in his parochial reports, that his labors have not been in vain in the Lord. These Sermons are worth examining, as a specimen of the kind of instruction to which such a parish has been accustomed. Their most marked features, are great simplicity of arrangement, and the directness and earnestness with which the preacher ever addresses himself to the spiritual wants of his hearers. The Sermons are sixty-six in number; covering a complete Christian Year. They embrace a great variety of subjects, and are all short. In style, they bear the appearance of having been written to be preached for the alone object of doing good. While many of the Sermons are written with great perspicuity and neatness, yet there is apparently no attempt at high rhetorical finish, or at that ponderous argumentation which pours upon us like an avalanche in Melville or Chalmers; or at that rigid psychological analysis, which was the secret power of Manning. There is almost nothing in them of doctrinal polemics; but everywhere is seen the preacher's great object, to reach the hearts and influence the lives of his hearers. The 29th Sermon, "Christ Risen, yet not ascended," is a clear recognition of the historical argument for the Church. The 19th Sermon, "Depravity of our hearts," is distinguished by the just moderation of its doctrinal statements. The 40th Sermon, "Living unto Christ," is a searching exposure of various forms of idolatry, contrasting them with the great end of life. The 87th Sermon, "Sanctifying ourselves for Christ's Service," a Convention Sermon in the Eastern Diocese in 1837, and published by request, is such an ideal of the Christian Minister, as the Author has evidently had constantly before him; and is a Sermon which every theological student would do well to read.

The circulation of these Sermons cannot but tend to promote, what the Church mainly needs, a living, earnest piety; the noblest end at which the Christian Minister's ambition can possibly aim.

LECTURES ON EPISCOPOACY AND THE PAPAL SUPREMACY. By the Rev. William H. Hill, M. A., Rector of Zion Church, Morris, Otsego Co., New York. Utica, New York: H. H. Curtiss, 1851. 12mo. pp. 265.

Mr. Hill has presented the Episcopal argument, especially in its bearing on the Papacy, in a clear, succinct, and popular manner. The Chapter on the "Church of

England" is a brief, but satisfactory condensation of that important portion of history. The Episcopal controversy is by no means at an end; and such works as this need to be scattered far and near.

FOREST LIFE AND FOREST TREES: *Comprising Winter Camp-life among the Loggers and Wild-wood Adventure.* With descriptions of Lumbering operations in the various Rivers of Maine and New Brunswick. By John S. Springer. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 259. New Haven: S. Babcock.

The life of a lumberman amid the forests, wild mountains, lakes, and rivers of Maine is full of adventure, and the writer of this volume, Mr. Springer, who has been familiar with such scenes for many years, has furnished a really entertaining work. His sketches of Forest trees, Forest life, and River life, abound in incidents; transporting the reader into a world, sometimes of romantic beauty, and sometimes of frightful peril. The volume also embodies valuable statistics of the lumber business; and contains descriptions of a country equally wild and unbroken, and yet even more unknown than the far off regions of the west.

The style of the work is simple and animated. The author knows how to tell a good story of a night in the woods, or an encounter with "bruin" and the wolves, or of river-driving; and the volume must prove universally attractive.

READINGS FOR EVERY DAY IN LENT. Compiled from the writings of Jeremy Taylor. By the Author of "Amy Herbert," &c. New York, 1851. 12mo. pp. 308.

The title of this volume, and the source whence its pages are filled, with the remark that the extracts seem to be carefully and judiciously made, are all that is necessary to commend it. For every day in Lent, there is a short chapter setting forth some important duty, or warning against some besetting sin, or containing some meditation, or exposition, each closing with a short Prayer; and all in the choice words of the Chrysostom of the modern Church. We hope it will be the closest companion of many an humble Saint in the approaching Lenten Season.

TEN SERMONS. With a Prefatory Letter, addressed to the Right Rev. Bishop McIlvaine. By the Rev. George Townshend Fox, M. A., of Durham. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1851. 8vo. pp. 192.

There is a tone to this book which is unfortunate. Aside from overstrained and unqualified doctrinal statements, the confidence and boldness with which it speaks should have been tempered with a spirit of meekness and love. If the Author aims to teach *Evangelical* doctrines, he certainly does it in a very *unevangelical* way.

We are fully convinced that the inward piety of the heart, the deep devotion of the Soul to CHRIST, the swallowing up of the human in the Divine Will, is, under God, the real strength of the Church. But that heart which comprehends, least imperfectly, the "depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God" which "is in Christ Jesus our Lord," will breathe least the spirit of arrogance and bitterness. We have as little sympathy, as the Author can have, with what he aims to describe. But his Prefatory Letter, as well as portions of his Sermons, lead us to doubt whether he has any true conception of the real wants and present danger of the English Church.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL. D. By his Son-in-Law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL. D. Vol. 3. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 531. New Haven: S. Babcock.

This work, as it proceeds, presents Dr. Chalmers in a still more interesting light. It traces his professional labors at St. Andrews; his habits and studies as a scholar; his position in the Scotch General Assembly; his frequent visits and excursions; his invitation to the London University; his election to the Professorship of Divinity at Edinburgh; his composition of some of his most valuable publications; his opinions on important public measures; his intercourse with leading men of the

day, &c. His private Journal and his voluminous Correspondence give us a transparent view of his life. Dr. Chalmers was one of the great men of our times; and aside from the interest which attaches to his private character, his history is a part of the history of the age in which he lived. Another volume will complete the work.

SIXTEEN MONTHS AT THE GOLD DIGGINGS. By DANIEL B. WOODS. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 199. New Haven: S. Babcock.

There is no poetry and no romance in this volume. It is a plain, unpretending, and we presume honest account of the Author's experience at gold digging in California. Its effect will be, so far as read, to break the "spell of enchantment" which now hangs around that land of golden dreams. The Author is the son of the Rev. Prof. Woods, D. D., of Andover, Mass.

DRAYTON: A Story of American Life. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 274. New Haven: S. Babcock.

Frank Drayton is introduced to the reader as a cobbler, reading, after his hard day's work was done, a volume of Plutarch, and as belonging to a respectable but decayed family. He makes his parting bow as a distinguished ornament of the Bar, and as the betrothed husband of the accomplished heiress, Ellen Meredith. The story is not without merit, nor will it be without readers. Still it lacks those graceful touches, those delicate shades of coloring which belong to a master's hand. Its language is often inflated, and its conversations too bookish to be natural.

THE YOUNG CHRISTIAN. By JACOB ABBOTT. Very greatly improved and enlarged. With numerous engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851. 12mo. pp. 402.

We take pleasure, almost always, in recommending the writings of the Messrs. Abbott. In life-like description, and apt illustration, they are among our very best, as well as most voluminous writers. A fine, clear vein of morality always pervades their productions. But when we come to the subject of the Christian Life, and to books of religious instruction for children and adults, our commendation ceases. The book before us, attractive in style, fails everywhere to recognize those great central verities which we are taught to regard as essential; and without which, all teaching on such a theme, must be radically defective, or positively erroneous.

A LADY'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD: A selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer. By MRS. PERCY SINNETT. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1852. 12mo., pp. 302. New Haven: S. Babcock.

We have heard for years of this Semi-fabulous Amazon, from travelers who have encountered her in various parts of the civilized and uncivilized world; traveling often alone, and unprotected, facing danger and privation with a fearlessness amounting almost to heroism. She is a German by birth. She left Hamburg, June 29th, 1846, and returned to her own country in the latter part of 1848; visiting in her journey, Rio de Janeiro, Valparaiso, Tahiti, various cities of China, Ceylon, Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, Bombay, Bagdad, Mossul, Nineveh, Tabreez, Asiatic Russia, Odessa, Constantinople, Athens, Corinth, &c. The face of the country, the character, habits, and customs of the people, she describes with considerable particularity, and with a somewhat unfeminine freedom.

Her testimony respecting Missionaries, whom she met in Persia, China, India, and elsewhere, is little to her credit; and reflects suspicion upon her general reputation as a narrator. She says, "The Missionaries repose upon swelling divans,—their wives preside at the tea-table—their children feast on sweetmeats and confectionary—in short, their position is one incomparably pleasanter and freer from care than that of most other people," &c. * * "In all places where I have

been, I have made close enquiries on the subject of the conversions made by these Missionaries, and it always appeared that they were excessively rare." The absence of every thing like Christian sentiment in the book, would not lead us to look for anything like a true appreciation of the Missionary work. But in venturing upon such down-right untruths, as to the result of English Missions in the East, she has gone one step too far. Even at Calcutta, the Hindoos have become thoroughly alarmed at the progress of Christianity; and at a public meeting held by them in that city, it was said, "a strong and zealous movement must be made to resist the progress of the work of conversion through the Missionaries." Farther up the river, the work of conversion is more extensive, and reminds us of Apostolic times. Shame upon the woman! the elevation of whose sex is one of the noblest trophies of the Cross, when she can dip her pen in gall to write words of falsehood on such a theme.

Still, there is little concerning religion in the book; and the work gives a readable view of the various countries which Madam Pfeiffer visited.

POEMS BY A PRIEST. Published for Subscribers. Salisbury, Md., 1851. 12mo. pp. 85.

This neat little volume contains only ten Poems, and these are all short. They are marked by smoothness of versification, purity of language, chastened delicacy of sentiment, and a rich vein of poetic fancy.

THE REV. DR. CRESSEY'S SERMON; *The Position and Safeguards of the Church*: Preached in St. John's Church, Maury County, Tenn., on the 5th Sunday after Trinity, 1851.

A thoughtful Sermon, true to its motto, and suited to the times. Such a discourse as this, showing what able and earnest men are doing in all parts of the Church, is a sign full of promise.

TIMID LUOV. By the author of '*My Little Geography*'—'*Fear not, Little Flock*.' With four beautiful illustrations, executed by Bobbett & Edmonds, from designs by Matteson. 1 volume, 238 pages; 16mo., fine muslin, (75c.,) gilt edges, (88c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (88c.,) fancy paper covers, (25c.)

A beautiful tale of domestic life, in which the every day virtues of the Christian character are presented in a manner to arrest the attention. Artless simplicity, entire naturalness, is a great charm in the story. Nothing is overdrawn. The illustrations are exceedingly well done.

THE WAY THROUGH THE DESERT; OR, THE CARAVAN. By the Rev. R. MILMAN, M. A. With four beautiful illustrations, executed by Bobbett & Edmonds, from designs by Field. 1 volume, 110 pages; 16 mo., fine muslin, (62c.,) gilt edges, (75c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (81c.,) fancy paper covers, (20c.)

The straight and narrow way to the Heavenly Canaan is described in this Allegory; which is well sustained, and both in its conception and execution is worthy of John Bunyan.

THE HOLIDAY WEEK, AND OTHER SKETCHES; being the First Series of "*Shades of Character*." By the author of "*Charlie Burton*." With twenty-one fine engravings. 1 volume, 229 pages; 16mo., fine muslin, (75c.,) gilt edges, (88c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (88c.,) and in twelve separate books, fancy covers.

NORTON HARGRAVE, AND OTHER SKETCHES; being the Second Series of "*Shades of Character*." By the author of the preceding. With fourteen fine engravings. 1 volume, 248 pages; 16mo., fine muslin, (75c.,) gilt edges, (88c.,) 18mo., half morocco binding, (88c.,) and in twelve separate books, fancy covers.

Both these volumes are reprints from editions of the English Christian Knowledge Society; and we venture to say will not suffer in comparison under an American dress.

WHAT DO I WANT MOST! By Mrs. S. C. STUDLEY. With two fine engravings, from designs by Matteson. 117 pages, 18mo., fine muslin, (59c.) gilt edges, (63c.) 18mo., half morocco, (25c.) fancy paper covers, (14c.)

This charming volume has reached the third edition.

THE FRIENDS. A Tale for Youth. With a frontispiece. 102 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.) half morocco, (22c.) fancy paper covers, (10c.)

PHOEBE, OR THE HOSPITAL. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 70 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.) half morocco, (15c.) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

THE PRIMROSES, OR THE ELDER SISTERS. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 65 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.) half morocco, (15c.) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

MAURICE FAVELL, OR THE SINGING LESSONS. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 64 pages, 18mo., muslin, (25c.) half morocco, (15c.) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

THE PRIZE, OR THE PRECIOUSNESS OF A MEER AND QUIET SPIRIT. By the author of "*The Friends*." With a frontispiece. 45 pages, 18mo., muslin, (16c.) half morocco, (12c.) fancy paper covers, (5c.)

LETTER TO A YOUNG PERSON ON BECOMING A MEMBER OF A CHURCH CHORAL. By the Rev. GEORGE A. LEAKIN. With a finely engraved frontispiece. 24 pages, 18mo., half morocco, (9c.) fancy paper covers, (3c.)

THE ROOK, AN EXAMPLE OF INDUSTRY. With two fine engravings. Muslin, (25c.) half morocco, (15c.) fancy paper covers, (7c.)

The above twelve volumes are recent issues of the Sunday School Union. We see nothing in them to which the most fastidious Churchman ought to object. In mechanical execution they are really choice gems of art. For holiday presents, nothing can be more appropriate. Mr. Geo. B. Bassett, Publisher of the Church Review, is Agent for the Union in New Haven.

REV. SAMUEL BUEL'S SERMON at the Consecration of Emmanuel Church, Cumberland, Md., Oct. 16th, 1851.

In manly vigor of thought, strength of the reasoning faculty, and boldness of enunciation, we regard Mr. Buel as among our very best writers.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS. Conducted by Professors B. SILLIMAN, E. SILLIMAN, JR., and JAMES D. DANA. New Haven: Published every second month.

This work is identified with the progress of Physical Science; and is an honor not only to its Conductors, but to the country. It has a higher reputation in Foreign lands than at home. (See advertisement on the 3d page of the cover.)

THE JUBILEE OF MDCCCLI IN NEW YORK.—This pamphlet contains the Letter of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Replies of the Standing Committee of New York, and the Clergy, Wardens, and Vestrymen, of Trinity Parish, New York City; an account of the Jubilee Services in Trinity Church, and the Sermon then delivered by the Rev. Dr. McVickar. Suffice it to say, that the Services and the Sermon were worthy of the occasion.

BISHOP McILVAINE'S CHARGE on "Spiritual Regeneration" delivered to the Clergy at the 34th Convention of the Diocese of Ohio, 1851.

This is an able, and in certain respects important production. We hope at no distant day to take up the subject discussed, and to show that there is a common ground, on which most, (not all) of our Clergy may, and do, substantially agree. We may, perhaps, hesitate where so much has been so ably written, in vain, or worse than in vain. Much of the controversy in the Church on the subject of Regeneration, has arisen from a different use of *terms*, among those who yet hold

to the same things. There are those in both extremes, who differ from each other and from the Church, both in form and substance.

Historical Address, pronounced before the House of Convocation of Trinity College, in Christ Church, Hartford, Connecticut, at the Twenty-Fifth Annual Commencement, by the Rev. E. E. Beardley, M. A., Rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven.

This is a Scholarly production, creditable to the College and its author. It notices the disabilities under which Churchmen in Connecticut long suffered; traces the educational efforts of Bishop Seabury, in establishing the Episcopal Academy, at Oheahire; the repeated refusal of the General Assembly to give to that Institution power to confer degrees; the successful efforts made, after the Consecration of Bishop Brownell, and the passage of the Toleration Act, to obtain a Charter for a new College; and gives a succinct history of the Institution, under the Presidences of Bishop Brownell, Doctors Wheaton and Totten; the modelling of the government of the College after the English Universities; and brings its history down to the election of President Williams, the present Assistant Bishop of the Diocese. Every friend of Trinity College, present and future, will be grateful to Mr. Beardley for a work executed with so much judgment and good taste.

Rev. N. E. Cornwall's Jubilee Sermon in Trinity Church, Southport, (Fairfield,) Connecticut, Aug. 10, 1861.—This is an important historical sketch of one of the oldest Parishes in Connecticut; a parish which had the partial services of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, for two years; and was the scene of the labors of a man too little known, the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, about twenty years, from 1727 to 1747. Mr. Cornwall is the Seventh Rector of a parish which has been organized one hundred and twenty-seven years. He gives brief but interesting notices of his predecessors; and records many valuable facts in the history of the Parish. The discourse is exceedingly creditable to its Author, for the industry and exactness which it evinces; and the Wardens and Vestry who solicited its publication will, we hope, find their example imitated in other of our older Parishes. The real history of the Church in this country, must be gathered, hereafter, from just such sources as this.

THE INFLUENCE OF THOUGHT. The Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Clark's Phi Beta Kappa Oration at Union College, July 22, 1861.

It is the belief of the Orator, that "we are now verging towards a new intellectual era, the characteristics of which will be as vital and important as were those of the Reformation." He infers this "from the condition of practical art, of theoretic science, and of abstract thought." The Oration is full of truthful, vigorous, and beautiful conceptions; and contains some keen hits at certain modes of thinking, or what is sometimes called, thinking. It may be commended to all who are not fearful of collapse from contact with its sharp points.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP PATNE'S ADDRESS before the Alumni of the Alexandria Theol. Seminary, July 10, 1861. A clear vindication of the claims of our African Mission to a more vigorous support.

COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE: London.

This valuable Periodical (Monthly) is a record of the progress of the Venerable Propagation Society, and often contains papers of great value.

REV. DR. MUHLENBERG'S ADDRESS at the laying of the Corner Stone of Kemp Hall, St. James' College, Md.—The efficient agency of Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg, in promoting the cause of Christian Education in this country, has not been duly appreciated.

REPORT OF THE GEN. PROT. EP. S. S. UNION, 1861. With the Right Rev. Bishop Whittingham's Quarter-Centennial Sermon.

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Bishop White Prayer Book Society, 1851.

REV. T. F. BILLOPP'S SERMON: "Hearing Christ in the Church," at Stanton, Del. Published by request.

A LETTER to the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Delaware. By Alfred Lee, Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware, 1851. With two Letters to the Rev. T. F. Billopp, and also Bishop Lee's Sermon at New Castle, Del., April 27, 1851.

We receive, Bishop Lee's pamphlet at the moment of going to press. The whole controversy, which we have no room here to explain, involves serious questions both of Order and Doctrine. It is an illustration of the practical workings of our Church system; an admirably adjusted system of Law and Order, checks and balances.

The New York Ecclesiologist, Nov. 1851. Published by the New York Ecclesiological Society.

THE MOTTO of Jubilee College, Nov. 1851. This Monthly Magazine is always an interesting messenger from the Venerable Presiding Bishop; whose Church Missionary Character it strongly reflects.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1850.

LONDON LABOR AND THE LONDON POOR. By Henry Mayhew. With Engravings. Parts 13, 14, 15. New York: Harper & Brothers.—Graphic Sketches of Life in London.

PICTORIAL FIELD BOOK OF THE REVOLUTION. Parts 18 and 19. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851.—This popular work fully sustains its reputation. We have before noticed the exquisite finish of the illustrations.

HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE, New York: Oct., Nov., Dec.—The article in the December number, on the American Arctic Expedition, illustrated by drawings taken on the spot, is worth more than the price of the Number. The work is conducted with great ability and industry.

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE, New York: Stringer & Townsend, Oct., Nov., Dec.—The Editor and Publishers are sparing no efforts to merit the favor of the public, and which we believe they are liberally receiving.

ART. VIII.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

UNITED STATES.

The Smithsonian Institute, Washington City, has published Vol. i, 4to. *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, by Messrs. Squier & Davis, pp. 346, with 48 plates and 207 wood-cuts—\$10. Volume ii, containing 13 *Memoirs on Scientific Subjects*, 4to. pp. 164, and 24 plates—\$5.50.—Geo. P. Putnam, New York, will publish immediately a posthumous work of Fennimore Cooper, *The Men of Manhattan*, said to abound with curious statistics and opinions relating to the City of New York.—The Fourth Annual Report of the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, prepared by C. O. Jewett, gives the following Summary of Libraries in the United States:

The whole number of libraries, (including those of the district schools,) of which I have been able to collect accounts, is 10,640; the aggregate number of volumes, 3,641,765; the whole number, exclusive of district school libraries, 644; the aggregate number of volumes in these, 2,144,069. (These are exclusive of

pamphlets, manuscripts, maps and charts, &c.) The number of libraries said to contain 50,000 volumes and upwards, is but four, namely: Harvard University, (including the public library, 56,000; Law, 13,000; Theological, 3,000; Medical, 1,200; students' libraries, 10,000 volumes,) 83,200; the Philadelphia and Logan Libraries, 60,000; Congress Library, 50,000; Boston Athenæum, 50,000; the number of libraries containing over 20,000, (counting with the college libraries those of societies of students connected with the colleges, and *excluding* the four libraries above mentioned,) 11; the number of libraries containing from 10,000 to 20,000 volumes, 88; the number of libraries containing from 5,000 to 10,000, 75; the whole number of libraries containing over 5,000 volumes each, 188; whole number of libraries containing between 1,000 and 5,000 volumes, 437.

The Hon. Mr. Gladstone's two Letters to Lord Aberdeen, on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government, has been republished by a New York News-boy.—Little & Brown, Boston, will publish the Miscellaneous Writings, Addresses, and Judicial Opinions of the late Judge Woodbury, in four octavo volumes.—The Life of Judge Story is already in preparation by his Son, and will be published in two volumes.—E. B. Butler & Co., Philadelphia, have published *The Female Prose Writers of America. With Portraits, Biographical Notices, and Specimens of their writings.* By JOHN S. HART, LL. D.—Forty-eight names are introduced. The portraits given are of Miss Sedgwick, Miss McIntosh, Mrs. Kirkland, Mrs. Heuts, Mrs. Stevens, Margaret Fuller, Mrs. Judson, and Mrs. Neal.

ENGLAND.

Mr. Edward Ross is preparing *Lives of the Judges of England*, four volumes of which have been published. They are said to rival Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors*, and to exhibit more care and research in their preparation. Bagster & Sons, London, have published *The Jansenists: their Rise, Persecutions by the Jesuits, their Remnant*, by S. P. Tregelles, LL. D.—Rev. Henry Caswall is preparing a Second Edition of his *America and the American Church*.—R. C. Trench has published by Parker, five Lectures on the Study of Words.—Parker & Son have published *Rituale Anglo-Catholicum*; or the testimony of the Catholic Church to the Book of Common Prayer, as exhibited in quotations from Ancient Fathers, Councils, Liturgies, and Rituals. By Henry Bailey, B. D. 8vo. pp. 155. This may be a valuable work; and if well done, should be reprinted in the United States.—Parker also publishes a new Edition of Cox's *Christian Ballads*, with a new Preface by the Author.—The *Westminster Review* has been sold to Mr. John Chapman, the publisher. This change will make it the organ of the party to which Theodore Parker, Francis Newman, Froude, Foxton, and Thomas Wilson belong.—Thackeray is writing a novel, in three volumes, to be published in the winter. The scene is in England, nearly in the eighteenth century, and the stage will be crossed by many of the illustrious actors of that time, such as Bolingbroke, Swift and Pope; and Steele will play a prominent part.—Chapman & Hall have just published Thomas Carlyle's *Life of John Sterling*. 8vo. 10s. 6d. The book is attracting considerable attention.—Murray has published the Second Edition of *History of Erastianism*, by Archdeacon Wilberforce.—Professor Wilson, of Edinburgh University, the Christopher North of Blackwood, has retired from the University on account of ill health.—Macaulay's two *Essays on Ranke's History of the Popes*, and on Gladstone on Church and State, forms the eighth part of the Traveller's Library.—The following is the circulation of some of the London Newspapers:—Illustrated London News, 66,678; Daily Times, 38,019; Ecclesiastical Gazette, (Monthly,) 12,025; Guardian, 3,612; Tablet, 2,093; English Churchman, 1,520; Church and State Gazette, 846.—Keble's *Christian Year* has reached the *fortieth* edition.—Among the recent publications of Parker, are the following:—A collection of all the Ecclesiastical Laws, Canons and Constitutions of the Church of England, from its first foundation to the Reformation. Translated into English with explanatory Notes. By John Johnson, M. A. A New

Edition. Two Vols. 8vo. 11. 4s. This Edition has been carefully reprinted from that of 1720, extracts from the original Saxon and Latin being added in Notes where Johnson's translation seemed incorrect or obscure. Also, A Manual of Ecclesiastical History, from the First to the Twelfth Century inclusive. By the Rev. E. S. Foulkes, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. In one Vol. 8vo., 12s.—J. Deighton has in press the Hulsean Lectures, 1851. The Preparation for the Gospel, as exhibited in the History of the Israelites; By the Rev. G. Currey, B. D., Preacher at the Charterhouse, and Boyle's Lecturer, formerly Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge.—An Exposition of the xxxix. Articles, derived from the Writings of the Older Divines; By the Rev. W. B. Hopkins, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of St. Catharine's Hall, and formerly Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.—Hope & Co. have in press An Enquiry into the Theology of the Anglican Reformers; with Extracts from their Writings on the Apostolical Succession—Baptism—the Holy Eucharist—Predestination—Faith and Works; with a concluding Dissertation on their Value and Authority in illustrating the teaching of the Church of England; By a Priest of the Diocese of Exeter. One Vol. post 8vo., price 6s.—The Oxford University Press has recently issued The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers; Edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, F. R. S., &c., late Fellow of Exeter College; and Sir Frederick Madden, K. H., F. R. S., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Four Vols. 4to., 5l. 15s. 6d.—Also, The Two Books of Common Prayer, set forth by Authority of Parliament, in the reign of King Edward VI; Compared with each other. By Edward Cardwell, D. D., Principal of St. Alban's Hall. Second Edition. 8vo., 8s.—Also, Reformatio Legum—The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, as attempted in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth. A New Edition. 8vo., 6s. 6d.

CONTINENTAL AND ORIENTAL.

The study of Russian archæology and history is prosecuted in that country with a degree of activity and thoroughness that other nations are not aware of, and publications of importance are made constantly. Within the present year the fifth part of the complete collection of *Russian Chronicles* has appeared, the fourth of the collection of public documents relating to the history of Western Russia, and the beginning of a new collection of foreign historians of Russia.

Periodical literature is making its way into Asia. A literary monthly has made its appearance at Tiflis, in the Georgian language. It will discuss Georgian literature, furnish translations from foreign tongues, and treat of the arts and sciences, and of agriculture. What oriental students will find most interesting in this magazine, will be its specimens of the popular literature of the country. A new Armenian periodical has also been commenced in the Trans-Caucasian country.

The second part of the third volume of HUMBOLDT's *Kosmos* is nearly completed, and will soon appear. A fourth volume is to be added, in which the geological studies of the venerable author will be set forth. He is now nearly eighty-one years old, and is as vigorous and youthful in feeling as ever. The first part of the third volume of *Kosmos* appeared in German and English several months ago.

A History of Polish Literature, from the remotest antiquity to 1830, is now being published at Warsaw, by Mr. MACIEJOWSKI, a writer thoroughly acquainted with the subject. Three parts of the first volume have appeared, bringing the history down to the first half of the seventeenth century. One more part will complete the volume, and three volumes will complete the work.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

CONSECRATIONS.

BISHOP OF FLORIDA.

On the 15th of October, 1851, the Rev. Francis H. Rutledge, D.D., was consecrated Bishop for the Diocese of Florida, in St. Paul's Church, Augusta, Georgia. The Right Rev. C. E. Gadsden, D.D., of South Carolina, presided by request of the Senior Bishop. Morning Prayer was said by the Rev. T. F. Scott, of Columbus, Georgia. The Sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Bishop Gadsden, from John xx, 21, 22, 23; who also began the Communion Service; the Right Rev. Bishop Elliott, of Georgia, reading the Epistle, and the Right Rev. Bishop Cobbs, of Alabama, the Gospel. The Bishop elect was presented by the Right Rev. Bishops Cobbs and Elliott. The Testimonials were read by the Rev. Dr. Ford, of Augusta, Ga.; the Litany was then said by the Right Rev. Bishop Elliott; the Bishop elect was assisted in putting on the Episcopal Habit by Rev. Dr. Marshall and the Rev. T. G. Young, of South Carolina. The Right Rev. Bishops Gadsden, Elliott, and Cobbs, then united in the laying on of hands upon the Bishop elect. The Right Rev. Bishop Elliott read the Offertory, and the Prayer for the Church Militant was said by the Right Rev. Bishop Gadsden. The services were solemn and imposing, and were attended by a large Congregation of Clergy and Laity.

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.

On the 29th of October, 1851, the Rev. John Williams, D.D., President of Trinity College, was consecrated Assistant Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell acted as Consecrator by request; the Right Rev. Bishops Hopkins of Vermont, Eastburn of Massachusetts, Henshaw of Rhode Island, Chase of New Hampshire, Burgess of Maine, and DeLancey of Western New York, being present and assisting. The Rev. Dr. T. W. Coit and the Rev. R. A. Hallam, read Morning Prayers, assisted by Rev. J. L. Clark in the Lessons. The Right Rev. Bishop Hopkins, read the Ante-Communion Service to the Collect, which was said by the Right Rev. Bishop Brownell. The Epistle was read by the Right Rev. Bishop Eastburn; the Gospel by the Right Rev. Bishop DeLancey. After singing Psalm 79, Bishop Burgess preached from St. Luke, xxii, 26, 27. The Bishop elect was presented to the Presiding Bishop by the Right Rev. Bishop Chase, and the Right Rev. Bishop Burgess. The Rev. Dr. Croswell read the Testimonials of the Convention; the Rev. Dr. Mead, the Testimonials of the Standing Committees by twenty-six Dioceses, and the Rev. Dr. Wheaton, the letter of the Right Rev. Bishop Chase, requesting to Consecrate. The Presiding Bishop proceeded with the Prayers and Interrogatories, the Litany

being said by the Right Rev. Bishop Henshaw. The Bishop elect was assisted in putting on the Episcopal Habit by the Rev. Dr. T. M. Clark and the Rev. E. E. Beardale. The Presiding Bishop and the Right Rev. Bishops Hopkins, De Lancey, Eastburn, Henshaw, Chase and Burgess united in the Laying on of Hands. The Presiding Bishop proceeded with the Offertory, Bishop Burgess said the Prayer for the Church Militant, Bishop Chase resumed the Communion Service, Bishop DeLancey said the Prayers of Consecration. After the administration, the concluding Prayers and the Benediction were by the Presiding Bishop. The number of the Clergy present on this occasion was 94, including the Bishops; and the Church was crowded with a most attentive and deeply interested Congregation.

ASSISTANT BISHOP OF ILLINOIS.

The Rev. Henry J. Whitehouse, D. D., was consecrated Assistant Bishop for Illinois, on the 20th of Nov. 1851, in St. George's Church, New York city. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut, acted as Consecrator, the Right Rev. Bishops Lee, Eastburn, Hawks, Potter, Burgess and Williams being present and assisting. Morning Prayer was said by the Rev. Drs. Wainwright, Turner, and Lewis, and the Rev. Mr. Bedell. The Right Rev. Bishop Brownell commenced the Ante-Communion, Bishop Burgess reading the Decalogue, Bishop Lee the Epistle, and Bishop Eastburn the Gospel. The Right Rev. Bishop Potter preached the Sermon from 2. Tim. iv, 1, 2. The Bishop elect was assisted in robing by the Rev. Dr. S. R. Johnson, and the Rev. T. R. Chipman. He was presented by the Right Rev. Bishops Eastburn and Burgess. All the Bishops united in the imposition of hands. The Holy Communion was then administered by the Bishops; Bishop Hawks, Bishop Potter, and Bishop Williams performing the Service. A very large Congregation of Clergy and people were present at the interesting services.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Gallagher, Peyton,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Homer, C. W.,	Eastburn,	Sept. 30, 1851.	Grace, Boston, Mass.
Lyon, Daniel,	McCoskry,	Oct. 8, 1851.	St. Mark's, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Newton, William,	Potter,	Nov. 30, 1851.	St. Paul's, Phil., Pa.
Ruth, P. S.,	Potter,	Nov. 2, 1851.	St. Paul's, Troy, Pa.
Sutton, R. B.,	Cobbs,	Dec. 10, 1851.	St. Paul's, Greensboro, Ala.

PRIESTS.

Bentley, J.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Betta, B. R.,	DeLancey,	Oct. 19, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Chase, P., Jr.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Childs, S. R.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Drayton, J. G.,	Gadsden,	Oct. 26, 1851.	Grace, Charleston, S. C.
Gardiner, C. H.,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Hills, G. M.,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Johnston, J. L.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Morrison, T. N.,	Chase, P.,	Sept. 14, 1851.	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Page, R. O.,	DeLancey,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Russell, L. S.,	Whittingham,	Sept. 21, 1851.	Laurel, Md.
Schuyler, Anthony,	DeLancey,	Dec. 19, 1851.	St. Mark's, Penn Yan, W. N. Y.
Stringfellow, H., Jr.,	Johns,	Aug. 2, 1851.	Trinity, Shephardstown, Va.
White, J. C.,	Johns,	Aug. 2, 1851.	Trinity, Shephardstown, Va.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Calvary,	Chase,	Nov. 26, 1851.	Farmington, Ill.
Calvary,	DeLancey,	Nov. 19, 1851.	Utica, W. N. Y.
Emanuel,	Whittingham,	Oct. 16, 1851.	Cumberland, Md.
Grace,	Meade,	Nov. 4, 1851.	Ravenswood, Va.
St. Barnabas',	Whittingham,	Dec. 11, 1851.	Sykesville, Md.
St. Michael's,	Brownell,	Dec. 16, 1851.	Litchfield, Conn.
St. Paul's,	DeLancey,	Oct. 22, 1851.	Buffalo, W. N. Y.
St. Paul's,	Johns,	Nov. 3, 1851.	Lynchburgh, Va.
Zion,	DeLancey,	Sept. 25, 1851.	Rome, W. N. Y.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Betts, B. R.,	Trinity,	Rockaway, N. Y.
" Caldwell, D.,	Christ,	Georgetown, D. C.
" Carter, A. B.,	Christ,	Savannah, Georgia.
" Child, W. S.,	Christ,	Springfield, Mass.
" Cushman, G. F.,	Trinity,	Pawtucket, R. I.
" Elwell, F.,	St. James,	Vincennes, Ind.
" Gillespie, G. D.,	Zion,	Palmyra, W. N. Y.
" Horton, S. J.,	St. Paul's,	Windham, Conn.
" Kerr, David,	—	Rock Creek, D. C.
" Maury, M. F.,	St. Paul's,	Selma, Ala.
" Mitchell, R. H. B.,	William and Mary,	Mt. Olive, St. Mary's Co., Md.
" Nichols, J. H.,	St. Luke's,	Racine City, Wisconsin.
" Phelps, C. E.,	St. Paul's,	Whitehall, N. Y.
" Putnam, C. S.,	St. John's,	Tuckahoe, N. Y.
" Sayres, Geo.,	St. Peter's,	Freehold, New Jersey.
" Smithett, W. L.,	Christ,	Boston, Mass.
" Stickney, M. P.,	Burlington College,	New Jersey.
" Trapnell, Jos., Jr.,	St. Michael's,	Bristol, R. I.
" Tyler, T. P.,	Trinity,	Fredonia, W. N. Y.
" White, J. C.,	St. Andrew's,	Baltimore, Md.
" Woart, John,	St. James',	Great Barrington, Mass.

OBITUARIES.

REV. T. JARVIS CARTER died in New York city, Nov. 15th, 1851, in the 27th year of his age. He was Rector of Grace Church, Cleveland, Ohio. His sickness was painful and protracted. His submission, his filial confidence in God, his realizing of Christ as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," were impressively exhibited. The Wardens and Vestry of Grace Church passed appropriate Resolutions.

REV. ANDREW WYLIE, D. D., President of Indiana University, at Bloomington, Ind., died suddenly on Tuesday, Nov. 11, in the sixty-third year of his age. He had been absent from the recitations of his class but two days. On the Friday previous, he delivered an Address before the Agricultural Society of the County. The funeral services were in the University Chapel, where the Burial Service was read by Prof. Wylie, and an Oration delivered by the Rev. Dr. Daily. President Wylie was an able and successful Professor and teacher, and was regarded as one of the first men in the West. We are as yet without full particulars of his life. He had been many years a distinguished Presbyterian divine; when careful study and examination led him to distrust the validity of his Orders; and at length in 1841, to seek and receive *Deacon's Orders* at the hands of the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemper. He twice represented the Diocese in General Convention, and at the time of his death was President of the Standing Committee.

NEW THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

As a matter of record, and a means of information, we republish the following Circular. The new Seminary, as will be seen, is strongly manned. The number of Students was recently thirteen. More were expected.

THEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION AT TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONN.—It is proposed to give, at this Institution, to Graduates of the College, and to such others as may wish to avail themselves of it, instruction in Theology, under the charge of the Right Reverend Bishop of Connecticut, who is Chancellor of the College.

Arrangements have been made for instruction in the following departments, viz: 1, Pastoral Theology, and Pulpit Eloquence, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop BROWNELL, assisted by the Rev. A. C. COX. 2, Doctrinal Theology, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. WILLIAMS, Assistant Bishop of Conn. 3, History, Ministry, Polity and Ritual of the Church, by the Rev. Dr. CORR. 4, Christian Evidences, and Biblical Literature, by Rev. Dr. CLARK.

Instructions in Greek and Hebrew will be provided for, at present, by a temporary arrangement.

No Tuition fees are charged. A small room-rent will be paid by such as may occupy apartments in the College.

The course of Instruction commenced on Monday, the 29th of September, last.

It may perhaps be well to state that Theological Instruction has been given at Trinity College, to a few Candidates for Holy Orders, for the last two years. The Rev. Messrs. Rankine, Benedict, Jessup, Rudder, and Lumsden, completed their preparations for Orders under these instructions. A few others remain; and it is expected that the next Term will open with from twelve to fifteen Theological Students.

Persons wishing further information, may apply to the Rev. Dr. CORR, of Trinity College.

NEW CHURCH PAPER.—The last Convention of the Diocese of Mississippi, adopted measures for the establishment of a new paper to be issued at Vicksburg, and to be called "The Church Herald." The Rev. S. Patterson and Messrs. Yerger and Smedes, are appointed as Editors. The price of the paper is \$3.00. The first Number will appear in January. Such a paper is called for to meet the wants of the Church in the South and Southwest. No section of the Church in our country is putting forth more signs of life and vigor than in Mississippi. The Prospectus of this new periodical shows that the Editors have taken hold of the work in the right spirit.

ANOTHER NEW CHURCH PAPER.—A paper called "The Evangelical Catholic" has been commenced in New York, and thus far appeared once in two weeks. It proposes to eschew controversy, and to develop the living practical element of religion. It is a spirited little sheet and is conducted in good taste. The Rev. Dr. Muhlenberg is its responsible Editor. There are now four Church Newspapers in the State of New York; three in the older Diocese.

NEW YORK.—In St. Paul's Church, on Tuesday, November 4th, the Rt. Rev. W. H. DeLancey, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Western New York, pronounced the sentence of suspension for one year from the ministry of the Church, upon the Rev. John Canfield Stirling, unless he should in the meantime give satisfactory evidence of amendment, and engage to conform to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Mr. Stirling has for some time past been officiating for a congregation holding tenets similar to those of the late Mr. Irving.

At the same time and place the Bishop pronounced sentence of deposition from

the ministry of the Church, upon the Rev. Wm. Everett, who had renounced the same. Mr. Everett has connected himself with the Church of Rome.

The Presbyters present and witnessing these sentences, were the Rev. Samuel R. Johnson, D. D., Rev. B. I. Haight, D. D., and Rev. William Walton.

TREASON AND THE NEW YORK INDEPENDENT.—On Thursday, Sept. 11th, 1851, a bloody scene was enacted at Christiana, Lancaster Co., Penn. Two runaway Slaves being secreted there, the owner, Edward Gorsuch, from Baltimore Co., Md., assisted by several United States Officers, and Philadelphia policemen, attempted to recover them under the late Act of Congress. The slaves, and a gang of about eighty negroes and white men, armed with guns, pistols, scythes, &c., resisted the officers, killed Mr. Gorsuch outright, and severely wounded several others; when the officers, overpowered, fled for their lives. Had the capturing force been greater, the loss of life must have been terrible. As it is, the question arises, where rests the responsibility of this forcible, bloody resistance to the laws of the country!

Slavery exists. It was introduced into this country mostly in northern vessels, and by a traffic which has filled the pockets of northern abolitionists. It was abolished at the north but recently, and only when it ceased to be profitable. It is confessedly, and exclusively a State institution, with which the northern States have no more to do, than with slavery in Cuba. Its existence at the South renders imperatively necessary certain protectionary laws; such as were always in operation at the North, so long as they were needed. At the formation of our National Constitution, such protection was guaranteed by express declaration, and without that declaration, the Constitution could not have been adopted. The recent "Fugitive Law" goes not a hair's breadth beyond the very letter of that Constitution. Again, we ask, where rests the responsibility of this combined, forcible, bloody resistance to Constitutional Law, to which we have adverted above!

We answer: it rests chiefly upon those men who create a public sentiment which emboldens to that resistance. It rests of course upon such men as Theodore Parker, and Phillips, and Garrison, and Quincy, whose insanity has made them comparatively harmless. It rests, more fearfully, upon those professed teachers of religion, who prostitute their office by preaching Treason, and praying Treason from their pulpits. It rests more fearfully still, upon those Conductors of the religious press (so called) who spread their poison by the wholesale among their honest-minded, ill-informed readers. We mean such men as the Editors of the "*New York Independent*." Thus those Editors, under date of Oct. 24, 1850, ventured to say as follows:

"To the fugitives themselves * * this Law is no Law, * * and to resist it even unto death, is their right, and it may be their duty. * * To each individual fugitive, to every man or woman, who having escaped from bondage and tasted liberty, is in hourly peril of being seized and dragged back to Slavery, we say, *Be fully prepared for your own defence. If to you death seems better than slavery, then refuse not to die,—whether on the way-side, at your own threshold, or even as a felon upon the gallows.* Defend your liberty and the liberty of your wife and children, as you would defend your life and theirs against the assassin. *If you die thus, you die nobly,* and your blood shall be the redemption of your race. Should you destroy the life of your assailant, you will pass into the custody of the Criminal Law * * under an indictment for murder; but the verdict of the community, and the verdict of almost any jury will be, justifiable homicide in self-defense. * * * Or should a different verdict be found, and you be condemned to die as a murderer, *your ignominious head shall be luminous with the halo of a martyr,* and your sacrifice shall be for the deliverance of your people."

We ask that this language be pondered. Here is the secret of the bloody tragedy at Christiana. These are the teachings sent abroad among the 10,000 subscribers of whom his paper boasts. These are the men, on whose skirts is the blood of the slain. Let these wicked, horrible, counsels, prevail, and our cities

shall become battlefields; our houses, hospitals for the wounded; the torch of civil war shall do its work; we shall sleep defended by bayonets; be awoke every morning by the beat of the reveille; our glorious Union perish forever; and with it the brightest hopes of the world;—and all in the name of a “higher law”!

That there is a class of men at the north, not insignificant in number, talent, or influence, who not only have no attachment to the Union, but who thoroughly hate the Constitution which cements that Union, we have painful evidence to believe. To rebuke and expose such men, is the first dictate of humanity and religion.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Pennsylvania German Reformed Synod, held recently at Lancaster, was regarded with a great degree of interest, to learn its action on the resignation of Prof. Nevin, of the Mercersburgh Theological Seminary. Prof. N. having incurred the censure of several of his brethren on account of his views of Church authority and the validity of the ordinances, resigned his office. The question of its reception, was a test of the agreement of the members of the Synod with his high-church views, and elicited a warm and protracted discussion. The result was, that by a large vote, the Synod requested the Professor to recall his resignation—thus practically endorsing his sentiments. Several classes protested against the vote, and strongly intimated that it would lead to a separation. The Synod of the same Church in Ohio, on the contrary, have given several indications of a tendency quite the other way.

It is proposed to erect a Statue of marble or bronze to the memory of the late J. Fennimore Cooper, and probably in the city of New York. The English press notice his death with appropriate mention of his character. His friend and physician, J. W. Francis, M. D., publishes an interesting Letter of Reminiscences in the November International.

Judge Nelson of the United States Circuit Court has lately decided the case which has long been litigated between the Methodists North and South. He decides that the South are entitled to their proportion of the property, which amounts to about \$750,000. The entire membership of the South is about 460,553; and of the North about 639,066. This valuable property has grown up out of the successful management of their Book-concern.

The plan of endowing two Professorships in Kenyon College, Ohio, promises to be successful; one is already secured by the munificence of \$10,000 from a single individual, and the other will doubtless be secured by the sale of scholarships in the Diocese of Ohio.

Of American Colleges, Harvard and Yale contain the greatest number of students. Harvard exceeds Yale in numbers by 73, as follows:

HARVARD COLLEGE.—The whole number of professional students, resident graduates and undergraduates connected with the Institution, is 631. They are classed as follows: Theological students, 27; Law students, 108; students attending Medical Lectures, 116; Scientific students, 69; Resident graduates, 7; Seniors, 81; Juniors, 85; Sophomores, 71; Freshmen, 67. The number of books in the Libraries of the University, is stated as follows: Public Library, 60,000; Medical Library, 1,200. Law Library, 14,000; Theological Library, 3,000; Society Libraries of the Students, 12,000—total, about 90,200 volumes.

YALE COLLEGE.—There are now connected with it in the various departments of study 558 students; Theological students, 38; Law students, 27; Medical students, 37; students in the Arts, 16; Undergraduates, 440, viz: Seniors, 92; Juniors, 112; Sophomores, 121; Freshmen, 115.

GENEVA COLLEGE.—Trinity Church, New York, has offered to the Trustees of Geneva College, instead of the promised endowment in 1866, to endow the College at once with an annual sum of three thousand dollars, (the income of \$50,000 at 6 per cent.) on the condition that the Trustees shall make the College a **FREE COLLEGE**. This is a noble offer, and if accepted will release the College from present embarrassments, and place it at once on a permanent footing.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ENGLISH COLONIAL MISSIONS.

BISHOP OF BOMBAY.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. Carr, Bishop of Bombay, who has been for some months absent from his Diocese, has resigned his See. The Rev. John Harding, D. D., Rector of St. Andrew's and St. Ann's, Blackfriars, England, has been appointed his successor. He was consecrated on Sunday, August 10, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishop of London, and Bishop Carr. He left for Bombay, October 10.

ANOTHER COLONIAL BISHOP.

Arrangements are in progress for the establishment of a Bishopric in Borneo. The English mission there is assuming a position of great interest. The venerable Bishop of Calcutta, on a late visitation to Sarawak, said, "It is my full persuasion, that there is no mission on the face of the earth to be compared with that of Borneo." This region has been the darkest recess of heathenism. Already there are two ordained missionaries laboring with great success; two Catechists from Bishops College, Calcutta; and a *Chinese* schoolmaster. There is also a Mission school of Chinese and Dyak children, and a hospital.

STILL ANOTHER COLONIAL BISHOP.

SIERRA LEONE.—The Rev. O. E. Vidal of Holy Trinity, Arlington, Sussex, has been nominated as the first Bishop of Sierra Leone. Mr. Vidal has been engaged for several years in the study of the languages of Africa, and lately published a pamphlet to show the practicability of carrying a chain of missions across the African continent. The translation of the Scriptures into the languages of Africa would be one of the essential branches of missionary labor. The Archbishop of Canterbury and her Majesty's Government have signified their consent to Mr. Vidal's early consecration, if a moderate endowment can be secured.

The unexpected amount of matter already given in this number, has left no room for full reports of FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE, which have been prepared with great care. Among the events of moment is the new French Revolution. On the 2d of December, the President, finding the Constitution, and the Assembly, both in his way, and relying upon the Army to sustain him, sent out the following decree:

In the name of the French people, the President of the Republic decrees:

Art. 1. The National Assembly is dissolved.

Art. 2. Universal Suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is abrogated.

Art. 3. The French people is convoked in its elective colleges from the 14th of December to the 21st of December following.

Art. 4. The state of siege is decreed throughout the first military division.

Art. 5. The Council of State is dissolved.

Art. 6. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree.

(Signed,)

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

DE MORNY, the Minister of the Interior.
Palace of the Elysee, Dec. 2.

In England, the Convocational movement is becoming the great subject of the day. In July last, the matter was brought before the House of Lords, where it was thoroughly discussed. In June, the "Synod of Exeter" was held, and Three Declarations almost unanimously carried; affirming the Doctrinal and Ecclesiastical position of the Church of England, on certain questions of the times. Other Diocesan Synodical movements are in contemplation, and will, surely, sooner or later develop themselves.

F. L. Kingdon
from M. R. Smith
THE ERA OF THE CRUCIFIXION:
.....

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

RT. REV. JOHN H. HOPKINS, D. D.,

IN RESPECT TO THE ERA PROPOSED IN

REV. DR. JARVIS' "CHRONOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION
TO THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH."

BY REV. A. B. CHAPIN, M. A.,

Hon. Mem. Rhode Island Hist. Soc.; Hon. Mem. Penn. Hist. Soc.; Mem. Conn.
Acad. Science and Arts; Cor. Sec. Philological Soc., etc. etc.

NEW HAVEN.
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE B. BASSETT.
STORER AND STONE, PRINTERS.

1850.

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THE AUTHOR TO HIS BRETHREN.

It is with unfeigned regret that the writer of this letter finds himself compelled to differ from one whose learning and character he so sincerely respects, as the author of the *Chronological Introduction*; especially upon a question so intimately connected with the honor and interests of the Church. The abundant resources of the author, his extensive and varied learning, the great reputation he so justly enjoys, as also his official character as Historiographer of the Church, led us all to expect in his work, a thoroughness of investigation, a fullness and accuracy of detail, and a certainty of conclusion not elsewhere to be met with; and we looked forward to the "History of the Church" with a full confidence that it would be a monument of learning of which we might justly be proud. And although there can be no doubt that it will be, in the main, what we have confidently expected, the suspicion of error on any one important point, has been exceedingly unpleasant to the present writer,—a conviction of its existence, painful in the extreme. It is now more than five years since the fear of such an error was suggested to the learned author; more than three years since the conviction of its existence could not be resisted, and the reasons for it stated to the author; and more than two years since the substance of the following letter was prepared for the press. Even then, the hope that the author would be able, in some way, to justify or correct his computations,—a dislike to be even in seeming opposition to any brother, together with other considerations, caused us to lay the manuscript aside. But as the author has hitherto failed of doing what we had hoped he might do, duty to the Church, and to the scholarship of the Church, present and future, seems to demand a full, fair and candid examination of the points in doubt, that the truth may be still further confirmed and supported, and that where any mistake has been made, the error may be corrected.

The writer would rejoice to have been relieved of this duty, by the labor of some one more competent than himself; but the circumstances seemed to leave no alternative, and he could not allow private preference, and personal feeling to deter him from an act of duty, however disagreeable it might be. This he has endeavored to discharge, kindly, faithfully, and thoroughly; and having done so, commits the whole to the judgment of his brethren in the Church.

LETTER, & C.

RT. REV. AND DEAR SIR :

As the mover of the resolution in the House of Bishops, appointing Rev. Dr. JARVIS Historiographer of the Church, and as Chairman of the Committee to whom the manuscript of the *Chronological Introduction* to the same was submitted, I have taken the liberty to address you, and the Church through you, on a question of interest discussed in that Introduction. The point to which I refer, though not one necessarily involved in the history of the Church "from the Apostles' times," which he was requested to write, is one of importance, and may well attract the attention of the Church historian, even of a later period, relating as it does to THE TIME OF THE CRUCIFIXION, an event around which cluster all the hopes of the Christian, and from which must be derived the true date of the Christian era. The dates which Dr. Jarvis supposes he has established in his Introduction; and which it is proposed to consider in the present Letter, are; (1,) that the crucifixion took place in the Consulship of the two Gemini; and, (2,) that this Consulship belonged to A. D. 28 of the common Christian era. In this opinion Dr. Jarvis is not alone, though the great majority of the learned, both in ancient and modern times, is against him, as to the last. Consequently, before the Church can receive and adopt this era, we must be assured that his opinions are well founded. If well founded, they should be unhesitatingly adopted and defended; if not well founded, we must still give him great praise for the diligence and learning manifest in his volume, even though the facts should compel us to hesitate concerning some of his conclusions.

The first point to which I propose to call attention, as essential to the others, is; *could A. D. 28, of the common Christian era, be the year of the crucifixion?* The astronomical notes of the year of the crucifixion, according to Scripture and common consent, are the following;—a year, in which the 14th of the Jewish month Nisan began or ended upon a Friday, so that the Paschal Lamb might be slain, or eaten on that day; which day should be the first full moon after the vernal equinox. The mode in which the beginning of this month was determined, might be, either by observation, or computation by some cycle. The learned generally suppose that the Jews employed no cycle; in which opinion Dr. Jarvis concurs, (p. 459,) and makes all his computations upon the supposition that the Jewish

months were determined by observation. Upon this supposition the 1st of Nisan would ordinarily commence on the day following the true conjunction, when the moon would first become visible.* The 14th of Nisan, would, therefore, usually correspond with the day of the moon's full.

The authority on which Dr. Jarvis relies for assigning the crucifixion to A. D. 28, is Victor of Aquitaine, who wrote A. D. 457, (p. 102,) and whose Paschal Canon was adopted by the fourth Council of Orange,† A. D. 541, as the general rule for computing Easter. (pp. 105, 429.) Upon this authority Dr. Jarvis has constructed a calendar for A. D. 28, (p. 431,) according to which the Paschal new moon was Thursday, March 11th, or Friday, March 12th, the first day of Nisan commencing March 12th, at sunset. This makes the 14th of Nisan, A. D. 28, commence on Thursday, March 25th, at sunset, and supposes the crucifixion to have taken place Friday, March 26th. If, therefore, the computations of Victor can be relied upon, there are no astronomical or scientific reasons why A. D. 28 might not have been the year of the crucifixion.

But unfortunately this cannot be done. Victor's date of the crucifixion was derived from computation made backward from his own time, upon data involving material error. The amount of error, as computed by Dr. Jarvis, (pp. 103, 4,) amounted to something more than two days and a half in 532 years.‡ Now A. D. 457—A. D. 28=429 years, which gives, in the same ratio, an error of two entire days in Victor's computation of the moon's motion, between his own day, and the time of the crucifixion. Hence, the time of the moon's changes in A. D. 28, as computed from A. D. 457, by the Canon of Victor, would be carried back two days earlier than the truth, and the 1st of Nisan, instead of commencing on the evening of the 12th of March, as Victor made it, could not have commenced earlier than the evening of the 14th day of March. And if Nisan commenced on the 14th of March, then the 14th day of Nisan would commence at sunset on the 27th of March, which in A. D. 28, was Saturday; and if the 14th of Nisan, A. D. 28, commenced on Saturday, it is certain from the Scripture account that the crucifixion could not have been that year.

* Philo says "the first day of the month begins in the evening next after the conjunction." Ken. 79. (8vo.) Comp. An. U. H. III. 22, 23; X. 320. Mod. U. H. XIII. 160. Prid. Pref. I. 80; II. 470—476.

† The author seems to attach more weight to the decisions of this provincial Council than the truth of history will allow. (See Hard. II, 1435—1442.) He seems also to have mistaken the name; for the Latin name *Aurelian*, is usually translated by *Orleans*, and not *Orange*. A. U. H. XV, 462.

‡ The moon was 20 days old, January 1st, A. D. 457, when Victor wrote, and he computed that it was 19 days old, January 1st, A. D. 28, (Introd. 102,) making the mean motion of the moon to have gained one day of the sun in 429 Julian, not "solar" years, as Dr. Jarvis computes. (p. 103.) Sun's mean long. 429 Julian years, 3 deg. 4m. 12s.; moon's, 1 sign, 5 deg. 58m. 2s. Distance of moon from sun, 1 sign, 2 deg. 53m. 50s., equal to 2 days, 16h. 45m.

In confirmation of this conclusion, the testimony of the Nicene Calendar is given by Dr. Jarvis, (p. 433,) which makes the new moon "March 14th," and also an astronomical computation from Bianchini, "extracted from the Parisian tables of De la Hire," which makes the mean conjunction of sun and moon, or mean new moon to have taken place "at Jerusalem, March 14th, 3h. 17m. 10 sec. P. M." So far the author's demonstration of the inherent error of Victor's cycle,—the lunations as given by himself from the Nicene Calendar, and the quotations he has given from Bianchini, all coincide in making the Paschal new moon of A. D. 28, to have happened on the 14th of March. Consequently, the 1st of Nisan could not have begun before sunset of that day, and the 14th of Nisan, instead of beginning on the 25th of March, as Victor makes it, could not have begun earlier than the evening of the 27th of March.

This objection seems to have escaped the observation of the author, and when pressed with it by Prof. Kingsley, he replies, (C. R. I, p. 94,) that the passage quoted from Bianchini should have read the *thirteenth*, instead of the *fourteenth* of March. He then says: "The mean conjunction in the meridian of Jerusalem, says the younger Bianchini, was at 3h. 17m. 10s. P. M., on the 13th of March; the true conjunction eleven hours later; that is, at 2h. 17m. 10s. A. M., on the 14th of March." (Ch. Rev. I, 97.) To find the mean and true oppositions, Dr. Jarvis tells us; "we have only to halve the periodical month and add that half to the time which preceded her conjunction, and we have the exact moment in which she became full." (C. R. I, 97.) How he could fall into the mistake of substituting the periodic for the synodic month, it is difficult to conceive, for it is in opposition to his own practice in the Introduction, and without authority from books. But even this oversight would not have helped the case had it not been for another still more unaccountable. It was essential to Dr. Jarvis' argument, that the 26th of March should be the 14th of Nisan. To prove that this was so, he reduces current time to complete, and adds: "The mean full moon, and the true full moon [of March, A. D. 28] are found as follows:

Mean conjunction, 12d. 15h. 17m. 10s.	True conjunction, 13d. 2h. 17m. 10s.
Add [half per. m.] 13 15 51 31½	13 15 51 31½

Mean full moon, 26 7 8 41½ True full moon, 26 18 8 41½
That is, it was mean full moon on Friday, March 26th, A. D. 28, nearly nine minutes after 7 o'clock in the morning, and true full moon at nearly nine minutes past 6 in the evening." (C. R. I, 98.)*

* The following is the true mode of computing the mean full moon.

Mean new moon,	March 14th,	15h.	17m.	10s.
Add half lunation,	14,	18	22	2
Mean full moon,	March 29th,	9h.	39m.	12s.
Computed true full moon.	March 29th,	5h.	26m.	19s.

[Browne 55.]

By one of those oversights, which are more easily made than accounted for, the learned author forgot that he had reduced current to complete time, and that in both of the above results he had obtained the full moon, *twenty-six complete days*, and some hours after the commencement of March, so that, had his computations been correctly made, the full moon would still have been on the 27th, and not the 26th, of March. Nor does it appear to have occurred to him, that his "Vindication," as against Prof. Kingsley, was the confutation of his own book; for his new interpretation of Bianchini, contradicts both Victor and the Nicene Calendar. He seems to have overlooked the fact that he has given us three dates of the Paschal new moon of A. D. 28; that of Victor, March 11th or 12th; that of Bianchini, as last interpreted, March 13th or 14th; and that of the Nicene Calendar, March 14th. And what is still more to be regretted, not one of these dates is correct; all having been obtained by faulty rules and principles, or from imperfect data. Nor does the computation of Bianchini, however he may have interpreted it, make the mean conjunction of sun and moon to have taken place on the 13th of March, and the true conjunction the 14th, as Dr. Jarvis seems to suppose. The computation he has quoted from Bianchini makes the mean Paschal new moon to have been on the afternoon of the 14th of March, as correctly stated in the Introduction. (p. 433, n.) And since the "true conjunction was eleven hours later," (C. R. I, 97,) the moon became new between 2 and 3 o'clock, on the morning of the 15th of March, and the 1st of Nisan, therefore, commenced at sunset on that day. Consequently, the 14th of Nisan began on the 23th of March, at sunset, which was Sunday, and hence A. D. 28, could not have been the year of the crucifixion.

It is much to be regretted, that on so important a point as this, the author did not deem it expedient to make the computations for himself, and not to rely, as he professes to have done, upon "second-hand testimony." (Introd. p. 432. C. R. I, 97.) Had he done this, he would have seen that the computations made from the tables of De la Hire, imperfect as those tables are, make the Paschal new moon of A. D. 28, to fall at the same time as later computists. My own computations, made from Delambre's Tables of the Sun, and De Burg's Tables of the Moon, (omitting minor equations,) give the mean conjunction at Greenwich, March 14th, 12h. 59m., and the true conjunction, 10h. 45m. 46s. later. Adding the difference of time between Paris and Jerusalem, (2h. 34m. 32s. as computed by Bianchini,) and the difference of time between London and Paris, (9m. 21s.,) and I make the mean new moon at Jerusalem, March 14th, 3h. 32m. 53s. P. M., and the true new moon, March 15th, 2h. 18m. 39s. A. M., a result, in strict accordance with the computations of two able astronomers, to whom I submitted the question, more than two years since. I have also met with a calculation made by Rev. Dr. Totten, late President of Trinity College, published in the *Christian Witness*, April 7th, 1948, which makes the true new

moon, at Jerusalem, March 15th, 2h. 54m. A. M., so that if any reliance can be placed upon the testimony of astronomical science, the Paschal new moon of A. D. 28, took place between 2 and 3 o'clock, A. M., March 15th; the 1st of Nisan began on the evening of that day, and the 14th of Nisan began on Sunday evening, March 28th, not on Thursday evening, March 25th, as Victor's Canon makes it, nor on Friday, March 26th, as Bianchini's theory (not his computation) makes it. President Totten supposes the moon would not be visible until the evening of the 16th, and then the 14th of Nisan would begin at sunset of the 29th of March. But Browne, (*Ordo Sæclorum*, 55, 493,) with more probability thinks it would be visible on the 15th, and that the 14th of Nisan would begin on the 28th of March.*

That the tables of De la Hire do not differ materially from others would have been evident to our author, had he examined them carefully. The computation he has extracted from Bianchini, (p. 433, n.) makes the sun's mean longitude at Paris, at the beginning of the first day of the first year of our era, 9S. 8d. 43m. 48s., to which he adds the mean motion of the sun for twenty-seven complete years and seventy-three complete days, to find the Paschal new moon of A. D. 28. From what epoch are these tables computed; December 31st, noon; January 1st, midnight; or January 1st, noon, for all these epochs are employed in astronomical tables? That the epoch is noon, is evident from the computation itself, but whether December 31st, noon, or January 1st, noon, must be learned from some other source. If they are computed from December 31st, noon, like the old English and German tables, and the common sea account, seventy-three complete days would end March 13th, noon, and Dr. Jarvis' last interpretation of Bianchini is the true one. But if they are computed from January 1st, noon, like the old French, and modern English, and German tables, then seventy-three complete days would end March 14th, noon, and the original statement of the Introduction is correct, and not a typographical error, as is now alledged. The following comparison of computations of the sun's mean longitude, made from several tables, all reduced to the meridian of Greenwich, and computed for A. D. 1, January 1st, noon, will enable us to judge of the epoch of De la Hire.

De la Hire,	9S.	8d.	43m.	26s.	Variations.
Whiston,	9	8	52	11	8m. 45s.
Mayer and Mason,	9	8	34	10	9 16
Delambre, by Vince,	9	8	51	32	8 6

There can be no doubt as to this result, and had Dr. Jarvis made the comparison for himself, he could not have failed of seeing it. If he had not chosen to do this, he had only to look into De la Hire's

* The Jews for many centuries have employed the mean motions of the sun and moon, as given by Ptolemy, (Ken. pp. 80, 81;) and the principles by which they determine the time of the moon's visibility, as given by Maimonides, are reduced by Bedford (p. 30) to astronomical principles.

account of his own Tables to find him saying, (p. 5,) "We place the beginning of the year on the 1st day of the month of January, at noon, and the end, on the 1st day of the month of January, in the year following, at noon." Consequently, A. D. 28, was not, and could not have been the year of the crucifixion, because the 14th of Nisan of this year could not have been Friday, unless the Jews employed a cycle for the determination of the time of the Passover, contrary to the statement of their own writers, and the general opinion of the learned. (Introduction, p. 459.)

Were this a question of ordinary interest, I should pursue it no further, for according to the principles upon which our author proceeds, it is not possible that A. D. 29 could have been the year of the crucifixion. But it may be true, after all, that the Jews did employ a cycle for determining the time of the Passover, and hence that A. D. 28 may possibly have been the year of the crucifixion; if it can be certainly proved by other testimony, as Dr. Jarvis supposes, that it took place in the Consulship of the two Gemini, and that this Consulship belongs to A. D. 28. Hence it demands further consideration.

It is agreed by the learned, that the list of Consuls approved by Dr. Jarvis, from the Consulship of Cicero and Anthony to the time of Censorinus, is the true one with a single exception, Dr. Jarvis inserting one at A. D. 160, which other chronologists generally omit, thus ante-dating the common chronology of each Consulship previous to that time one year. This leads him to place the death of Augustus in A. D. 13, instead of A. D. 14, where it is generally placed. The war in Spain, in the year preceding the Reformation of the Calendar by Julius Cæsar, instead of the first year of that Calendar, where it is generally supposed to belong, and the Consulship of the two Gemini in A. D. 28, instead of A. D. 29, where it is usually placed. And so of all the others. After giving the case all the attention possible, and weighing it with care, I can not resist the conviction that Dr. Jarvis has been led astray by the authorities on which he relies. The Consulships of the civil war are conceded to be as follows. I give the numbering of Dr. Jarvis, and reference to the pages of his book where he speaks of them.

No. 15, Marcellus and Lentulus,	1st year of civil war,	pp. 154, 170.
" 16, Cæsar ii and Isauricus,	2d " " "	pp. 154, 171.
" 17, Calenus and Vatieus,	3d " war in Alexandria,	pp. 154, 172.
" 18, Cæsar iii and M. E. Lepidus,	4th " war in Africa,	pp. 154, 173.
" 19, Cæsar iv and Fabius,	5th " war in Spain,	pp. 154, 174.

Dr. Jarvis has taken pains to show, and supposes that he has shown, that the year of the war in Spain was the year of the Reformation of the Roman Calendar, (pp. 168—182,) and he seems to suppose that he has the authority of Censorinus to sustain him in his conclusion. Yet Censorinus seems to me to affirm the direct contrary. As quoted by Dr. Jarvis, (p. 58,) he says: "When Caius [Julius] Cæsar was Pontifex Maximus, in the year of his third Consulship with M. Æmilius Lepidus, he interposed, in order to correct the error (previously made), two intercalary months of 67 days, between Novem-

ber and December, when he had already intercalated 23 days in the month of February, making that year to consist of 445 days." This language can mean nothing less than, that the year of "445 days" generally called "the year of confusion," was, according to Censorinus, the year of Cæsar's third Consulship with M. E. Lepidus." And that this Consulship was the year of the war in Africa, is conceded by all. The authority of Censorinus, therefore, is not in favor of the opinion advocated by Dr. Jarvis, but clearly opposed to it.

But aside from the authority of Censorinus, Dr. Jarvis seems to suppose that he has good ground for assigning the war in Spain to "the year of confusion," arising out of its astronomical characteristics, and the improbability of Cæsar's accomplishing what we know he did, in the months of January, February and March of a common year. The astronomical data are all dependent upon a single expression in Cæsar's war in Spain, where it is said that on the 5th of March Pompey changed his quarters, and that before Cæsar followed him, "the moon had risen about the sixth hour;" (Intro. 167,)—"luna hora circiter vi visa est." (De Bell. c. 27.) This "sixth hour," says Dr. Jarvis, was, "according to the Roman computation, about midnight; (Ib. 169,) at which time the moon would have risen on the 5th of March, in the year of confusion. But this statement he has himself contradicted elsewhere, (p. 433,) where he says that, "according to the Roman computation of time, the civil day began and ended at midnight." This is, no doubt, correct, and whoever will mark the notation of time in Hirtius' account of the civil war, will see that "hora vi" can not mean midnight, in that author. Compare De Bel. Alex. cc. 6, "horam x diei,"—58. "proxima nocte, vigilia quarta."—De Bel. Afr. cc. 34, "circiter vigilia prima,"—42. "circiter vigilia secunda noctis,"—68. "a quarta vigilia usque at horam x diei noctis hora prima,"—67. "C. in horam x commoratus,"—68. "tertia vigilia egressus."—De Bel. Hisp. cc. 3. "secunda vigilia,"—9. "tertia vigilia profectus,"—10. "noctis tertia vigilia,"—11. "vigilia secunda,"—16. "et iii vigilia eruptionem facerent,"—19. "vigilia secunda,"—27. "hora circiter vi,"—28. "de iii vigila." These are all the designations of the time of day I have observed in Hirtius, and they appear to me, to show conclusively, that in the language of this author, "hora vi" cannot signify midnight. The interpretation of this passage by the Delphinæ Cæsar, and also in the Elziver edition, is, that the moon was visible in the east when the sun was on the meridian, as it might have been on the 5th of March, in the first year of the Reformed Calendar, and that it is mentioned as a prodigy. So Prof. Kingsley understood it, to whom Dr. Jarvis replies as though this were impossible. (C. R. I, 100, 101.) Unfortunately the learned author seems not to be aware that the visibility of the moon, in the day time, and at all hours in the day, is not only possible, but a thing of common occurrence in a clear day, especially in the spring of the year. Upon this supposition the astronomical

data are against his opinion, not in favor of it; for unless "hora vi" means midnight his theory must fall.

The other point,—the labor performed by Cæsar, which Dr. Jarvis supposes could not have been performed in a common year, does not appear to me as it does to him. Nor can I see that the proposed change obviates any difficulty. It is conceded that Cæsar marched with a large army from Rome to Cordova, in twenty-seven days; a distance of more than twelve hundred miles, arriving there the latter part of January. Attegua, a few miles distant from Cordova was taken on the eleventh before the Kalends of March, which, in a common year, would have been the 19th of February, something more than twenty days after Cæsar's arrival; but which our author supposes was "the 19th of the intercalary month Merkedonius, the seventy-first day of the year of confusion, about forty or forty-five days after his arrival in Spain." (p. 174.) A few days after he took Cordova,—a few days later still he captured Hispalis, (Seville,) a place sixty miles from Cordova, and on the 17th of March fought the decisive battle of Munda, fifty miles from Hispalis. That Cæsar marched twelve hundred miles in twenty-seven days,—that he took Cordova, marched sixty miles and took Seville, marched fifty miles more, prepared for and fought the battle of Munda, in twenty-four days, Dr. Jarvis must allow. Why then he might not have thrown supplies into Ulia, and captured Attegua in twenty days, I am unable to conceive. And if this could be done, the argument of our author from probabilities vanishes. No sufficient presumption can be drawn from these facts, therefore, to authorize us to found any argument upon them.

There are still other objections to the change made by Dr. Jarvis. The insertion of what he considers the "lost Consulship" for A. D. 160, causes him to ante-date, as has been remarked, all events before that time by one entire year. Dr. Jarvis has shown (p. 393) that in the third Consulship of Philip, the secular games for the thousandth year of Rome were celebrated with great splendor. (A. U. H. XV, 410.) This year was twenty-five complete years subsequent to the first year of Alexander Severus, whose reign is agreed to have commenced A. D. 222. And 222-25=247, the one thousandth year of Rome. Now Tacitus tells us (Ann. xi, 11) that in the Consulship of Claudius iv and Vitellus iii, the secular games for the eighth hundredth year of Rome were celebrated, he himself assisting as a chief officer. This Consulship Dr. Jarvis assigns to A. D. 46, (p. 311,) giving an interval of two hundred and one complete years between the eighth hundredth and one thousandth years of Rome. Strike out the interposed Consulship at A. D. 160, (pp. 285, 286, 329,) and the Consulship of Claudius iv and Vitellus iii belongs to A. D. 47, where the common chronology places it, thus giving the proper interval between eight hundred and one thousand. The Consulship in question, therefore, must have been unknown to the Roman chronology.

Again, Censorinus says that the year in which he wrote,—the Consulships of Ulpian and Pontianus, was “the hundredth of the great year” of the Egyptians, which began in the Consulship of Antoninus Pius ii and Bruttius Præsens. (Intro. pp. 34, 35.) The first of these Dr. Jarvis assigns to A. D. 238, (p. 342,) the last to A. D. 188, (p. 327,) giving an interval of one hundred complete years between the two, instead of 99, as Censorinus computed. So also Censorinus says that the secular games were celebrated in the Consulship of Domitian xiv and L. M. Rufus, A. U. C. 841. (Intro. 296, 7.) But this does not square with Dr. Jarvis’ theory, according to which this should be A. U. C. 839, 840, and not 840, 841, as Censorinus reads. Hence he concludes that there has been some conjectural emendation of the text of Censorinus as to this date.” (p. 297.) But if the Consulship of Claudius iv and Vitellus iii, belonged to A. U. C. 800, as Tacitus declares, then that of Domitian xiv and L. M. Rufus must belong to 841, according to Dr. Jarvis’ own tables, for he assigns one to A. D. 46, (p. 311,) and the other to A. D. 87, (p. 322,) giving an interval of forty-one years. A similar tampering with dates Dr. Jarvis is obliged to suppose in case of an inscription given by Siginus, according to which Cæsar is said to have celebrated an ovation in February, A. U. C. 709, 710, whereas, according to Dr. Jarvis’ chronology, he was murdered the year before. (pp. 179, 181, 182.) But the date is right according to Censorinus, for the year in which he wrote was A. U. C. 990, 991, the two hundred and eighty-third year of the era of Cæsar’s Reformed Calendar. Therefore, 990, 991, —282 complete years, gives A. U. C. 708, 709, as the first year of the Reformed Calendar. If this was the year of the war in Spain, as is generally supposed, and as Censorinus certainly supposed, then Cæsar was murdered the following year, the second year of the Reformed Calendar, which was A. U. C. 709, 710, as the inscription makes it.* (pp. 179, 181, 182.) Omit the “lost Consulship,” and Censorinus is right, and the inscription is right, and the common chronology is also right.

There is also some important facts to which our author has not alluded, which are irreconcilable with his theory. Dion Cassius tells us, (L. ix, c. 27,) that in the Consulship of Claudius and Corvinus, the sun was visibly eclipsed at Rome, on the 1st of August, about an hour after midday, it being the birth day of the Emperor Claudius. The common chronology places this Consulship in A. D. 45; and Petavius (II, 376) and Calvisius (p. 444,) give the particulars of the same. But Dr. Jarvis assigns it to A. D. 44. That no such eclipse could have happened at Rome on the 1st of August, A. D. 44, is evident from the table of eclipses in the *Art of Verifying Dates*. That there might have been one of this description in A. D. 44, is evident from

* The old writers which go under the name of *Mezala Corvinus*, and *Sextus Rufus*, though not as ancient as they purport to be, are not modern, place the death of Cæsar, A. U. C. 709, 710. *Livy*, folio, 5, 6.

a comparison of the mean longitude of the sun and moon at the time specified.

	Mean longitude of sun.				Mean longitude of moon.			
1845, January 1st,	9S.	18d.	59m.	10s.	6S.	16d.	8m.	56s.
Const. Diff. 1800y.	11	26	6	10	0	16	17	58
Sec. Var. Sol. t.			6	12			6	12
					lun. t.		47	31
Motion to Aug. 1st,	6	28	57	26	9	3	23	46

Aug. 1, noon, A. D. 45, 4 6 9 6 4 6 44 23

Difference, 35m. 6s. Now as the mean anomalies of the sun and moon's apogee at this time were both nearly twelve signs, the mean and true longitude would be nearly the same, and hence there was a conjunction of the same about noon, August 1st, A. D. 45, therefore, there might have been an eclipse of the sun. On the 1st of August, A. D. 44, they wanted 4S. 8d. 28m. 16s. of mean conjunction, which was equal to 10d. 12h. 55m., and consequently an eclipse was impossible. According to Dion, therefore, this Consulship belonged to A. D. 45, where the common chronology places it.

Clement of Alexandria reckons 222 years from the battle of Actium and the death of Anthony, to the death of Commodus (Strom. i, 337.) Dr. Jarvis places one A. J. P. 4682, (p. 197,) and the other, A. J. P. 4905, (p. 331,) giving an interval of 223 years. By doing this, he is obliged to add "one year" to the length of the reign of Commodus, as stated by Clement, Dion, and "all the old chronologers." (p. 331.) The "lost Consulship," therefore, was unknown to Clement.

Whether Augustus died A. D. 13 or 14, must depend mainly upon the certainty of the other dates. There are, however, a few independent data which Dr. Jarvis conceives favor his opinion. Dion and Eusebius state, that in the year in which Augustus died, there was "a total eclipse of the sun," to which Dion adds, "a great part of the heavens seemed to be on fire, and blood-red comets were seen." (Introd. 244, 246.) The "blood-red comets," and "the heavens on fire," Dr. Jarvis finds no difficulty with, but the "total eclipse" he thinks is decidedly in his favor; and because there was no "total eclipse of the sun" in A. D. 14, he thinks it certain that Dion and Eusebius referred to A. D. 13. To prove that this might have been the year he quotes the following from the Art of Verifying Dates, A. D. 13. " * 28 April, at 7½ evening. Small part of Europe, to the West and Northwest. Central, in lat. 52. Annular." (p. 248.) This, Dr. Jarvis thinks is sufficiently near the account of Dion and Eusebius to justify their account. It might be replied, however, that in a list of prodigies, an *annular* eclipse would never have been described as total, the annular being much the rarest, and hence the greater marvel. But unfortunately, the eclipse was not *seen* as total, central, or annular, any where on the Continent of Europe, for the very good reason that, as is shown by computation, it was not so any where except on the Atlantic Ocean, the middle of the eclipse

being more than half an hour after sun down on the Northwest coast of Ireland. The eclipse, therefore, proves nothing for Dr. Jarvis, because it could not have been seen any where in the Roman Empire, and because had it been seen, it would have been different from the one described.

The eclipse of the moon, celebrated in Roman history as being the means of quelling a mutiny in Pannonia, is another fact which Dr. Jarvis understands as favoring his view. (pp. 251—255.) Augustus died on the 19th of August, and in A. D. 13, there was a partial eclipse of the moon in the evening of October 7th; and a total eclipse of the moon in A. D. 14, on the morning of September 27th. Between the 19th of August, and one of these dates, the news of Cæsar's death had been received in Pannonia, a distance of about seven hundred miles, the army had revolted, news had been carried to Rome, and Drusus had marched from Rome to Pannonia with a large army. This our author thinks could not have been done in the thirty-seven days that elapsed between August 19th and September 27th. That an army should march "seven hundred miles," "in twenty days," he thinks would "have been an astonishingly rapid movement;" (p. 255,) that they must have been fine fellows to have done it. (C. R. I, 88.) He thinks we should allow "a month for the march of Drusus and his Prætorian cohorts." (p. 255.) He seems to have forgotten that Julius Cæsar marched from Rome to Cordova, also with a large army, a distance of more than twelve hundred miles in twenty-seven days, which was forty-five miles a day; why then may not Drusus with his army, have marched *seven* hundred miles in *twenty* days, which was only thirty-five miles a day? In respect to the argument drawn from the character of the eclipse itself, I must confess that my idea of probabilities is against the learned author's conclusion,—that it seems to me that a total eclipse of the moon, (the moon setting totally eclipsed,) answers the description of Tacitus much better than the partial eclipse of the evening.

I know not, therefore, how to avoid the conclusion, that the first year of Cæsar's Reformed Calendar, notwithstanding "Bianchini's demonstration," (C. R. I, 87,) was the year of the war in Spain, that Augustus died in A. D. 14, and that the interposed Consulship assigned to A. D. 160, was unknown to Dion Cassius and to Censorinus, and was not computed in the Roman account at that time. And the interposed Consulship at A. D. 160, being omitted, all the Consulships belong to the time where the general consent of the learned has long placed them.

Dr. Jarvis seems to have been led into his error by following the computations of Victor. (p. 283,)* and to have been confirmed in it by the high estimate he places upon the accuracy of the Roman

* The list of Consuls from Cassiodore, himself a Consul, gives 211 Consulships to the time when Censorinus wrote. Victor gives 210, which Dr. Jarvis supposes is right. Idatus and the Chronicon Paschale, 208. (p. 283.) But the list of Victor required considerable emendation before it could be received, even by Dr. Jarvis.

Chronology ; an honor it seems to me by no means to deserve. That Livy followed the common Chronology of his day, is probable ; but he has taken especial pains to tell us that he had no confidence in it. (Comp. B. ii, 21 ; vi, 1 ; x, 40.) That he followed the Chronology of Camillus quoted by Dr. Jarvis, (p. 52,) is doubtful. Livy omits the Consuls reckoned by some as the second after the expulsion, (ii, 8, 15,) reckons that as A. U. C. 301, which is usually reckoned as A. U. C. 302, (iii, 333,) and that as 310, which is usually counted 311. (iv, 7.) This makes the taking of Rome A. U. C. 364, and not 365, as Camillus called it. At a later period, Livy places the Dictatorship of Papius Cursor in the Consulship of Camillus and Brutus, (viii, 29,) instead of assigning them to different years, as is done by some. He also omits the Consuls usually assigned to A. U. C. 264, 265. (ii, 34, 39.)* Here are two years omitted by Livy, now always counted in the common chronology. Niebuhr thinks they should be omitted, and he gives it as his opinion, that "Sigonius has irrefragably proved that Livy does actually place the beginning of the first Punic war in 496, and not 498." (Hist. R. II, 416.) Niebuhr's opinion, that the four repetitions of plebian tribunes assigned to A. U. C. 380, 381, 382, and 383 are mere fabrications inserted to fill up the gap of some computation, seems also probable. (ii, 417.) Reject the two years omitted by Livy, and the four apocryphal years of interregnum, and we have the foundation of Rome, Olympiad 8 : 3, where it was placed by Fabius Pictor, the oldest of the Latin historians, where it was also placed by the Christian writer, Orosius, by Archbishop Ussher, and also by Niebuhr. (Neib. II, 420, 421. Introd. 51,)+ and not Ol. 6 : 1, where Dr. Jarvis, after Plutarch, Velleius Paterculus and Eutropius place it. (pp. 51, 54.)

I do not see, therefore, how the authority of Sigonius, Pighius, or Bianchini, on whom Dr. Jarvis seems to rely, (C. R. I, 98) can help his supposition. Sigonius had proved, in the opinion of Pighius, Bianchini, and Niebuhr, (II, 416,) that the common chronology in respect to Roman affairs, reckoned two years more before the Punic war, than the history of Livy would allow. If then, the foundation of Rome is regarded as a fixed epoch, the omission of these two years would carry back the Consulship of the two Gemini, usually assigned to A. D. 29, to A. D. 27. This, however, could not be allowed. Hence, perhaps, why Pighius invested a Consulship for one of the antecedent years, (Neib. II, 416,) to bring down the Consulship of

* He also informs us that Piso omits two pairs of Consuls which he had given, and which are usually assigned to A. U. C. 446, 447. (ix, 44.)

† The numbering of the years of Rome, as given at the beginning of the fourth Decade of Livy, would seem to indicate that this was done by Livy himself, for the manuscript makes him place the Consulship of Appius Claudius, A. U. C. 478, instead of 487, where the common chronology places it, and the Consulship of Galba and Aurelius A. U. C. 544, instead of 552, where it is generally placed. Omit the Consuls of A. U. C. 446, 447, strike out the four apocryphal years of interregnum, and the two years omitted by Piso, and the Consulship of Galba and Aurelius becomes A. U. C. 544, where the manuscript places it.

the two Gemini to A. D. 28, where Victor placed it. Bianchini provides for the other year by inventing another pair of Consuls for A. D. 41, (Intro. v, vi. C. R. I, 88, 89,) thus filling the two years struck out by Sigonius. But though this was done in violation of all history, he thereby escaped many of the objections which have just been urged against Dr. Jarvis' theory from Censorinus and the Roman history, these lying mostly subsequent to A. D. 41. Bianchini's "demonstration" may have "embarrassed" Muratori, as Dr. Jarvis supposes, (C. R. I, 89,) but it convinced no one, and has been adopted by no one who had not previously assumed the truth of Victor's dates.

I see no reason, therefore, for supposing that the Consulship of the two Gemini belonged to A. D. 28. But whether it did or not, are we obliged to suppose that the crucifixion took place in that Consulship? Whiston, Ussher, Prideaux, Newton, Bedford, Kennedy, and other English chronologists supposed not, in which opinion the authors of the *Art of Verifying Dates*, and many learned men on the continent concur. Has Dr. Jarvis produced any evidence that impugns their judgment? It seems to me that he has not, as will be seen from a brief summary of the evidence.

It is agreed that with the exception of Epiphanius, the early Greek writers never give any Consular date for the crucifixion; and that the Latins generally assign it to the two Gemini. Is there an amount and concurrence of testimony sufficient to establish the certainty or probability of this opinion? The substance of this testimony, as quoted by Dr. Jarvis, is as follows:

1. About one hundred and sixty years after the crucifixion, (A. D. 200,) TERTULLIAN says: "The passion of this piercing was finished within the seventy weeks, [of Daniel,] under Tiberius Cæsar, Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus being Consuls,—in the month of March, in the season of the Passover, on the 8th before the Kalends of April, [March 25th,] the first day of unleavened bread, in which it had been commanded by Moses to kill the lamb." (Adv. Jud. c. 8.) Intro. 378.

2. A hundred years later, (A. D. 300,) LACTANTIUS says: "As we have read in a writing, (ut scriptum legimus,) our LORD JESUS CHRIST was crucified by the Jews, late in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, after the 10th of the Kalends of April, [March 23d,] the two Gemini being Consuls." (De Mort. Persc. c. 2.) Again: "Herod . . . who was under the Empire of Tiberius Cæsar, in whose fifteenth year, that is, the two Gemini being Consuls, the seventh day before the Kalends of April, [March 26th,] the Jews affixed CHRIST to the Cross." (Inst. iv, 10.) Intro. 379.

3. A century later still, (A. D. 400,) AUGUSTINE says: "CHRIST died when the two Gemini were Consuls, the 8th before the Kalends of April." (De Civ. Dei. xviii, 54.) Intro. 380, 381.

4. About the same age, A. D. 401, SULPICIUS SEVERUS says that "CHRIST was crucified when Fufius Geminus and Rubellius Geminus were Consuls." (Hist. Sac. ii, 40.) Intro. 383, 384.

5. Half a century later, (A. D. 457,) Victor of Aquitaine says : "On the sixth day of the week, [Friday,] that is on the 7th before the Kalends of April, [March 26th,] CHRIST was crucified." (Can-Pasch. pp. 89.) Introd. 102—104, 365, 432.

Of the general uniformity of this tradition among the Latins, subsequent to the time of Tertullian, there can be no doubt. It becomes an important inquiry, therefore, whence this tradition arose, and to what credit it is entitled. Aside from all proof, there are three ways in which it might have originated. It (1) might have been the universal tradition of the Church, or (2) it may have proceeded from some record evidence discovered in the age of Tertullian; or (3) he might have obtained it by computation. But that it was not the universal opinion or tradition of the Church, is proved by the fact, that not one of the Greeks, except Epiphanius, gives the Consular date of the crucifixion, and he gives a different one. Besides, Clement of Alexandria, a contemporary with Tertullian, one of the most learned men of the age, gives three dates as having been assigned to the time of the crucifixion. He says that some assign it to the "25th of Phamenoth, [March 21st,] others to the 25th of Pharmuthi, [April 20th,] and others to the 19th of the same month," [April 14th,] (Strom. i, 340,) all of which he evidently regards as doubtful, and as having been derived from computation. A few years later, (A. D. 222,) Hippolytus computed and published at Rome a Paschal Canon, in which he places the crucifixion "the 8th before the Kalends of April, [March 25th,]" That the date of Hippolytus was derived from computation is certain, and that others might have been obtained in the same way, is, therefore, possible. The second supposition is, that the tradition took its rise from records, existing in the days of Tertullian, preserved in the Roman Archives, or among the Christians themselves. These records were subsequently known as the *Acta Pilata*, and are supposed by Dr. Jarvis, (pp. 375, 434,) to have contained a full account of the circumstances connected with the crucifixion. That there were *Acta*, in the time of Epiphanius, purporting to do this, he bears distinct testimony, and he adds another important fact, that different copies of the *Acta*, gave different dates for the crucifixion, some giving March 18th, and others March 25th. (Hær. i, 420.) His own estimate of their authority may be inferred from the fact, that he rejected both, and assigned the crucifixion to March 20th. (Adv. ii, 26.)

It is evident, however, that the Latin writers depended, not on the *Acta Pilata*, but on Tertullian for their opinion. Augustine, Severus, Victor and Prosper, appeal only to the general belief and tradition of the Church. Lactantius refers to a *writing* which he had read, which might have been, and in all probability was Tertullian himself. The only writer, therefore, who has any claim to the character of an independent witness, is Tertullian. We are led to inquire, therefore, what is the precise character of his testimony, and what is the probability that he had record evidence for his statements. He writes—

"In the fifteenth year of whose [Tiberius] reign, CHRIST suffered, after having lived thirty years; . . . which passion was completed under Tiberius Cæsar. . . . Rubellius Geminus and Fufius Geminus being Consuls,—in the month of March, in the season of the Passover, the 8th day before the Kalends of April, [March 25th,] on the first day of unleavened bread, in which it had been commanded by Moses to kill the lamb." (Adv. Jud. c. 8.)

Dr. Jarvis evidently supposes that Tertullian had record evidence for these facts. He seems, indeed, to suppose that the *Acta Pilata* furnished him with the month, day of the month, Consulship and year of Cæsar in which the crucifixion took place. (pp. 375, 434.) And since the age of our LORD at the time of his death is also given, it is fair to presume that this too, must have formed part of the record, if any such existed, though Dr. Jarvis has seen fit to omit this part of it.

It may be said that if we reject the *Acta Pilata* altogether, there will still be sufficient evidence to justify us in supposing that Tertullian copied from records. What then were Tertullian's means of knowledge? These are supposed by Dr. Jarvis to be, (1,) the records of the Empire, preserved in public places, to which he had free access, (pp. 370—377,) ;—(2,) the inscriptions of the *Fasti Capitolini*, also preserved in public places, (p. 149) ; and (3,) the writings of contemporaneous historians. If these records were as full, complete, and trustworthy, as Dr. Jarvis supposes, they must have preserved an unbroken succession of Emperors and Consuls, and all other important events of the Empire. Tertullian, therefore, had only to consult them to be certain of the truth. The most careless observer could not have misapprehended the records of the *Fasti*. Upon this supposition, there is no reason why a man, of even common learning and accuracy, writing when Tertullian did, should fall into any material error in regard to the history of that period. And yet Tertullian has done this, in a surprising manner.

In the book from which the foregoing quotation was taken, Tertullian is arguing against the Jews, that JESUS is the true Messiah; and he is anxious to prove, therefore, that "the passion of the piercing" fell within "the seventy weeks" foretold by Daniel. After giving a list of Persian and Egyptian kings, he adds, in proof, the following list of Roman Emperors. I give in another column the list of Dr. Jarvis as determined in the Introduction.

Roman Emperors.	Tertullian.			Dr. Jarvis.		
Tiberius,	22y.	7m.	20	22y.	6m.	26
Caligula,	3	8	13	3	10	8
Claudius,	omitted.			13	8	20
Nero,	9	9	13	13	7	27
Galba,		7	6		7	6
Otho,	omitted.				3	2
Vitellus,		8	10		8	4
	37	8	2	55	4	3

Here is an omission of almost *eighteen* years in this short period, amounting to nearly a third of the whole,—made, not in the dark and uncertain times of Roman history, but in its most certain and authentic period ;—relating, not to a point of inferior consequence, but to one which he deemed essential to his argument against the Jews, and which forms part of the foundation on which it rested. I see not, then, but we must conclude, either, that there was no such sure and certain method of ascertaining the facts of Roman history, as is supposed ; or, that Tertullian can not be trusted for them. In either case, it detracts from the weight of his testimony, and raises the presumption, that the time of the crucifixion, which forms part of what we know to have been an erroneous computation, was itself determined by computation, and not derived from history.

It is important, therefore, to consider the probability that Tertullian actually derived his date from computation. For this purpose it will be necessary to consider briefly the ancient modes of computing the time of the Passover. The oldest Paschal Canon in existence, is that of Hippolytus, and is so constructed as to extend indefinitely in both directions, so as to form a perpetual Canon. This Canon is based upon the erroneous assumption, that the mean motions of the sun and moon are exactly equal in eight Julian years. Taking twice this period, or a double octaeteride, Hippolytus found that the 14th day of the Paschal moon, thus determined, receded one week-day in every sixteen years ; and hence, that in seven times this period, or in one hundred and twelve years, the cycle would have made a complete revolution, having arrived at a point where the 14th day of the Paschal moon would fall upon the day of the week and month from which it started. Had the astronomical data of the octaeteride, which was employed by this author, been correctly determined, the Canon of Hippolytus would have been a perpetual Canon, showing the 14th day of the Paschal Moons forever.* This Canon commences with A. D. 222, in which year the 14th day of the moon fell on the thirteenth of April, which was Saturday, and the author supposed that any year, removed from A. D. 222, by a period of one hundred and twelve years, or any multiple of that, would also have the 14th day of the Paschal moon, April 13th, Saturday. And so of the other dates. We give this Canon, properly translated into English, placing at the head of the several columns the years in which the cycles of sixteen years commenced.

Hippolytus places the Nativity in the second year of the first cycle of sixteen years, and the crucifixion in the 16th year of the second cycle of sixteen years, or the 31st year of the cycle of 112 years. He allows, therefore, only thirty complete years between the Nativity and Crucifixion, in accordance with the statements of Ter-

* The account of this cycle copied by Dr. Jarvis, (pp. 390, 391,) from Bianchini gives no proper view of it. The error is in no wise dependent on "the precession of the equinoxes," but upon the assumption that the mean motions of the sun and moon are exactly equal in eight Julian years.

tullian, and not in accordance with Dr. Jarvis' interpretation of Hippolytus. (p. 394.) These dates we know were derived from computation, the canon being composed from the observation of the preceding eight years, as follows.

1. A. D. 222 the observed day of the 14th Paschal moon, = Apr. 13
2. A. D. 223 is April 13—11 days - - - " Apr. 2
3. A. D. 224 is Ap. 2—11 days, moon's loss & 1d. bissext. " Mar. 21
4. A. D. 225 is March 21—30 days—11 days, - - - " Apr. 9
5. A. D. 226 is April 9—11 days - - - " Mar. 29
6. A. D. 227 is March 29—11 days - - - " Mar. 18
7. A. D. 228 is Mar. 18—30 days—11 days moon's loss,
and 1 day bissextile, " Apr. 5
8. A. D. 229 is April 5—11 days, - - - " Mar. 25
9. A. D. 230 is March 25—30 days—11 days, - - - " April 13

CANON OF HIPPOLYTUS.

A.D.	Cylical Year.	Moon's 14th day.	A. D. 110 222	A. D. 111 123	A. D. 112 135	A. D. 113 147	A. D. 114 159	A. D. 115 171	A. D. 116 183	A. D. 117 195	A. D. 118 207	A. D. 119 219	A. D. 120 231
222	1	April 13 E	Sat.	14 F	Th.	W	T	M	Su.				
223	2	Ap. 2	Wed.	15 T	M.	Su	S	F	Th				
224	3	Mar. 21	Sun.	16 S	F.	Th	W	T	M.				
225	4	Ap. 9 E	1 Sat.	17 F	Th	W	T	M	Su.				
226	5	Mar. 29	2 Wed.	18 T	M.	Su	S	F	Th				
227	6	Mar. 18	3 Sun.	19 S	F.	Th	W	T	M.				
228	7	Apr. 5 E	4 Sat.	20 F	Th	W	T	M	Su.				
229	8	Mar. 25	5 Wed.	21 T	M.	Su	S	F	Th				
230	9	Ap. 13 E	6 Teu.	22 M	Su.	S	F	Th	W.				
231	10	Ap. 2	7 Sat.	23 F	Th	W	T	M	Su.				
232	11	Mar. 21	8 Wed.	24 T	M.	Su	S	F	Th				
233	12	Ap. 9 E	9 Teu.	25 M	Su.	S	F	Th	W.				
234	13	Mar. 29	10 Sat.	26 F	Th	W	T	M	S.				
235	14	Mar. 18	11 Wed.	27 T	M.	Su	S	F	Th				
236	15	Apr. 5 E	12 Teu	28 M	Su.	S	F	Th	W.				
237	16	Mar. 25	13 Sat.	29 F	Th	W	T	M	Su.				

This canon, therefore, goes upon the assumption that the moon falls eleven days behind the sun in 365 days, and hence in eight years loses eighty-eight days, which with the two bissextile days of eight years gives a total loss of ninety days. This loss is counter-balanced by the insertion of three embolismic months of thirty days each, at such times that the 14th day of Nisan should never fall before the 18th of March, which is the earliest Paschal limit of this canon. The error of this canon lies in the assumed equality of the mean motions of the sun and moon in eight Julian years, which is so far from being true, that the moon falls behind the sun in that time

about thirty-six hours and a half.* This caused an error of nearly thirty-seven days, in the calculation of Hippolytus, between A. D. 222 and A. D. 30. Thirty days of this sum was exhausted by an additional embolismic or intercallary month. Consequently, we should expect the dates of Hippolytus carried back to the time of the crucifixion, to vary seven days from the truth. And astronomical computation proves the existence of just this amount of error, as may be seen upon comparison of the following times of the 14th of the Paschal moon, as derived from the canon of Hippolytus, and from astronomical computation.

14th day of Moon. Hippolytus. 14th day of Moon. Computation.

A. D. 28 April 5	March 28
" 29 March 25	March 18 or April 16
" 30 April 13	April 6
" 31 April 2	March 26

There is another Canon of the early Latin Church—the *Computus Paschalis*, generally ascribed to Cyprian, and believed by Ussher to be his, of which Dr. Jarvis takes no notice, (Cyp., 209—219.) The epoch of this Canon is "the 5th year of Gordian, Coss., Arriano and Papo, 14th Paschal moon, 12 Kal. April, feria, 3," that is, Tuesday, March 21, A. D. 243. The author of this Canon placed the Crucifixion in the 16th of Tiberius, A. D. 30, of the common era but he counted two more pairs of Consuls (215) between the Crucifixion and the 5th of Gordian than are usually reckoned, and one more than Dr. Jarvis himself computes.† The era of the Crucifixion, according to this Canon, is virtually A. D. 28, where Dr. Jarvis places it, but the month date is Friday, April 9th, instead of March 25th. In A. D. 30, the 14th of the Paschal moon is computed to have been Friday March 18th. This Canon is composed upon the same principles as that of Hippolytus, and has been reconstructed by Browne in his *Ordo Sæclorum*, (pp. 478, 480.)

There is also another Canon of the Latin Church, computed to the cycle of 84 years, and bearing date A. D. 298, to which Dr. Jarvis has made no allusion, (Ideler. II, 249—253.)

Hippolytus, the contemporary of Tertullian, and not unlikely an acquaintance of his, (both being at Rome, and writing against the Jews,

* Mean motion Sun's long. 8 Julian years,	08	0d	3m	43s
" " Moon's " "	11	11	25	53
Difference, - - - - -			18	37
which is equal to 1d. 12h. 38m. 43s. which multiplied by				
24 cycles (=192 years)=36d. 14h. 9m. 12s.				

†The Consular reckoning of the ancients is too uncertain to authorize any certain inference. Cyprian computed 215 Consulships from the Crucifixion to Arrian and Pappus, A. D. 243, the common chronology, making only 213. Augustine reckoned only 365, (Introd. p. 382,) from the two Gemini to Honorius and Eutychianus, which are five less than are generally counted. Severus enumerated 372 to the Consulship of Stilicho, (Introd. p. 383,) the second after Honorius, which is the precise number usually reckoned.

about the same time,) we know derived his date of the crucifixion from computation. So did Cyprian, and so did Victor and Bede, and why not Tertullian himself? An error of two years in the Consular date between A. D. 29 and A. D. 183, which we know Tertullian was liable to make, would give him, upon the principles of Hippolytus, the date he has mentioned. The learned author, therefore, is hardly borne out by the facts, when he represents "the Latin Christian writers" as being "perfectly accordant in their testimony as to the day, month and year of our Savior's death." (p. 411.) The following comparison of the computed times of the 14th of the Pascal moon will show the exact nature of this correspondence.

HIPPOLYTUS, (p. 392.)	CYPRIAN, (om. by Dr. J.)	NICENE CAL. (p. 88.)	VICTOR, (p. 365)	BEDE, (p. 106.)	TRUE DATE, (Browne, p. 55.)
A. D. 28, April 5,	April 8,	March 27,	March 20,	March 27,	March 28,
" 29, March 25,	March 28,	April 15,	April 14,	April 15,	April 17,
" 30, April 13,	March 17,	April 4,	April 3,	April 4,	April 6,
" 31, April 2,	April 5,	March 24,	March 23,	March 24,	March 26,
" 32, March 21,	March 24,	April 12,	April 11,	April 12,	April 13,
" 33, April 9,	April 12,	April 1,	March 31,	April 1,	April 2,

It will be seen from this comparison that Cyprian makes the 14th of Nisan fall three days later in the month than Hippolytus,—that Victor makes the same Passover one year earlier and one day later in the month than Hippolytus,—that Bede and the Nicene Calendar make the 14th of Nisan one day later in the month than Victor, and that Bede himself is always one or two days earlier than the truth. When, therefore, we recollect this, and also remember that all the early Greek writers, and the earliest Latin writers also, held to a ministry of one year of our Lord, not on account of any embarrassment they felt in respect to Roman chronology, as Dr. Jarvis supposes, (pp. 388, 411); but, according to their own account, for reasons to which our author has not alluded, can we wonder that Calvisius (p. 438) and Ussher (Ann. p. 839) and Prideaux (III, 410) and Whiston (Har. Gosp. p. 193) and Kennedy (p. 80) and Bedford (p. 756,) and indeed the vast majority of English chronologists should set aside the authority of Tertullian as of no weight in regard to the time of the crucifixion? These all assign the crucifixion to A. D. 33, where the authors of the Art of Verifying Dates have placed it (C. R. I, 91) and had the learned author deemed it expedient to compute the Paschal new moon of this year, or to have verified the full and accurate computation given by Bedford (743, 744), he would have seen that the moon was not visible at Jerusalem until the evening of March 20th, and consequently that Friday, April 3d, was the 14th of Nisan, and not the 16th as he supposes (C. R. I, 91). Our author, therefore, could not have duly weighed all the evidence, when he said that "the cycle of Victor" which he employs, "is supported by astronomical calculation," (Intro. 455) for such can not be the fact. He also speaks without book when he says (C. R. I, 93) that "the greatest astronomers of ancient and modern times had perfectly agreed that the Sunday after the Paschal full moon in A. D. 28, fell on the 28th of March," for every astronomical computation I have been able to find, ancient or modern, makes both the mean and true

Paschal full moon of that year to have fallen on Monday, the 29th of March. So he speaks more strongly than the facts warrant, when he says that "all enlightened antiquity agreed that the crucifixion took place in the consulship of the two Gemini." (C. R. I. 93.) Hippolytus and Bede, we have already seen, place it in A. D. 29, the *Computus Paschalis* in A. D. 30, though its date really belongs to 28, or 29. Apollinarius of Laodicea and Jerome place it in A. D. 31, Eusebius and Epiphanius in A. D. 33. (Ord. Sac. 75, 76.)

And now if I have not much mistaken the clear purport of the proof herein presented, A. D. 28 could not have been the year of the crucifixion; for, as the Paschal new moon of that year took place at Jerusalem on the morning of the 15th of March, the 1st of Nisan commenced at sunset of that day, and the 14th of Nisan commenced of course at sun-set on the 28th of the month, which was Sunday. And as the 14th of Nisan, in the year of the crucifixion, began or ended on Friday, A. D. 28 could not have been that year, unless the Jews employed an erroneous cycle which ante-dated the true time three entire days. So also, unless I greatly mistake the bearing of this testimony, the insertion of the "lost consulship" at A. D. 160 can not be allowed, inasmuch as it interposes one year more between A. D. 138 and A. D. 238, than Censorinus computed,—gives an interval of 201 complete years between the 800th and 1000th years of Rome, requires our author to suppose that the text of Censorinus, and the inscriptions of the *Fasti* have been tampered with in regard to dates,—requires him to add one year to the reign of Commodus against the concurrent testimony of the Roman historians, and places the eclipse of August 1st, usually assigned to the consulship of A. D. 45, in A. D. 44, when no such eclipse could have happened. Also, because the astronomical data on which the author relies to carry back the year of the war in Spain, and the year of Augustus' death, when properly understood, prove nothing to his purpose, and because the historical difficulties attending the common interpretation of these events are in no wise relieved by the proposed change. Neither does it seem to me that any conclusive evidence has been produced, that the crucifixion took place in the consulship of the two Gemini, inasmuch as there is every reason to believe that the tradition of the Western Church in regard to it, took its rise from the language of Tertullian, and that his date was derived from a computation, a part of which we know was erroneous. It seems to me, therefore, that the new era proposed by Dr. Jarvis cannot be received, it being without the proof necessary to command belief.

Yet Dr. Jarvis feels very sanguine that he is right. He tells us that he has no theory of his own, that he has been "guided by the testimony of the Church," (C. R. I. 87,) that he has but detailed the "Catholic practice," (Ib. 96.) but copied the results arrived at by men whose "labors have been approved by the Church, carried into practice by the Church, and thus solemnly ratified by the Church," (Ib. 96.) and that he has simply been "exhibiting the civil computations

of time known and acknowledged by the Primitive Church." (Ib. 97.) Hence, when it has been said, as is virtually in this letter, that the conclusions of the *Introduction* are not in accordance with the facts, the author considers it as equivalent to saying that "Victorius, or rather the early Church, told an untruth as to a plain matter of fact." (Ib. 97.) That our author is thoroughly persuaded of the truth of his positions and the legitimacy of his conclusions is evident,—how he arrived at them is not so readily apparent. That Victor gives any other date of the crucifixion than what he derived from computation, or that the Church ever vouched for the accuracy of his tables, is not, and can not be shown. And if it could, it would only make the matter worse, for it would involve us in utter confusion. For example, according to the Canon of Hippolytus the 14th of Nisan, A. D. 28, was April 5th, Cyprian made it April 8th, Victor, March 26th, Bede and the Nicene Calendar, March 27th. Which of these is to be regarded as the testimony of the Church? Did Cyprian accuse Hippolytus of telling "an untruth in a plain matter of fact," because the same erroneous cycle, when dated from a different epoch, led to a different Pascal date at the time of the crucifixion? Or did Victor make a similar charge against either, because another erroneous cycle led him to still a different date? What was there in the Provincial Council of Orange, with its fifty Bishops, that gave its endorsement of Victor's canon, such pre-eminence above the Calendar employed by the General Council of Nice? These facts are sufficient to show how much reality there is in the learned author's idea that he has only followed the testimony of the Church in this matter; to show, that a man may hesitate concerning his choice among this variety of dates without impugning the veracity, either of individuals or the Church.

DIFFERENT EPOCHS OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

The following eras of the crucifixion have been adopted by the Fathers and by modern Chronologists.

- A. D. 26. Mann.
- A. D. 28. Victor, Bianchini, Jarvis.
- A. D. 29. Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Augustine, Browne.
- A. D. 30. Cyprian, Gresswell.
- A. D. 31. Apollinarius, Jerome, Hales.
- A. D. 33. Melito of Sardis, Eusebius, Calvisius, Ussher, Prideaux, Whiston, Kennedy, Bedford.

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